FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY PACH BROTHERS, AUGUST 1899

WILLIAM McKINLEY

TWENTY-FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

WILLIAM McKINLEY

This picture is a reproduction of a photograph of Mr. McKinley taken during his third year of service as President. He was at the time seated on the lawn before the vine-covered villa of Vice-President Hobart at Long Branch, New Jersey. It is regarded as the best photograph portrait of the martyred President ever taken. He was at that time in his fifty-seventh year, and at the height of his popularity and usefulness. One year later he was re-elected to the Presidency, and two years later he was slain by the bullet of the assassin Czolgosz.

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RIDPATH'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER
OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF
CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

AND

THE STORY OF ALL NATIONS

FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

COMPLETE IN NINE VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME IX

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS
TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS

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To

William M. Ridpath of Spokane

A Faithful and Manly Brother

PREFACE.

THE close of the century has suggested, if not demanded, the continuation of the present work by the addition of a supplementary volume. Almost fifteen years have now elapsed since the first edition of the *History of the World* was published. A revision in 1889 brought the narrative down to that year. The last decennium has been sufficiently rich in historical events to warrant the completion of the work to the date of the appearance of this volume which is probably the last of the series. The narrative here undertaken includes an account of national affairs in both hemispheres down to what is approximately the end of the nineteenth century.

Besides the fitness of the thing there is also the requirement of it. The alertness of the human mind in our age; the frequency of its readings; the limitless facility for knowing and hearing whatever is doing in the whole world—have conspired to fix the attention of all peoples upon what now is. The whole temper of the age turns from what once was to what now is. Of a certainty this is not the way of wisdom; only it is the way.

The myriad printing presses of the world, teeming hourly and momentarily, with the flying transcript of the universal drama, as reflected in the distorted vision and inflamed imagination of a million scribes—have conduced powerfully to create a demand for current annals. Even before the event has completed itself; verily, while the event is still, in military phraseology, "in the air," without a single permanent buttress to support it, the cry comes into every historical study of the world, to take the uncompleted event and to give it a historical setting. Such history must, in the nature of the case, be imperfect—though not as imperfect as the voice which demands it is unreasoning and arbitrary.

Under such antecedents, the history of current events must be undertaken and brought to as great a degree of perfection as the conditions may admit. All human affairs suffer from distortion, from obscuring mist and diffracting coloration, when they are viewed from a close-by point of observation. The natural eye of man has its focus, within which all objects are blurred and indistinct. How much more the eye of the mind when it is required to determine the magnitude and motion of near-by bodies hanging and twisting in the very door of the pupil!

To stand off is therefore an essential prerequisite of correct historical writing. The historian cannot delineate and interpret correctly an event which by distance falls short of the natural focus of his vision. Nevertheless, with the aid of lenses and with change of position, he may do something toward rendering distinct that which was obscure, and to make reasonable the chaotic babble of the passing days.

The period under consideration in this part of the narrative is, without exaggeration, one of the most important in human history. Whatever may be the result of the present crush and conflict of the forces of civilization, there can be no doubt of the critical character of this age. Without entering into a discussion of the principles involved, every thoughtful student of historical movements can discern in the current aspect of the world the unmistakable beginnings of a great transformation. Human society is in the alembic; the civilized life of man is on trial. Every civil and political institution of the world is passing through an ordeal in which it is tested as if in furnace fires. That a new order will arise out of the cinders of the present order is as certain as the progress of the seasons, as inevitable as the astronomical changes in the skies.

On the whole, the contest that is now on in the world is a contest *to determine the place of man, as man, in the human drama.* More exactly the question is whether the man of the future shall be slave or free. The great movement of the age is the movement for emancipation; and the counter movement is for enslavement. One force is bearing the human race onward to the open plains of freedom and

boundless hope; and the other force is thrusting humanity backward into its mediæval conditions of servitude and degradation. All of the minor eddies and whirls in the great ocean of contention have this significance, and nothing more. They are all only the secondary results of the one great maelstrom in which the winds and the waves of the New Era are battling with the downward pressure and fatal suck of that ancient gulf in which the wrecks of so many ages have been swallowed up. In our own country, the story of the present epoch is but an account of one swirl in the contest which is to conclude the present and usher in the future.

Not in this sense, however, is the narrative of events usually perused or sought by the American reader. The common reader has his attention fixed upon the thing itself without reference to the *principle* of the thing, or the *significance* of the larger fact of which the thing is but a fragment. There has thus come to pass, in modern times, a sort of diurnal history, a knowledge of which, instead of invigorating, only enervates the reader. Such history is the record of petty things and sensational incidents, not one of which is worthy of record save in so far as it illustrates the larger and silent contention which is going on throughout the civilized world.

This statement applies with peculiar force to American citizenship at the present day. The American citizen sees around him a vast and growing society. He thinks that the mere massing and augmentation of human forces in the United States signify greatness and perpetuity. He watches the contention between the upper and the under man with the same interest which he feels in the contest of two wrestlers on the stage. He does not reflect upon the *result* which is certain to ensue from the victory of the one or the other of the contestants. He is satisfied to have been interested with the *fight* and to be able to talk it over with others who neither know nor care for anything but the fight itself.

Through all the processes of society the same thing may be witnessed. From the smallest contention of the local neighborhood—the lawsuit of a farmer with the magnate of a township who is carrying a new road from his own plantation through the farmer's field to the post office—all the way upward to the presidential election, the interest turns evermore upon the inconsequential question, *What is it?* and never upon the all-important question, *What does it signify?*

The current history of the United States, and indeed of all countries, in order to be valuable, must interpret the event into its meaning. Such interpretation may not satisfy the journalistic passions of the day, but without it there can be no history. It is true that such interpretation will traverse and perhaps offend a thousand prejudices. The political predilections, the economic traditions, the social superstitions, and indeed the whole form and body of the time, may be roused by even the smallest administration of truth.

This method abbreviates not a little the prolonged and inane narrative of current facts. It takes out the essential principle and heart of things, and briefly delineates only what is vital—to the end that the reader, as well as the beholder, shall be able to discern the *nature* of what is done.

In this spirit, I have tried to present a brief account of the events in the career of the leading nations during the last decennium of the century. As to the order of narrative, I shall begin with the history of the United States, recounting the course of affairs in our country from the first years of the administration of Harrison. This will include an account of the reäction against the policy of that chief magistrate; of the second administration of Cleveland; the Republican reäscendency under McKinley; and the Spanish-American war.

In the succeeding chapter, the history of Great Britain will be given in like manner, from the period of political stagnation after the failure of the first Home Rule Bill to the rush made by the empire after the Chinese spoils in 1898–99. Subsequently, the history of France, of Germany, of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Turkey, the Oriental nations, Australia, and the Minor American Republics, will be considered in their turn, with as much fullness as the limits of the volume will permit. The object, in a word, is to make a fairly comprehensive narrative of the course of events in all the leading nations during the closing period of the century. The author delivers the completed work to the public with an expression of thanks for the favor with which his *Universal History* has been hitherto received, and with the hope that the present additional volume may be found as acceptable as its predecessors.

J. C. R

New York, June 1, 1899.

RIDPATH'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

VOLUME IX

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Book Twenty-Ninth.

THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER CLIX.—THE UNITED STATES.

IN this volume we shall narrate, on a scale somewhat enlarged from that employed in the preceding volumes, the leading events in all the principal nations from the year 1889 to the close of the nineteenth century. Following the order hitherto pursued, we shall begin with the history of our own country, and proceed by way of the European nations to Western Asia, and thence to the Orient and the remoter insular parts of the world. As to the history of the United States, the narrative is resumed from the point at which it was dropped on page 248 of Vol. VII. of this series.

In the current chapter we shall revert, first of all, to the work of the Fifty-first Congress. The proceedings of that branch of the Government were marked with much partisan bitterness and excitement. The first question which occupied the attention of the body was the revision of the tariff. In the preceding pages we have developed, with sufficient amplitude, the history and various phases of this question.[1] The Civil War brought in a condition of affairs which must, in the nature of the case, entail the tariff issue on the rest of the century.

More than two decades elapsed, however, after the close of the conflict before the attention of the American people was sufficiently aroused to the true nature of the laws bearing on their industrial condition. Then it was that they first became aware of the fact that a schedule of customs duties, which had been brought forth under the exigency of war, still existed, and that under the operation of this schedule a vast array of protected industries—particularly manufactures—had come into existence.

These industries had grown great and strong. Around them consolidated corporations had been formed, having millions of money at their command, and vast ramifica-

[1] See Chapter CXXVI., pp. 215-219; 234.

tions into political society. As a consequence, the revenues of the United States were swollen to mountainous proportions. The treasury at Washington became engorged, and at length the necessity was developed of doing something in the nature of reform.

The state of the National treasury—depending as it did upon the protective tariff system—entailed two prodigious evils: In the first place the surplus served as a temptation and motive in Congress for all manner of jobbery and extravagant expenditures. In the second place, it enabled the combined monopolies of the country to uphold themselves by influencing national legislation in favor of the protected industries and against the common interest of the people as a whole. The protected industries were thus brought into alliance with monopolies; the two constituted an almost impregnable phalanx. The situation was really a danger and constant menace to the public welfare. It was under this condition that President Cleveland, as already noted, sent his celebrated annual message to Congress, in which he discussed the single question of the evils arising out of the existing system, concluding with an appeal to that body to take such steps as should lead to a general reform.

Thus the question arose, and thus it obtruded itself into the Presidential contest of 1888. The Democratic platform boldly espoused the doctrine of tariff reform, but stopped short—out of an expedient deference to the manufacturing interests—of absolute free trade. The Republican platform declared for a revision of the tariff system—such a revision as might preserve the manufacturing interests, but favor those industries which seemed to be disparaged. This clause of the platform proved to be wonderfully effective in the political campaign which ensued. The event showed, however, that the platform was a shuffle. A very large part of the Republicans understood by "revision of

PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON AND HIS CABINET, 1892.

the tariff" such legislation as should *reduce and reform* the existing system, and not merely make changes that should accord with the interests of the protected classes.

With the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, it soon became apparent that "revision of the tariff" was not to mean a reform by the reduction and curtailment of the schedule, but that the actual movement was in the other direction. Representative William McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, brought in a measure which passed into history under the name of the McKinley Bill, and which, finally adopted by the Republican majority, was incorporated as a part of the governmental system.

The policy of the bill was to abolish the existing duties on a few great articles of production, particularly raw sugar and the lower grades of refined sugar. By this means a vast reduction was secured in the aggregate revenues, notwithstanding the fact that the *average* rates of import duties on manufactured articles in general was raised from about forty-seven per cent. to more than fifty-three per cent. The McKinley Bill, becoming, therefore, efficient by thus drawing to its principles the sympathies of the protected classes, and at the same time by throwing free—and therefore cheap—sugar to the people, attracted not a little popular sympathy. The contest over the measure was extreme in animosity, and the bill was adopted only after great delay.

The sequel showed unusual results. The tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress was immediately attacked by the Democratic and Independent press of the country. Opinion was overwhelmingly against it. The general elections of 1890 brought an astonishing verdict of the people against the late enactments. There was a complete political revulsion, by which the Republican majority in the House of Representatives was replaced by a Democratic majority of nearly three to one. At a later period a second reäction ensued, somewhat favorable to the McKinley legislation, and the author of the measure referred to succeeded in being chosen, in 1891, Governor of Ohio, attaining his position by a popular majority of over twenty thousand.

THOMAS B. REED.

Another incident in the history of the same Congress relates to the serious difficulty which arose in the House of Representatives between the Democratic minority and the speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. The

Republican majority in the Fifty-first House was not large, and the minority were easily able, in matters of party legislation, to break the quorum by refusing to vote. In order to counteract this policy, a new system of rules was reported, empowering the Speaker to count the minority *as present*, whether voting or not voting, and thus to compel a quorum. These rules were violently resisted by the Democrats, and Speaker Reed was denounced by his opponents as an unjust and arbitrary officer. He was nicknamed in the jargon of the times "The Czar," because of his rulings and strong-handed methods of making the records of the House show a majority when no majority had actually voted on the pending questions. It was under the provisions of the new rules that nearly all of the political measures of the Fifty-first Congress were adopted.

One of the most important of these acts was the attempt to pass through Congress a measure bearing radically upon the election-system of the United States. A bill was reported by which it was proposed virtually to transfer the control of the Congressional elections in the States of the Union from State to National authority. It cannot be doubted that the measure reached down to the fundamental principles of American political society. The "Force Bill," as it was called, brought out the strongest passions of the day. The opposition was intense. The Republican party was by no means unanimous in support of the measure. A large part of the thinking people of the United States, without respect to political affiliation, doubted the expediency of this additional measure of centralization.

Certain it was that serious and great abuses existed in the election systems of the States. In many parts of the United States elections were not free. In parts of the South the old animosities against the political equality of the black man were still sufficiently vital to prevent the freedom of the ballot. Congressmen were many times chosen by a small minority who, from their social and political superiority, were able to baffle or intimidate the ignorant many at the polls. Such an abuse called loudly for a reform; but the measure proposed doubtless contained within itself the potent germs of abuses greater than those which it was sought to remove.

In the Northern States of the Union, also, the election system became more and more abusive. In this section, however, it was not social or race prejudice but the influence of corporations and the over-mastering spell of concentrated wealth which corrupted the suffrage and brought the political life to lower and lower levels. It was in the North and the East that the party boss emerged into the foreground, and by preparing the antecedents of elections and getting control of the ballot-box, began to work havoc with the liberties of the people.

The Elections Bill was for a long time debated in Congress, and was then laid over indefinitely in such manner as to prevent final action upon it. Certain Republican senators who were opposed to the measure and at the same time strongly wedded to the cause of the free coinage of silver money, joined their votes with the Democrats, and the so-called "Force Bill" failed of adoption.

The third great measure of the Fifty-first Congress was the attempt to restore silver to a perfect equality with gold in the coinage system of the United States. Since 1875 there had been an increasing departure in the market values of gold and silver bullion, though the purchasing power of the two money metals had been kept equal when the same were coined under the provisions of legal tender. The purchasing power of gold bullion had in the last fifteen years risen about sixteen per cent. while the purchasing power of silver bullion had fallen about four per cent. in the markets of the world, thus producing a difference at that period of twenty per cent. or more in the purchasing power of the two metals in bullion. One class of theorists, assuming that gold is the only standard of values, insisted that this difference in the purchasing power of the two raw metals had arisen wholly from a depreciation in the price of silver. This class included the monometalists—those who desired that the monetary system of the United States should be

brought to the single standard of gold, and that silver should be made wholly subsidiary to the richer metal.

The advocates of the free coinage of silver argued that the difference in the bullion values of the two money metals had arisen most largely from an increase in the purchasing power of gold, and that equal legislation and equal favor shown to the two money metals would bring them to par, the one with the other, and keep them in that relation in the markets of the world. They claimed that the laws hitherto enacted by Congress, discriminating against silver and in favor of gold, were impolitic, unjust, and un-American. It was urged in the debates of 1889–90 that the free coinage of silver would be of vast advantage to the financial interests of the country. This view and argument, however, were strenuously opposed by the money centers and the credit-holding classes of the United States, to whom the payment of all debts according to the highest standard of value—that is, in gold only—was a fundamental principle.

The debates for a while seemed likely to disrupt the existing political order. Suddenly the United States Senate, by a combination of a large number of free-silver Republicans with the great majority of Democrats, passed a bill for the absolute free coinage of silver,

MINT OF THE UNITED STATES AT PHILADELPHIA.—PRINCIPAL SEAT OF AMERICAN COINAGE.
From a Recent Photograph.

and for the day it seemed that the measure had succeeded.

The administration, however, was strongly opposed to free coinage. The Senate bill was, therefore, arrested by the management of John Sherman, Speaker Reed and the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Another bill, in the form of an amendment providing for the *purchase* (but not for the *coinage*) of four and a half million ounces of silver monthly by the Treasury of the United

VIEW IN IDAHO.—Pied de Oreille.—From a Recent Photograph.

states, and the payment therefor in silver certificates having the form and functions of money, was passed by the House, and finally accepted by the Senate. An expansion of the paper money of the country was thus effected, while at the same time the control of the silver bullion was retained in the treasury under the management of those who were opposed to free coinage, and hopeful ultimately of at least effecting a compromise by which a more valuable silver dollar might be substituted in the interest of the creditor classes in place of the standard silver dollar, which had borne the full legal-tender quality since the foundation of the Government. By the legislation just referred to, which was designated as the Sherman Law, the ultimate decision of the silver question was thrown over to future Congresses.

In addition to the admission of four new States, the Fifty-first Congress passed the necessary acts for the organization of Idaho and Wyoming. These were destined to make the forty-third and forty-fourth members of the Union. Idaho at the time of organization contained a population of 84,385. Wyoming had a population of 60,705. The acts for Statehood were passed for the two new commonwealths on the 3d and 10th of July, respectively, in the year 1890.

In June of the same year was taken the eleventh decennial census of the United States. Its results, so far as they might be depended upon, showed that the aggregate population of the country had increased to 62,622,250, exclusive of Indians not taxed and whites in Alaska and Indian Territories. These additions doubtlessly increased the grand total to about sixty-three million souls. The center of population had continued its progress westward, having removed during the ninth decennium from the vicinity of Cincinnati to a point near the hamlet of Westport, in Decatur County, Indiana.

The period which is here before us was marked by the death of three other great generals of the Civil War. On the 5th of August, 1888, Lieutenant-General Sheridan, at that time commander-in-chief of the American army, died at his home in Nonquitt, Massachusetts. Few other generals of the Union army had won greater admiration and higher honors. He was in many senses a model soldier, and his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven was the occasion for memorial services throughout the country.

Still more conspicuous was the fall of General William T. Sherman. Among the Union commanders in the great Civil War he stood easily next to Grant in greatness and reputation. In vast and varied abilities, particularly in military accomplishments, he was perhaps superior to all. It may well be thought that he was more fortunate than any other—and wiser. After the war he steadily refused to be other than a great soldier. No enticement, no blandishment, no form of applause or persuasion, could induce him to exchange the laurels which he had won in the immortal contest for the Union for any other form of chaplet or perishable wreath. Sherman might have been President of the United States. It were not far from the truth to believe that he was the only man in America who ever willingly put aside that glittering prize. To have fallen into the hands of politicians, place-hunters, jobbers, and cormorants, would have been intolerable to that brusque, sturdy, and truthful nature. With a clearer vision even than the vision of Grant, he perceived that to be the unsullied great soldier of the Union was to be better than anything made by men in caucus and convention. Born in 1820, he reached the mature age of seventy-one, and died at his home in New York City, on the 14th day of February, 1891.

The event produced a profound impression. The general of the Union army who had fought so many great battles and said so many great things was at last silent in death. Of his sterling patriotism there had never been a doubt. Of his prescience in war, of his learning, of his ability as an author, there could be as little skepticism. As to his wonderful faculties and achievements, all men were agreed. His funeral became the man. He had provided for that also in advance. He had directed that nothing other than a

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.—From a Photograph, 1888.

soldier's burial should be reserved for him. His remains were taken under military escort from New York to St. Louis, where they were deposited in the family burying-ground, in Mount Calvary Cemetery.

After the death of General Sherman only two commanders of the first class remained on the stage of action from the great Civil War—both Confederates. These were Generals Joseph E. Johnston and James Longstreet. The former of these two was destined to follow his rival and conqueror at an early day to the land of rest. General Johnston had been an honorary pall-bearer at the funeral of Sherman, and contracted a heavy cold on that occasion, which resulted in his death on the 20th of February, 1891, at his home in Washington City. Strange fatality of human affairs that, after twenty-five years, he who surrendered his sword to Sherman at Raleigh should have come home from the funeral of the victor to die! General Johnston was in his eighty-third year at the time of his decease. Among the Confederate commanders none were his superiors, with the single exception of Lee. After the close of the war his conduct had been of a kind to win the confidence of Union men, and at the

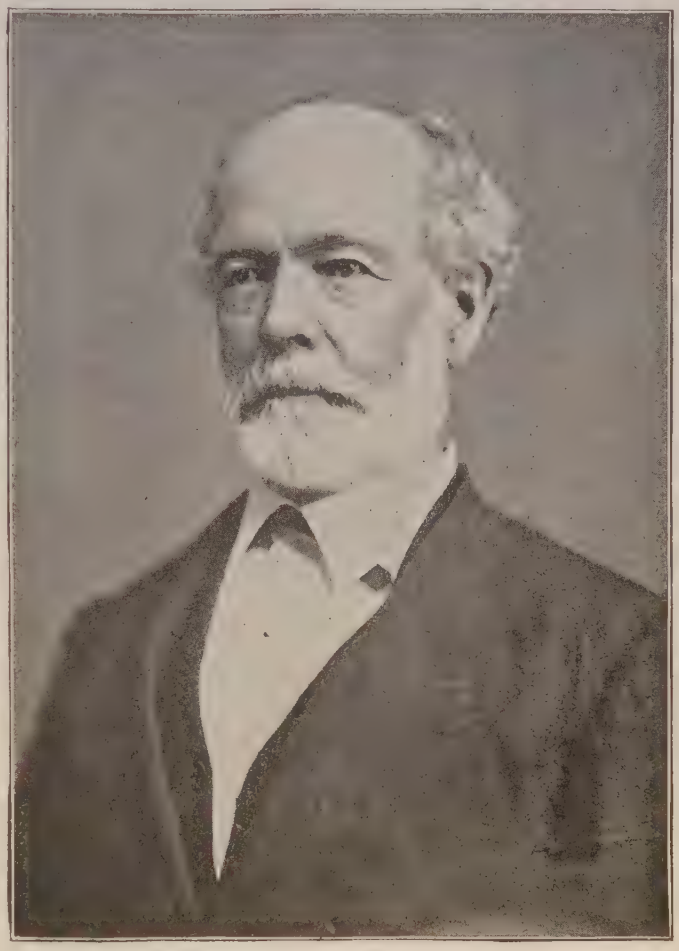
MILITARY FUNERAL OF GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

time of his death he was held in universal honor.

It was at this time—namely, in February of 1891—that a serious event, reaching upward and outward, first into national and then into international proportions, occurred in the city of New Orleans. There existed in that metropolis a branch of the secret social organization among the Italians known by the European name of the Mafia Society. The principles of the brotherhood involved mutual protection, and even the law of revenge against enemies. Doubtless much of the spirit which had belonged to the Italian order of the Mafia had been transferred to America. At any rate, some of the features of the order were un-American in character, and some of the methods dangerous to the public and private peace.

Several breaks occurred between members of this society (not the society itself) and the police authorities of the city; and the latter, by arrest and prosecution, incurred the dislike and hatred of the former. The difficulty grew in animosity until at length, Captain David C. Hennessey, chief of the police of New Orleans, was assassinated by some secret murderer or murderers, who, for the time, escaped detection. It was believed, however, that the Mafia Society was at the bottom of the assassination, and several of the members of the brotherhood were arrested under the charge of murder.

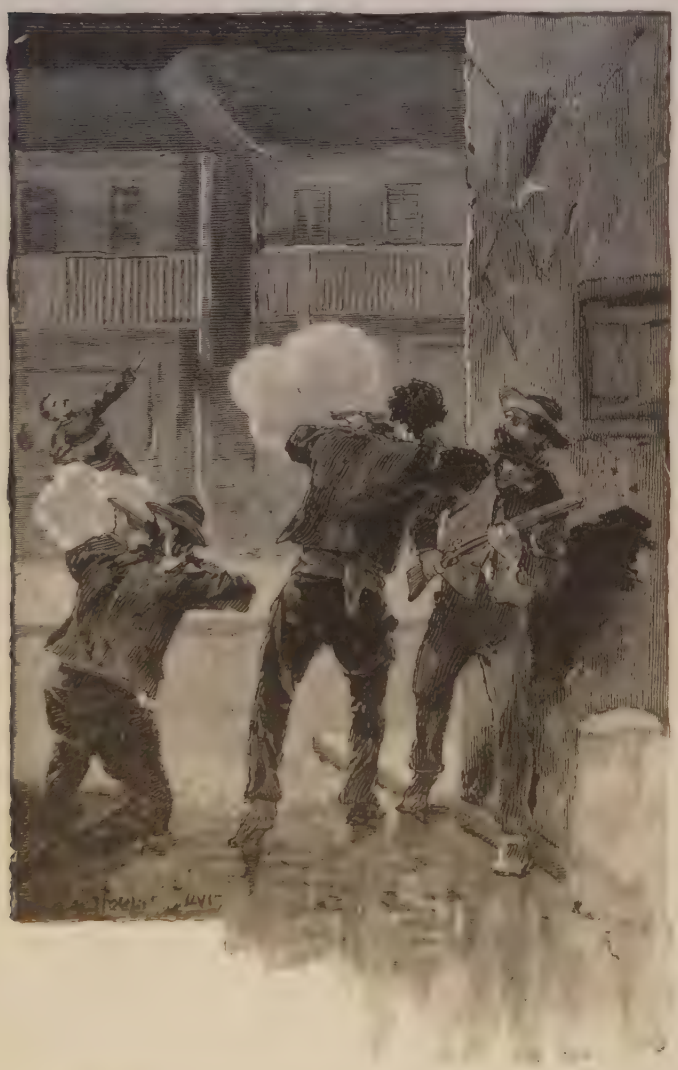
A trial followed, and the circumstances tended to establish—but did *not* establish—the guilt of the prisoners. The proof was not positive—did not preclude a reasonable doubt of the guilt of those on trial—and the first three of the Italian prisoners were acquitted. The sequel was unfortunate in the last degree. A great excitement followed the decision of the court and jury, and charges were made and published that the jury had been bribed or terrorized with threats into making a false verdict. These charges were never substantiated, and were doubtless without authenticity. But on the day following the acquittal of the Italians, a public meeting, having its origin in mobocracy, was called, and a great crowd, irresponsible and angry, gathered around the statue of Henry Clay, in one of the public squares of New Orleans.



JOSEPH ECCLESTON JOHNSTON.
From a Photograph by Cook, Richmond, Va.

Speeches were made. The authorities of the city, instead of attempting to check the

movement, stood off and let it take its own course. A mob was at once organized and directed against the jail, where the Italian prisoners were confined. The jail was entered by force. The prisoners were driven from their cells, and nine of them were shot to death in the jail-yard. Two others were dragged forth and hanged. Nor can it be doubted that the innocent as well as the guilty (if indeed any were guilty—as certainly none were guilty according to law) suffered in the slaughter.



ASSASSINATION OF CAPTAIN DAVID C. HENNESSEY.

The event was followed by the greatest public excitement. Clearly, murder and outrage had been done by the mob. It was soon proved that at least two of the murdered Italians had been subjects of the Italian kingdom; the rest were either naturalized Americans or foreigners bearing papers of intention. The affair at once became of national, and then of international, importance. The President of the United States called upon Governor Nicolls, of Louisiana, to give an account of the thing done in New Orleans, and its justification. The governor replied with a communication in which it was hard to say whether insolence or inconsequential apology for the action of the mob was uppermost. With this the excitement increased. The Italian minister, Baron Fava, at Washington, recorded his solemn protest against the killing of his countrymen, and the American Secretary of State entered into communication with King Humbert on the subject.

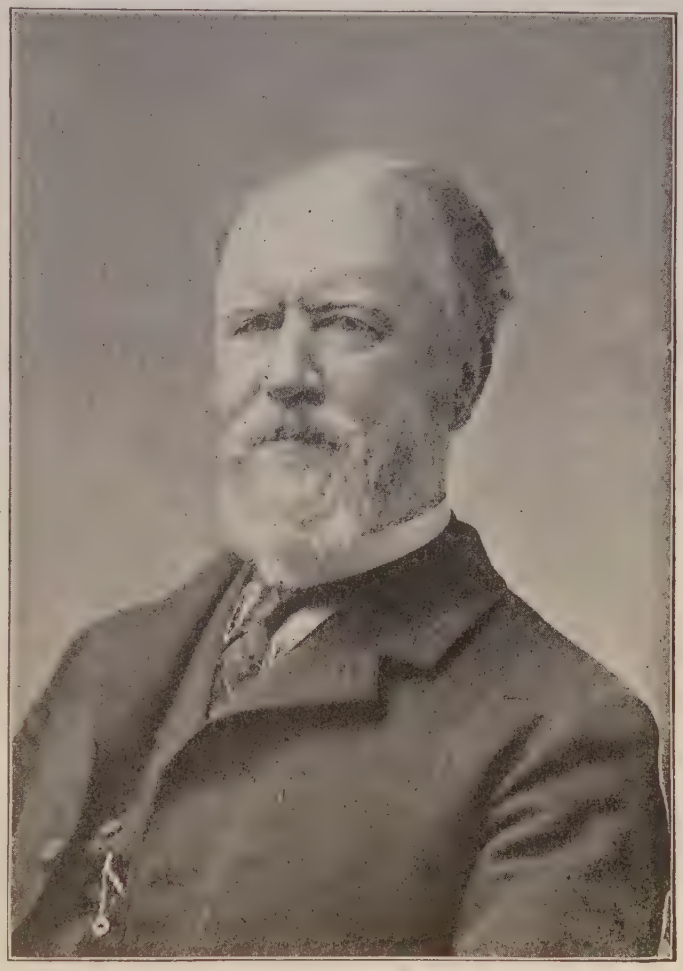
Italy was thoroughly aroused. The Italian societies in various American cities passed angry resolutions against the destruction of their fellow-countrymen by the mob, and the newspapers of the country teemed with discussions of the subject. There was, unfortunately, a disposition on the part of America to play the bully. At times, threats of war were freely made, and it appeared not impossible that the two countries would become unhappily involved in a conflict. The more thoughtful, however, looked with confidence to the settlement of the question by peaceable means.

The Italian government presently recalled

Baron Fava from Washington, and during the remainder of the year, communications between the two Governments were made only through the Italian chargé d'affaires at Washington. Gradually, however, the excitement subsided. The American Government was fortunate in having as its representative at the Court of Italy the Hon. Albert G. Porter, a man of calm temperament, and deeply imbued with a sense of justice and right. By the beginning of 1892 it had become certain that the unpleasant episode would pass without further menace of war, and that the question involved in the difficulty would be justly settled in course of time by the equitable rules of diplomacy.

The controversy between the United States and Italy brought into strong relief the peculiar character of our republican constitution. In the nature of the case, foreign powers can deal only with the central administration at Washington. The States of the Union are constitutionally prohibited from holding political or diplomatical relations with foreign Governments. Within the republic, the central Government can only in a limited sense hold the State responsible for the actions of its people. Something of the same principle obtains between the State and the municipalities that exist within its borders. In the case under consideration, the King of Italy could not demand justice of the City of New Orleans, or even of the State of Louisiana, but only of the Government of the United States; and the Government of the United States had done no wrong! Such was the complexity that the international tort could hardly be remedied. As a result of the entanglement, the administration was obliged to repair the wrong with shuffling explanations, apologies, and expressions of goodwill. Throughout the controversy, the Italian Government conducted the negotiations in a spirit of forbearance.

The year 1891 was noted for a serious difficulty between the United States and the Republic of Chili. The complication had its origin in the domestic affairs of that republic, particularly in a revolution which, in the spring of the year named, began to make headway against the existing Government. At the head of that Government was President José Manuel Balmaceda, against whom the popular party in the Chilian Congress was violently arrayed. The President was accused of seeking to influence the choice of



ALBERT GALLATIN PORTER,
Minister Plenipotentiary of United States to Italy, Administration of Harrison.

his own successor in the approaching election; but more especially of retaining in office a ministry out of harmony with the Congressional majority.

The latter point was the more serious, and led at length to the assumption of dictatorial powers by the President. This course seemed necessary in order that Balmaceda might maintain himself in power and uphold the existing ministry. The popular party seceded from Congress only to take up arms. This party was known in the civil conflict that ensued as the Congressionalists, while the upholders of the existing order were called Balmacedists. The latter had possession of the Government; but the former, outside of the great cities of Valparaiso and Santiago, were the more powerful.

The insurrection against Balmaceda gathered head. A Congressional Junta was formed, and a provisional government set up at the town of Iquique. Thus far the movement had in no wise disturbed the relations of Chili with the United States. It is in the nature of such revolutions that the insurgent party must acquire resources, gather arms, and create all the other means of its existence, progress, and success. The Chilians of the Congressional faction found themselves in great need of arms, and would fain look to some foreign nation for a supply. In the emergency they managed to get possession of a steamship called the *Itata*, belonging to the South American Steamship Company, and sent her to the western coast of the United States to purchase arms.

THE CAPITOL AT SANTIAGO DE CHILI. From a Recent Photograph.

The steamer came to the harbor of San Diego, California, and by the agency of an intermediate vessel managed to secure a large purchase of arms, and to get the same transferred to her own deck. At this juncture, however, the Government, gaining informa-

tion of the thing done, ordered the detention of the *Itata* until her business and destination could be known. A district attorney of the United States was sent on board the ship, which was ordered not to leave the bay. In defiance of this order, however, the officers of the *Itata* steamed out by night and got to sea. The smugglers put the officer of the United States in a boat, sent him ashore, and disappeared over the Pacific horizon.

The announcement of the escape of the *Itata* led to vigorous action on the part of the Government. The United States warship *Charleston* was ordered out in pursuit from the Bay of San Francisco. The *Itata*, however, had three days the start, and it could hardly be expected that the *Charleston* would be able to overhaul the fugitive. The latter made her way to one of the harbors of Chili, whither she was pursued by the *Charleston*. But the matter had now come to a protest made by the United States to the provisional government of the Revolutionists, and the latter consented to the surrender of the *Itata* to the authorities of our country. This was done, and the incident seemed for the time to have ended without serious consequences.

After the affair of the *Itata*, public opinion in Chili, particularly in the cities of Santiago and Valparaiso, turned strongly against the United States. This is said of the sentiments of the Congressional party. That party saw itself thwarted in its design, and put at fault by its failure to secure the wished-for supply of arms, that failure having arisen through the agency of our Government. However correct the course of the United States may have been, the Revolutionists must needs be angered at their disappointment, and it was natural for them to look henceforth with distrust and dislike on the authorities of our country.

PORT OF VALPARAISO, CHILI.—From a Photograph.

The public animosity centered about the legation of the United States in Santiago.

Hon. Patrick Egan, the American minister, became unpopular with the Congressionalists because of his supposed favor to the Balmacedan Government. That Government still stood. It was recognized by the President of the United States as the Government *de jure* and *de facto* of Chili. Egan must therefore hold relations with Balmaceda and his minister of foreign affairs. He must continue to stand in with the existing order until some other order should be established in its stead.

It appeared subsequently that our minister and our Government misapprehended the importance and strength of the revolutionary movement. The Congressionalists steadily gained ground. Perhaps the revolution which was progressing could not be seen in full magnitude from the position occupied by our minister at the Chilian capital. At all events the Congressional army came on in full force, and soon pressed the Government back to the limits of the capital and the immediate vicinity of that city. Affairs drew to a crisis. A bloody battle was fought at a place called Placilla, near Santiago. The Balmacedists gave way before the storm. The battle of Placilla, and a subsequent engagement still nearer to the capital, went against them. The insurgents burst victoriously into Santiago, and the revolution accomplished itself by the overthrow of the existing Government. Everything went to wreck. Both Santiago and Valparaiso were taken by the revolutionary party. The Balmacedists were fugitives in all directions. The dictator himself fled into hiding, and presently made an end by committing suicide.

In such condition of affairs it was natural that the defeated partisans of the late Government should take refuge in the legations of foreign nations at the capital. A ministerial legation is, under international law, an asylum for political refugees. At this time the official residences of foreign nations at Santiago, with the exception of that of Great Britain, were all crowded more or less with fugitives flying thither for safety from the wrath of the successful Revolutionists. The attitude of Great Britain from the first had been favorable to the Congressional party, and it was evident that that power would now stand in high favor with the victors.

It chanced that the minister of the United States was by birth an Irishman. He was an Irish agitator and British refugee, lately naturalized in America. Probably the antagonistic attitude of Great Britain and the United States at the Chilian capital was attributable in part to the nativity and political principles of Egan. At all events, the American ministerial residence gave asylum to numbers of the defeated Balmacedists, and the triumphant Revolutionists grew more and more hostile to our Government and to our minister because they could not get at those who were under his protection.

This hostility led to the establishment of a police guard and a force of detectives around the American legation. It seemed at times that the place might be actually attacked and taken by the angry victors in the recent revolution. At length, however, under the protests of our Government, the guards were withdrawn, and the legation was freed from surveillance. Relations began to grow amicable once more, when the difficulties suddenly took another and more serious form.

It happened at this time that the war vessels of several nations visited the harbor of Valparaiso, drawn thither by interest and for the sake of information or the business of the respective navies. Among the ships that came was the United States war-steamer *Baltimore*. On the 16th of October, 1891, a hundred and seventeen of the under officers and men, headed by Captain W. S. Schley (afterwards famous as an officer in the American navy), went on shore by permission, and in the usual way went into the city of Valparaiso. Most of them visited a quarter of the city not reputable in character. It soon became apparent that the ill-informed enmity and malice of the lower classes were strongly excited at the appearance on the streets of the men and uniform of the United States.

With the approach of night, and with apparent prearrangement, a Chilian mob rose, and began an attack upon the sailors. The Americans retreated and attempted to regain their

ship; but the mob closed around them, throwing stones, and presently, at closer quarters, using knives and clubs. Eighteen of the sailors were brutally stabbed and beaten, and some died from their injuries. The remainder, leaving the wounded behind them, escaped to the ship.

Intelligence of this event was at once communicated to the Government of the United States. The country was greatly excited over the outrage, and preparations were begun for war. The Navy Department was ordered to prepare several vessels for the Chilian coast. The great warship *Oregon* and two others were equipped, manned, and directed to the Pacific shores of South America. The President immediately directed the American minister at Santiago to demand explanation, apology, and reparation for the insult and crime committed against the Government of the United States. The Chilian authorities began to temporize with the situation. A tedious investigation of the riot was undertaken in the courts of Santiago, resulting in an inconsequential verdict.

Meanwhile, Señor M. A. Matta, Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, added fuel to the flame by transmitting an offensive communication to Señor Pedro Montt, representative of the Chilian Government at Washington, in which he reflected on the President of the United States, accused our Government of falsehood, attacked Egan, and ended by instructing Montt *to let the contents of the note be known!* This was soon followed by another communication from Señor Matta, demanding the recall of Patrick Egan from the Chilian capital, as *persona non grata* to the Government. But he failed to specify the particular qualities or acts in the American minister which made him unacceptable.

The publication of these two notes brought matters to a crisis. The President, through the proper authorities, demanded that the offensive note of Matta be withdrawn, that the demand for the recall of Egan be reconsidered, and that reparation for the insults and wrongs done to the crew of the *Baltimore* be made with ample apology and salute to the American flag by the Chilian government. Answers to these demands were again delayed, and on the 25th of January, 1892, the President sent an elaborate message to Congress, laying before that body an account of the difficulties, and recommending such action as might be deemed necessary to uphold the honor of the United States. For a single day it looked like war.

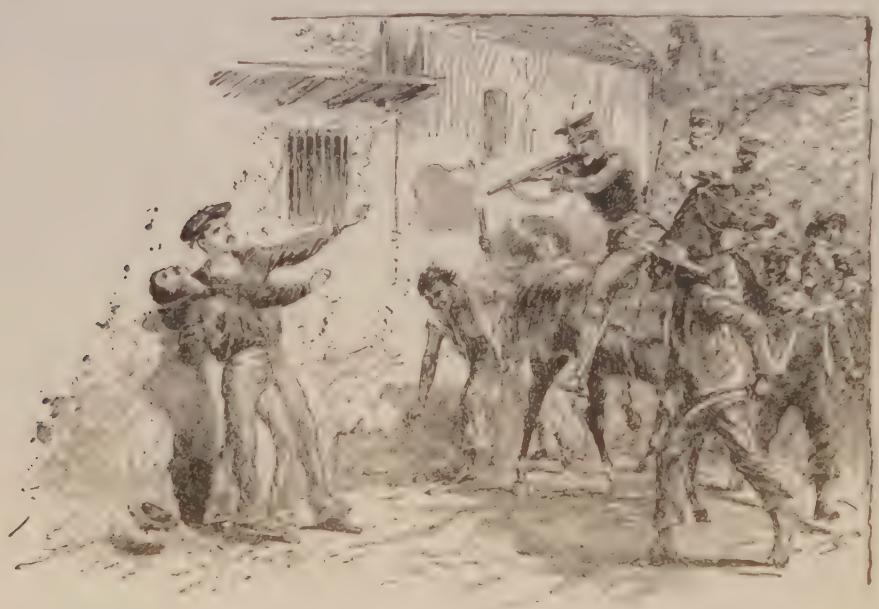
THE WAR-STEAMER BALTIMORE.—From a Photograph.

Scarcely, however, had the President's message been delivered to Congress, when the Chilian Government, receding from its high-toned manner of offense and arrogance, sent, through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, a paper of full apology for the wrongs done, and offering to submit the affair of the *Baltimore* to arbitration of some friendly power.

The offensive note of Señor Matta was unconditionally withdrawn. The demand for the removal of Egan was recalled, and, indeed, all reasonable points in the contention of the President freely and fully conceded. The crisis broke with the knowledge that the apology of Chili had been received, and, like the recent difficulty with Italy over the New Orleans massacre, the imbroglio passed without further alarm or portent of war.

By the enactment of the McKinley Bill, certain kinds of industry in the United States were made prosperous to a degree; other industries were disparaged and retarded. The act was the ultimate expression of the high-protective policy. Never before in a time of peace had a civilized nation adopted such a schedule of discriminating duties on imports. The opponents of the measure denounced it as not only unwarrantable, but also unconstitutional. An action was made against the measure, and the cause was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. By that august tribunal the act was tested, and on the 29th of February, 1892, was declared to be constitutional. Meanwhile, measures had been taken to carry out, not only the protective, but also the reciprocal features of the McKinley law. Between the 10th and 30th of March, commercial treaties were framed between the United States on the one side, and France, Spain, and several of the Central and South American States on the other side, covering the principle of reciprocity in the future trade of our country with the nations referred to.

These measures were the last important civil acts of the administration of Harrison. The spring of 1892 brought around once more the crisis of a Presidential election. As the time approached, the conditions that were to determine the contest became interesting and involved. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, had without doubt been anxious for many years to reach the Presidential chair. His abilities for the exalted place were acknowledged even by his political opponents—this, too, while many of his political friends doubted his temper.



ATTACK OF THE CHILIANS ON THE SAILORS OF THE BALTIMORE.

The sequel showed that disease had already attacked this remarkable personage, and marked the end of his career. During his incumbency as Secretary of State, he had been much harried by politicians, great and

small, to become the candidate for the Presidency in 1892. It can not be doubted that his influence in procuring the incongruous clause in favor of reciprocity in the McKinley Bill had furnished to the Republican party its only chance of success in the impending election.

As the time for the nominating Conventions drew near, Blaine—now a sick man—was more and more annoyed by both enemies and friends. His position in the Cabinet, when the President himself was a candidate for renomination, placed him at a great disadvantage. The Secretary had announced that he would not be a candidate. His friends, however, continued to say that they had a right to nominate him if they desired to do so.

In the meantime, the army of office-holders, numerous and strong, had rallied for the renomination of Harrison. Suddenly, on the 3d of June, within four days of the meeting of the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis, Blaine resigned from the Cabinet. His note to the President, and that of the latter to him, were severely formal. The National Convention met. Harrison was put in nomination, and so was Blaine; but the strength of the latter had now turned to weakness. Prejudice had arisen against him. The office-holding following of the administration in Convention was able to cry out many things reflecting on the conduct and political character of the late Secretary. Benjamin Harrison was easily renominated; the small vote of Blaine melted away, and his star sank behind the horizon. For Vice-President, Whitelaw Reid, late minister to France, was nominated in place of Levi P. Morton, whose name was not offered to the Convention.

The Republican platform declared for the policy of protection, with the principle of reciprocity added; for bimetallism, with the provision that the parity of values of gold and silver should be maintained. There should be an unrestricted ballot. The Monroe Doctrine should be advanced and defended. The immigration of criminals and paupers and laborers under contract should be forbidden. The policy of Home Rule in Ireland deserved the sympathy of Americans; and the persecution of the Russian Jews was declared a barbarity. The proposed ship canal of Nicaragua should be controlled by the United States. Reasonable governmental aid should be given to the oncoming World's Columbian Exposition.

On the 21st of June, the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago. Many desultory and threatening movements had been made in the Democratic party to prevent the nomination of Grover Cleveland, who was now for the third time recommended by a tremendous following for the Presidency. But this opposition could not organize itself—though backed by the powerful influence of Senator David B. Hill, of New York—and was impotent to prevent the success of the favorite. That remarkable personage was again nominated for the Presidency, and with him, Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for the Vice-Presidency.

The Democratic platform declared allegiance to the Jeffersonian principles of government. Centralization of political power was deprecated. Federal control of elections was denounced, as was also that "sham" reciprocity which had joined itself with the pernicious doctrine of protection. The laws should be enforced. Trusts should be controlled. Silver should be coined freely with gold, but with parity of value. Civil service should be promoted. The Chinese, paupers, and contract laborers should be prevented from immigration to the United States. The tax on State banks should be repealed. Soldiers should be pensioned, popular education favored, railroad employees protected by law, the "sweating system" abolished, employment of children in factories prohibited, and sumptuary laws opposed.

The National Convention of the Prohibitionists was held in Cincinnati, beginning on the 30th of June. General John Bidwell, of California, was nominated for President, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas, for Vice-President. The platform declared for laws for the suppression of the liquor-traffic, demanded equal suffrage for women, and governmental con-

trol of railroads and telegraphs; restriction of immigration, suppression of speculation in margins, free coinage of silver at existing ratio, and an increase in the volume of money; tariff for revenue, and proper protection against the influence of foreign nations.

The National Convention of the People's party assembled at Omaha on the 4th of July. The numbers in attendance and the enthusiasm showed conclusively a great increase in the following of this party, which now began to be designated as Populists. The platform declared in favor of the union of the labor forces of the United States in a common cause against corporate power; demanded governmental control of railroads, telegraph, and public corporations; demanded also the free coinage of silver at the existing ratio, and an increase in the circulating medium; also an income tax; also a system of Government savings banks; also opposition to ownership of lands by aliens and corporations. On this platform, General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and Judge James B. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President, were nominated. With this *personnel* and under these respective political banners the parties to the contest went to the people in the campaign of 1892.

DAVID BENNETT HILL.

About the time of the National conventions in this year began the distressing series of events which, with increasing volume, widened into all departments of American industry, blasting the fruits of labor, and indicating in the industrial society of the United States the existence of profound and dangerous vices. On the 30th of June, the managers of the great iron works at Homestead, a short distance from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, apprehending a strike of their operatives on account of a reduction of wages, declared a lockout, and closed the establishment. This was said to be done under the "necessity of making repairs," and the like; but the dullest could not fail to understand the true intention of the corporation.

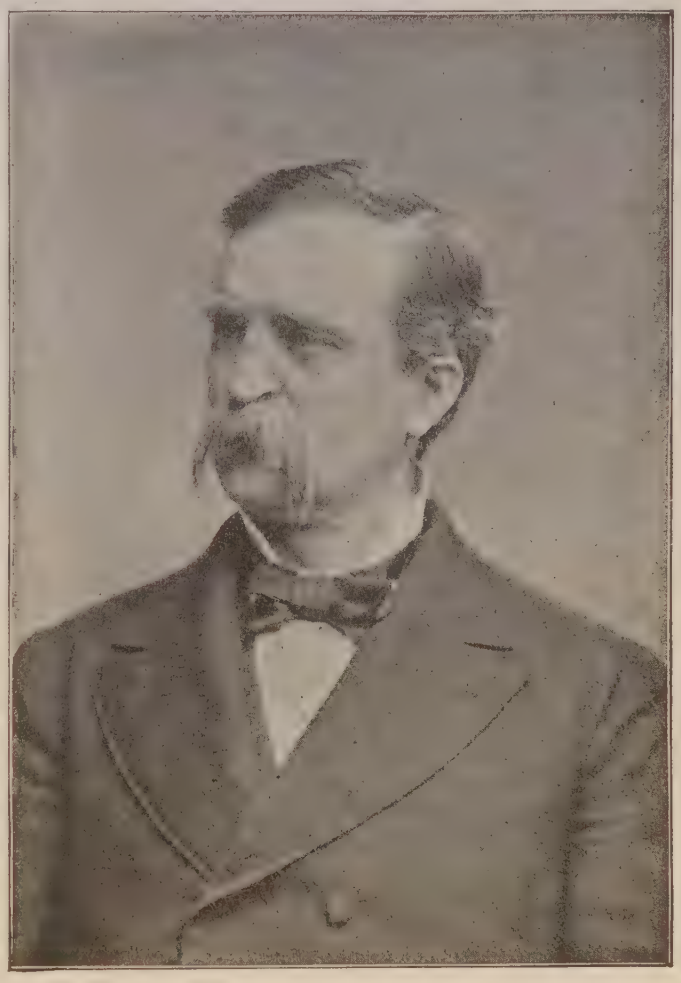
The operatives assumed a threatening attitude; and the managers sent secretly to the Pinkerton detective agency at Chicago for a force to protect the works. A large body of armed men was sent with the purpose of putting the same secretly into the works to defend the establishment. As the boat bearing the Pinkerton force came near to Homestead, it was fired on by the strikers, and a battle ensued, in which ten strikers and four detectives were killed. A very large number of the latter were wounded on the boat, and the whole were driven away. The strikers gained possession of the works; the civil

authorities were powerless, and an appeal was made to the governor of the State.

The Pennsylvania National Guard, to the number of 8,500, was called out, under proclamation of the governor. On the 12th of July, a military occupation was established at Homestead, and was maintained for several weeks. The restoration of order was extremely difficult. The leaders of the strike were arrested. Superintendent Frick of the iron works was attacked by an anarchist, who attempted to assassinate him in his office. At length, under the necessity which the social status has to maintain itself, order was enforced by law and by the power of the military. In the meantime, the miners of the Cœur d'Alene mining region, in far-off Idaho, rose against a body of non-union workingmen who had been introduced into the mines, killed many, and drove away the remainder. Railroad bridges and other property were destroyed, and a reign of terror established. It was not until the 17th of July that military rule prevailed over the rioters, whose leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

In a short time, a dreadful scene of violence was enacted at Buffalo, New York. A strike occurred of the switchmen of the Erie and Lehigh Valley Railway at that city. The attempt was made to put the strikers down, whereupon they attacked the loaded freight-trains standing on the side-tracks, and burned the cars by hundreds. The whole National Guard of New York was, on the 18th of August, summoned to the scene. The strikers were overawed or dispersed. On the 24th of the month a settlement was reached, and the switchmen who had begun the strike returned, as far as possible, to their duties.

About this time, an alarm came from the approach of cholera. That dreadful disease had broken out at Hamburg, and had desolated the city. The malady spread to Antwerp, Bremen, and Havre, and found, even in London and Liverpool, a few points of infection. On the 31st of August, the steamer



GENERAL JAMES B. WEAVER.

Moravia arrived at New York from Hamburg, bearing the disease. The vessel was quarantined in the lower bay. Proclamation was made by the President requiring all ships from infected ports to be detained outside the danger-line for twenty days. A few other steamers beside the *Moravia* arrived with cholera on board, and the authorities of

New York were obliged to contend with the disease until the coming of the cold weather.

In due time, the Presidential election was held. Though the followers of Harrison had been able to force his renomination, they were not able to secure his re-election. Everything went overwhelmingly against the Republican party, and mostly in favor of the Democrats. Of the electoral votes, Cleveland received 277, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22. Of the representatives in Congress elected, 217 were Democrats, 128 Republicans, and 8 Populists. The popular vote showed for Cleveland and Stevenson, 5,554,685; for Harrison and Reid, 5,172,343; for Weaver and Field, 1,040,600; for Bidwell and Cranfill, 723,314. Thus, by a remarkable change from the verdict of 1888, the defeated candidate of that year was restored to the Presidency by a popular plurality of nearly four hundred thousand votes.

GENERAL JOHN BIDWELL.

The date now arrived for the celebration in the United States of the Fourth Centennial of the Discovery of America by Columbus. The other nations conceded to our country and people the honor of holding a World's Columbian Exposition as a jubilee and commemoration of the giving of these continents to mankind by the man of Genoa, in the years 1492–93.

When the demand for such a fitting observance of the great event became urgent, cities began to contend for the honor, and Congress signified a willingness to hear the claims and proposals of contestants. Washington City, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis entered the lists to secure the location, each with an agreement to provide suitable grounds and raise by subscription the sum of $5,000,000 with which to erect buildings for the purpose. Chicago submitted her claims with an agreement to raise $10,000,000 for the Exposition. Each city sent delegations of prominent citizens to press their respective claims before Congress. A decisive vote, after eight ballots, was reached by that body on February 24, 1890, the result being as follows: For Chicago, 157; for New York, 107; for St. Louis, 25; for Washington City, 18. It was thus determined by a very decisive majority that the Fair should be held in Chicago, and the leading citizens of that city took the preliminary steps for forming an organization under the laws of Illinois, taking as a title, "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892."

On the 25th of April, Congress passed, and the President approved, an act entitled, "An act to provide for celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures, and the products of the soil, mine, and sea, in the city of Chicago." The act also created the World's Columbian Commission, thus establishing the legal title of the enterprise. At the same time it was provided by a supplemental act that a dedication of the Exposition buildings, with appropriate ceremonies, should take place October 12, 13, and 14, 1892. Five days later the Chicago Columbian Corporation effected a permanent organization, and the business of promoting the great Exposition was begun.

One particular feature was the recognition of women in full fellowship with men in the service on the juries of award and in conduct of the Exposition. A woman's department was created by act of Congress, and a board of lady managers was appointed by the President, in pursuance of the creating act. There was also appointed a board of control and management of the Government exhibit, as well as superintendents of the fifteen departments into which the Exposition was divided. The President also appointed commissioners of the Fair for the several States; and on the 24th of December, 1890, he issued a proclamation officially inviting all the nations of the earth to participate in the Exposition.

HOMESTEAD, PENNSYLVANIA.—SCENE OF THE LABOR WAR OF 1892.—From a Photograph.

The inaugural ceremonies provided for were in two parts—those to be observed in the dedication of the *buildings* of the great Exposition to be given in October, 1892; and those attendant upon *the formal opening to*

visitors, in May, 1893. It had been the original intention (and invitations to distinguished people throughout America were issued to that effect) to dedicate the buildings with imposing ceremonies on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of October. But considerable delay attended the construction of the buildings, and it was deemed advisable to postpone the dedication until the 21st of the month, which was accordingly done; and invitations announcing this fact were issued in August, 1892.

The preliminary steps of the organization having been completed, and the necessary committees appointed, the World's Fair Corporation selected as a site best adapted for the Exposition and buildings a tract of 663 acres, occupied by Jackson Park and Midway Plaisance, two of the principal Chicago parks. These had a lake frontage of a mile and a half. A selection of the site was followed with the opening of subscriptions, by which the sum of $4,500,000 was secured upon the personal pledges of 23,374 persons, to which amount $5,000,000 was added by an issue of Chicago city bonds.

This enormous sum, however, was found to be inadequate for a proper preparation of the grounds and construction of the buildings according to the conceptions of the projectors, and an appeal to Congress was made for additional aid. The application was bitterly opposed by a large number of influential members, and upon a vote the scheme was defeated. But a compromise was reached by which the Government agreed to issue souvenir coins, of the value of fifty cents each, to the amount of $2,500,000; and these were turned over at their face value to the World's Fair directors, who were privileged to dispose of them at whatever advantage they could obtain. Shrewd speculators, recognizing the demand that would be made for the souvenir coins, submitted various bids for the entire issue, one of which was finally accepted, by which the Association hoped to realize $5,000,000, or double the face value of the coins. This large increase to the original fund encouraged the directory to carry out all the designs for buildings and improvements which they had conceived.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF COLUMBIAN BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS, JACKSON PARK, CHICAGO.

A considerable part of the grounds in Jackson Park was unimproved, and lay in large depressions, which required a great amount of filling. The waterways had to be dredged, so as to admit sailing craft through the devious channels of a lagoon. Half a

million dollars were spent in accomplishing this work, while as much more was expended on landscape gardening, fountains, observatories, statuary, etc. This outlay of a million dollars was but the beginning of the cost of the total improvements amounting to about $25,000,000.

With the coming of October 12, 1892, nearly every town within the United States celebrated the quadricentennial of the American discovery with some form of jubilation. Special preparations on a gigantic scale were made by New York City for an observance of the day. To prevent the threatened conflict between the celebration and the dedication of buildings at Chicago, Senator Hill, of New York, introduced a resolution to postpone the dedicatory ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition until October 21st, and this measure was adopted by both Houses of Congress. New York exerted herself to make her celebration memorable for its magnificence. The ceremony began on Monday, October 10th, with a parade of school children, in which there were 25,000 in line; the procession passed in review before President Cleveland and the New York State officers.

On the following day, interest was intensified by a grand naval parade in the harbor of New York, participated in by the fleets of nine great nations, affording one of the most imposing spectacles of modern times. The city was thronged with visitors as never before; the decorations cost $1,000,000, and were of regal splendor. The shore of the bay was lined with excited spectators, who stood for hours watching with unabated interest the lines of ships that steamed in solemn procession from Gravesend Bay to the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. A perfect day bathed the city with sunshine, while a refreshing breeze invigorated the spectators. A grander sight had not been witnessed since the Spanish Armada sailed out of Lisbon, in 1588, with the vain hope of subjugating the British Isles.

As early as the 18th of October the crowds from every part of the earth began to pour into Chicago. There had gathered no fewer than one million visitors. Never before in history had so many people assembled on a festal occasion. The pent-up enthusiasm of a century broke in a tidal wave. Four hundred years, with their blessings and marvelous progress, were to receive the offering of a world's applause, and be remembered with libations of gratitude.

The dedicatory festivities began on the evening of the 19th, with an inaugural reception, banquet, and ball, at the Auditorium. Four thousand invitations were issued to the most prominent personages in America, and to the representatives of foreign powers. The President of the United States was unable to be present owing to the fatal illness of Mrs. Harrison, and the duties which he was expected to perform were devolved upon Vice-President Morton. A more distinguished gathering was never known among men, and the wealth of ornamentation was in harmony with the beauty and importance of the assemblage. The Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, diplomatic corps, governors, army officers, mayors of leading cities, World's Fair officials, and the fairest women in the land, were gathered at the banquet. The reception and ball were given in the Auditorium, but the banquet was spread on the top floor of the adjoining Studebaker Building, which had been made an annex by cutting arched passages connecting it with the Auditorium.

Thursday, October 20th, was appointed as a day of parade. Fully one hundred thousand men were in line. Uniforms were worn by many of the marching bodies. The crowds that viewed the spectacle were almost infinite. The sidewalks along the entire line were thronged with humanity. Chicago on the day succeeding was densely crowded in all her avenues, hotels, and conveyances. This was the day set apart for dedicating the World's Fair buildings. Michigan Avenue and lake front were soon thronged with people. The nodding plumes of advancing cavalrymen were seen toward the south, followed by troop after troop, wheeling into line, and forming in front of the Auditorium, where they were joined by four batteries of

COLUMBIAN NAVAL PARADE IN THE HARBOR OF NEW YORK, OCTOBER 11, 1892.—From a Photograph.

artillery. The regulars were an escort to the Vice-President, Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries of Church and State, who were to take part in the exercises. Every adjacent street was lined with carriages, waiting for the distinguished occupants; twenty rounds from the batteries was the signal for the great march to begin.

The procession moved southward, with General Nelson A. Miles and his staff at the head of a company of cavalrymen, whose yellow plumes, bright uniforms, and brilliant caparisons, rendered the scene one of great spirit. Following these was a mounted military band leading a troop of cavalry in a solid line twelve deep. These in turn preceded a troop of white cavalry and Indian and colored dragoons, while behind was a regular battery, followed by a section of the National Guard, preceding sixty Toledo cadets on bicycles. In the rear was a long line of carriages bearing the distinguished personages that were to officiate in the dedication, led by Vice-President Morton, who was accompanied by President Palmer, of the World's Fair Commission. Then came other carriages filled with Cabinet members, judges, governors, and World's Fair officials, the whole forming a procession more than a mile in length.

One hundred and fifty thousand invitations had been issued, admitting the holders to the Building of Manufactures; seats were provided for 120,000 persons, and every seat was occupied. The dedicatory exercises were, perhaps, the most imposing ever witnessed, and the enthusiasm was unbounded. The night jubilee consisted of the grandest display of fireworks that the world had ever seen. Three exhibitions were arranged to take place simultaneously in Washington Park on the south, Lincoln Park on the north, and Garfield Park on the west side, each display being a counterpart of the other, and the programs identical. It was estimated that more than half a million people were witnesses of the three displays.

One of the most novel and interesting pieces was a representation of the American flag floating in the sky *at a height of* 2,000 *feet!* The flag was 300 feet in length, and presented a design never before attempted in aërial work. It was attached to a balloon, under the control of Professor Baldwin, the aëronaut, who carried it to the required altitude, and then lighted the fuse connected with the flag. A marvelous thing followed. Almost instantly the banner spread itself like a canopy, and, taking fire, burned for five minutes with all its colors intensified, thus affording a spectacle of grandeur that had never been exceeded at any pyrotechnic exhibition.

The ceremonies of dedication concluded on Friday, October 21st. The immense crowds of people that had come to Chicago from every point of the compass, began to depart. The crowds in the stations on Saturday night were very great, yet the accommodations appeared to be ample, as they had been in the city during the several days of the celebration. Every expression was a congratulation or plaudit for the magnificent sights the people had witnessed, and with which the Nation had been inspired.

The interval between the dedication of the buildings for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago and the opening of that Exposition in the following May was filled with the Presidential election, with the excitements consequent thereon, and with the change of administration, on the 4th of March, 1893.

The victorious Democratic party again went into power, not only in the Executive Department, but in both branches of Congress. In the Senate, however, the majority of that party was so small and unstable as to make uncertain any measures other than those upon which there was complete harmony of opinion. President Cleveland went back to the White House with a tremendous support from the people at large, and only a modified support from his own party.

The new Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary S. Herbert, of Alabama;

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND AND HIS CABINET, 1893.

Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell, of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton, of Nebraska; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts.

In the President's inaugural address, he followed the obvious lines of his well-known policy. He dwelt in particular upon the necessity of a complete reform in the revenue system of the United States, urging upon Congress the duty of substituting for high protection the policy of customs-duties for revenue, with only such incidental protective features as might appear in the nature of the case. From the very beginning, however, it was manifest that the adoption of the new policy was to be hampered and impeded by every kind of cross-purpose known to legislative bodies, and in particular by the interests of those who were the representatives of the protected industries.

From this condition of civil and political affairs, the attention and interest of the people were soon fortunately directed to another and more humane aspect of civilization. On the 31st of May, 1893, the World's Columbian Exposition was opened, amid salvos of exultation, by President Cleveland, who pressed an electric button and set all the immense machinery in motion. The firing of cannon, the waving of flags, the playing of bands, were the vehement manifestations of the general rejoicing. The marvelous "White City" of architectural splendors now presented a sight that was dazzlingly beautiful. To the visitor it seemed a dream of Oriental magnificence, affording such an object lesson of energy, capacity, and genius as no other country had ever revealed.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—WOMAN'S BUILDING.

This structure was the work of a woman architect, Miss Sophia G. Hayden, of Boston, whose design was considered one of the most elegant of those submitted for any of the Exposition buildings.

It was quite two months after the opening, however, before the disturbing sounds of saw, hammer, and rumbling wagons ceased. The unsightly scaffolding was at length removed; all the exhibits were disposed, and the gigantic Fair was presented in its perfected and symmetrical grandeur. No transformation scene was ever more extraordinary than that which revealed Jackson Park con-

verted from a wild, semi-chaotic covert of tangled brushwood and noxious marsh into a Heliopolis of splendor, made beautiful by the sublimest arts that ever found expression.

The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building held its proud position as the most imposing structure ever reared on earth. It occupied an area of more than thirty acres, lifting its imperious towers to an altitude of 250 feet. But though excelling in proportions, the Manufactures Building held no other pre-eminence above the many other structures in Jackson Park. So varied, so select, so excellent, so beautiful, so artistic, and so gigantic were these edifices that all the wealth of the globe seemed to be here gathered and exposed as the expression of peace triumphant.

WALTER Q. GRESHAM,
Secretary of State under the Second Administration of Cleveland.

The architecture of many of the buildings showed a wide range of treatment; yet in the style and grouping there was a remarkable harmony—a blending of color and design as charming as unique. The material used in the construction was necessarily perishable—to the end that the most imposing effects might be produced at a minimum of cost. It required a genius of economy to construct a magnificent palace at the expense of a few thousand dollars; but the genius was not wanting for the work. A cheap material was found in "staff," a composition of cement and plaster-of-paris, possessing little durability, but having, when properly applied, the appearance of white stone. Over the skeleton structure of the several buildings this composition was laid, giving to them the appearance of marble palaces. The embellishment of statuary was added in the same manner. The roadways were artistically laid out, and substantially made of macadam, with a top dressing of red gravel, while the lagoon of stagnant water was converted into a Venetian canal that wound through the Park in a most picturesque manner.

Over the course of this beautiful canal a number of electric launches and gondolas plied, carrying throngs of delighted passengers. Communication between various parts of the ground was facilitated also by means of an elevated intramural railway. This made a circuit of the whole area at such a rate of speed as rendered the aërial voyage exceedingly agreeable. A refreshing and restful ride was likewise provided by what

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—SCENE ON THE LAGOON WITH HORTICULTURAL BUILDING IN THE BACKGROUND.—From a Photograph.

was known as the movable sidewalk, a unique application of the principle of the endless chain. A double platform was operated at different rates of speed, so as to enable passengers to step on or off while the sidewalk was in motion. On the speedier platform, seats were arranged, and on these the passengers were carried over a pier that extended one thousand feet into the lake. Roller or invalid chairs were used by those who could afford the luxury of such a conveyance.

To give a satisfactory description of all the exhibits of the Exposition would require volumes. All nations and lands being represented, the Fair was a universal, commercial, and ethnographic congress, in which were brought together all conceivable products of forge, loom, field, and finger; a place where gathered all races of men, from the Esquimaux to the Equatorial blacks, and where cannibal savagery shook hands with the highest types of civilization.

While it is not desirable to describe all the hundreds and thousands of wonderful and beautiful displays, yet some of the exhibits were such as to require the particular attention of the reader.

The Government Building was filled with objects that claimed the closest interest, and next to the Manufactures Building, drew the largest crowds of visitors. Here were displayed the most ancient as well as the most improved implements of war. Here were gathered the firelocks, fuses, arquebusses, matchlocks, blunderbusses, and other obsolete firearms, arranged in such a manner as to show the evolution of weaponry—to display, in comparison with the latest revolving, breech-loading arms and the heaviest cannon for coast defenses, the rudest weapons of savagery.

Beside these was placed an arsenal in which the machinery for boring great guns was in operation, and the making of cartridges was illustrated by the actual industry. All the arts of war were admirably represented by figures in proper uniform; the pontoon corps, sappers and miners, the topographic corps, signal corps, field hospitals, and effigies of privates, officers, troopers, and foot soldiers, with the uniforms and accoutrements of the whole world militant.

In another department of the same building was the fishery exhibit, with specimens of nearly every fresh- and salt-water fish and furbearing pelagic animal. A large fish-hatching establishment was also shown in operation; and a display was made of boats and implements used in the whale, cod, and sturgeon fisheries.

Between the Government Building and the lake was a broad plaza where several pieces of ordnance were mounted, including rifled cannon, mortars, and rapid-firing guns. Near the water's edge, by the walk, were sections of heavy ship-armor that had been pierced by steel-pointed shells exhibiting the extraordinary penetrating power of improved projectiles. A full-sized battleship, with mounted guns, and a complete complement of men and officers, lay alongside the pier, on which were daily naval drills. Near by was a life-saving station with full equipment of boats and accessories. The numerous white tents, in which the members of the service were quartered, added the general appearance of an army encamped in the midst of the tremendous implements of war.

A curious sight in this vicinity was the Viking Ship, from Norway. The antique vessel was manned by a crew of Norwegian sailors. The Viking scallop lay moored beside the shore near the battleship. It was a copy, down to the minutest detail of construction, of the ship found at Gokstad, Norway, in 1880—a vessel supposed to have sailed the seas one thousand years ago. The old relic of the Vikings is now sacredly preserved in the National Museum at Christiania. The new, like the old, was an open boat, seventy-five feet in length over all, sixty-seven and one half feet at the water line, and sixty feet of keel. The propulsion was by means of a square sail, or by oars when the weather permitted their use.

In this open boat, in the early summer of 1893, Captain Magnus Anderson and eleven companions came from Bergen, Norway, to New London, Connecticut, in forty-three days.

The daring company passed safely through more than one severe storm, and with fair wind and smooth sailing, averaging ten or twelve miles an hour, came bravely through the North Atlantic. This nautical feat makes that of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina* seem insignificant. It was in such a craft, or canoe, that Leif Ericson made his voyage from Greenland to the then unduction of the fleet in which Columbus made his first voyage of discovery. The *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*, each manned by a Spanish crew, and each built to reproduce the original, even to cordage, equipment, armament, and colors, were among the great wonders of the Exposition. The three vessels had already participated in the naval review and celebration of the New

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—THE VIKING SHIP.—From a Photograph.

known regions of the midnight land of the West in the year 1001; such a vessel was the first to touch the shores of the New World. The successful passage of the Atlantic by this frail craft must effectually remove all doubt as to the ability of Ericson, Thorfinn Karlsefne, and Björne, those adventurous Vikings of the tenth century, to accomplish the voyages credited to them by the Sagas.

Below the Viking ship, and in front of the Agricultural Building, was anchored a repro

World discovery, August 3, 1892, at Palos, the port of departure. In February following, the vessels sailed for America, the *Nina* and the *Pinta* being under escort of the United States cruisers *Bennington* and *Newark*, and the *Santa Maria* accompanied by a Spanish man-of-war.

The squadron arrived at Hampton Roads, April 21, 1893—the place of rendezvous of the foreign and American navies that appeared in the great naval parade in New

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—Agricultural Building.—From a Photograph.

York. After their participation in that great event, the three vessels were sent in tow, by way of the St. Lawrence and lake route, to Chicago, where they arrived in due season, and were given a national welcome.

Near by the three Columbian ships on an elevation overlooking the lake, was a reproduction of the Palos Convent of La Rabida, where Columbus once and again halted in a half-famished condition. There he besought the good Father Perez to give a morsel of

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—CONVENT OF LA RABIDA (reproduced).—From a Photograph.

food to stay the hunger of himself and his son Diego. Every detail of the convent was a reproduction of the original La Rabida. Its quaint rooms were filled with Columbian relics, including a casket in which reposed for a while the bones of the great discoverer.

South of La Rabida Convent was a building of considerable size, devoted to Krupp's exhibit of great guns for field, siege, and fortress, and man-of-war. Here might be seen the greatest display of giant weaponry that was ever made. Among the collection, rising above its fellow-engines of destruction, was a 122-ton gun, the largest that the great German cannon-maker has ever produced. It constituted a wonder worth miles of travel to behold. The 1,200-pound steel-pointed projectile lay in a cradle of the hydraulic loading crane beside the gun, and likewise a canister bag containing 600 pounds of powder to be used in propelling the tremendous thunderbolt to a distance of twenty miles. This immense gun, and its machinery for loading and firing, required a large ship for its transportation across the ocean, and two specially-made steel cars for its conveyance to Chicago. As a mark of his respect for America, Krupp presented the gun and its machinery to the city of Chicago, where it remains permanently, an enduring symbol of the reign of force, and a memento of the Columbian Exposition.

Still further towards the south was an

Esquimau village, and an Alaskan exhibit of natives, boats, huts, and totem poles. Beyond these a little way were teocallis, or prehistoric Central American temples. Near by was a reproduction of the cliff-dwellings of the Rio Moncos Cañon, in Southwestern Colorado. In the museum were implements of stone and bone, and also numerous utensils of domestic use made of clay; also mats, sandals, and wrappings deftly woven from the yucca palm, to the raising of which the American cliff-dwellers devoted most of their labors. Here were also shown a score or more of skulls, and several mummied bodies of this ancient and extinct race.

The Fine Arts Building was situated at the north end of the lagoon, from which the structure arose in classical grandeur. Those who sailed the lagoon might alight from the gondolas on broad flights of stone steps leading up through the colonnade to the southern portal. Besides the principal structure, there were two annexes, in like architectural style. In this building were displayed the art products—the paintings in particular—of all the nations of the world. Certain it is that no other exhibit of pictorial glories, with the possible exception of that of the Paris Exposition of 1889, ever rivaled the display here made in the art department of the Columbian Fair held in an American city, founded within the memory of men still living!

It is not practicable within the limits of this work to enter into a detailed account of the thousands of art trophies exhibited at the great Exposition. Perhaps the most splendid of all the displays was that of France, though there were not wanting many critics who conceded the palm to the artists of Great Britain. Some considered the display made by the artists of the United States equal to any other. The departments of Austria and Belgium were also of the highest merit. The Slavic artists, both Russians and Poles, contributed many pictures worthy of immortality. It is probable that the French section, in which the high-light and realistic paintings were exhibited, was the most splendid of all. Here, though the throngs were not equal to those ever present among the displays of material industries and merely useful arts, the intellectual and ideal men and women of great races gathered from day to day, feasting their eyes upon the most magnificent products of the human genius.

Nearly opposite the building of Fine Arts, at the other entrance of the lagoon, was the great structure devoted to the display of electrical apparatus and phenomena. This exhibit was perhaps the most characteristic of all, in this, that it represented the scientific spirit of our age. No such display of the wonders of electricity, and of the machines and contrivances in which that mighty and all-pervading force has been made to show its sublime results was ever before possible—not even at the Paris Exposition of 1889; for even the quadrennium intervening had wrought wonders in the progress of the electrical arts. If the visitors to the Department of Fine Arts included the idealists, the dreamers and poets of the world, those who thronged the building in which the electrical display was made included the thinkers, inventors, and forerunners of mankind in all those arts that have force for their minister, and contrivance for their visible expression.

Over to the west was placed what was known as the Transportation Building. The fundamental idea in this great structure and in the display made therein was to exhibit in orderly succession the various stages of progress made by man in his means of locomotion and conveyance. The exhibits in this department were arranged in order of chronological development, showing each stage from the rudest contrivance of barbarians and savages to the most splendid and perfect means of transportation in our day—from the lumbering cart on land and the rude dugout on running stream to the magnificent train of parlor-cars and sleeping-coaches and the greatest steamships that plow the deep. The entrance or doorway to the Transportation Building, designed by the architect Sullivan, was one of the glories of the World's Columbian Exposition, being declared by many to be the most splendid entrance ever constructed by man.

Space fails in which to enumerate even the

leading edifices in which the great Exposition of the works of the human race was made. The exhibit of fish and fisheries was given in a building not far from the eastern annex of the Fine Arts Building. Here, in huge tanks, were arranged in scientific order, all the known species of fresh-water fishes, and all the more important variety of fishes from the sea. These might be seen, as in their native habitats, sporting and feeding and reproducing in the manner of nature. Here were sharks, dogfish, rays, skates, flounders, grenadiers, lampreys, lobsters, crabs, soles, starfish, and fresh-water creatures—everything from whales to infusoriæ.

The peaceful aspects and beautiful products of the natural world were displayed in the Horticultural Building, where were gathered nearly all the varieties of flowers and fruits growing on the earth. Here the visitor might study the varying products of the world, from the giant ferns of Australia to the hardy lichens of the Arctic coasts; from the bread-fruit of the tropics to the apples of Siberia; from the roses of Persia to the microscopic blossoms of the snow-cliffs of the Sierras.

Among the features of interest at the World's Columbian Exposition was the Midway Plaisance, lying between Jackson and Washington Parks. This celebrated place may be regarded as a sort of ethnological adjunct to the Exposition proper. It was a feature which, like all other things, had grown from small beginnings. The origin of it may be traced back as far as the Crystal Palace Exposition, at London, in 1851. The Plaisance was about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in width. It had the form of a broad street, or avenue, with the exhibits, or features, arranged on either side.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—ENTRANCE TO TRANSPORTATION BUILDING—THE SULLIVAN DOORWAY.
From a Photograph.

The shows here gathered were essentially racial—ethnological. Nearly all the half-civilized nations of the world had sent thither colonies of their people, bringing their architecture, rude arts, and customs with them. The historical element was not wanting; for many of the establishments represented former aspects of the social life and industries of mankind. Such was the Irish village, and such was the old German keep, or castle, with its narrow ways and surrounding moat and bridges. The Javanese village was one of many of its kind, showing, as if in object lesson, the natives of remote and insular regions in the same habits and surroundings as in their own country. Of this kind was the village of Samoans, and of similar order were the establishments of the Chinese, the Algerians, the Moors, and the Copts.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION. THE "STREET IN CAIRO," MIDWAY PLAISANCE. From a Photograph.

Oriental theaters were another feature of the Plaisance, in which the Western races were able to witness, as in the East, the dramatical plays and sensuous dances of the North African and West Asian peoples. The advantage of the things to be seen in the Plaisance, and of a knowledge of them to the historical and ethnical inquirer, was very great; but the vicious classes made these object lessons of the Orient to be no more than a gratification of the baser feelings and mere sensual curiosity.

Any sketch of the World's Columbian Exposition would be incomplete which did not mention, with some note of wonder and praise, the gigantic wheel erected in Jackson Park, from designs and plans formed by a young engineer of Illinois, named G. W. G. Ferris. This daring projector of the greatest revolving spectacle ever witnessed by man was a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y. Though only thirty-five years of age, he had distinguished himself as a builder of cantilever bridges. The Ferris wheel was little short of a miracle. It was made for the most part of steel. The materials were prepared at Detroit. The central shaft was forty-five feet in length, and thirty-two inches in diameter. This was raised to the gudgeons in which it revolved at a height of a hundred and forty feet. The circumference of the wheel was occupied with thirty-six passenger cars, hung in the outer rim, each car having a capacity of fifty passengers. The cars, in going over, rose to the height of 268 feet from the earth. The passengers in going over rose skyward until they might have looked down a distance of

fifty feet on the top of Bunker Hill monument, if that tremendous obelisk had stood near by. The building skill of Ferris in the construction of this monstrous contrivance was not only vindicated, but the enterprise itself proved to be popular and highly profitable to the management.

Connected with the World's Columbian Exposition were a number of notable congresses. The chief of these was the Congress of Religions, the sessions of which were held during the latter half of September. At this remarkable meeting were gathered representatives of nearly all the great religions and philosophies of mankind. Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucians, and Christians sat down together in amity, and discussed for many days the tenets of their respective faiths, and the points of excellence which each claimed for his own. It may be doubted, however, whether either the opinions or the practices of mankind were improved or modified by the gathering of religious leaders, each of whom must, in the nature of the case, spend his energies in converting instead of being converted.

It had been the purpose of the managers of the World's Columbian Exposition to close the same on the 30th of October. It was intended to make that day, if possible, the most glorious of all the days of the memorable summer. An elaborate program was prepared, and great preparations made for the closing exercises, when suddenly, on the 28th of the month, the city was plunged into consternation and grief by the assassination in his own house of Mayor Carter H. Harrison, to whose great abilities, persistency, and unwearied exertion not a little of the success of the World's Fair should be attributed. It had been his duty for fully six months to act as the representative of the city in its relation with distinguished foreign visitors, committees, delegations, and the like, and in all of these duties he had borne himself with distinguished ability and dignity. A lunatic, named Pendergast, conceived that the mayor should have appointed him to office, and under this hallucination gained entrance to the mayor's home, and shot him dead. The ceremonies that had been planned for the close of the Exposition were accordingly abandoned, and on the 30th of the month the October sun went down on the so-called "White City," over which funereal silence settled with the night.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—THE FERRIS WHEEL.

The great structures demanded for the accommodation of the World's Columbian Exposition cost approximately nineteen millions of dollars! Nor does it appear that the construction was other than economical. Nearly every edifice in Jackson Park was erected for the summer, and without respect to permanence. It would appear that in this particular the management was at fault. Perhaps it was not foreseen that the tremendous creations of the year could not be removed and destroyed without producing a

sentiment of regret, if not of actual pain, to the whole American people. It had been wiser that a considerable part of the buildings, at least, should be permanent. The managers of Jackson Park, however, had decreed otherwise. The foolish edict was, that the park should be restored, as nearly as possible, to its former condition—a thing virtually impossible.

After the Exposition, the demolition of the White City was undertaken. To the eye the work was as if the Goths and Vandals of ten ages had been loosed to do their will on the sublimest culture of the nineteenth century. While the work of tearing down and removing the great buildings was in progress, a fire broke out, which became first a conflagration, and afterward a tornado of flaming horror, the light of which might have been visible a hundred miles. The elements conspired at the last to reduce to gas and ashes the residue of that sublime aggregation of structure, the equal of which had not hitherto been seen by the sons of men.

To the nineteen million dollars expended for buildings was added the expenditure of about ten millions in other outlays. The total cost of the Exposition was reported at $30,558,849. The total receipts were $32,796,103. The result of an excess of receipts over expenditures might well be noted as the crowning marvel of the enterprise. Our wonder in this particular is heightened when we reflect that the premonitory swirl of the great financial panic of 1893–94 fell fatally on the country during the months of the Exposition. Moreover, the subdued fear of a cholera epidemic was among the people—a circumstance not to be overlooked when we reflect upon the exposure to which the city of Chicago was necessarily subjected in the summer of 1893. Notwithstanding all this, the Columbian Exposition went forward to a triumphant conclusion. Neither the great financial panic nor the fear of cholera was able to prevent the glorious consummation of the work and the congratulation of all the civilized peoples of the globe on the splendid results of the enterprise.

Before the close of the Columbian Exposition, the so-called Cherokee Strip, a fertile and attractive part of the Indian Territory, was opened for settlement to the whites. In accordance with the law of Congress, six million acres of desirable lands were offered for sale. The result showed that the passion for landownership and for settlement and colonization and the building up of States is not yet extinct in the American people. The date fixed for the sale of the lands was the 16th of September, 1893. There was a great rush for the new territory, and about one hundred thousand settlers suddenly threw themselves into it with a zeal of competition for homes that amounted almost to battle.

Meanwhile, the political life, as expressed in the legislative action of the Nation, dragged on through much contention. On the 30th of October, 1893, the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman Law was unconditionally repealed by Congress. This was the last of the series of acts which, beginning with the demonetization of silver, in 1873, and extending, with various revivals of the controversy, over a period of twenty years, finally resulted in at least the temporary establishment of the single gold standard of values in the United States instead of the standard according to the silver unit which was fixed at the foundation of the Government by the Statute of 1792.

The tariff legislation of this epoch, by unsettling values, contributed not a little to the overwhelming disaster of the times. Whether the tariff reform advocated by Cleveland and the Democratic party was or was not a thing wise to be undertaken, certain it is that values were, for the time, ruinously affected by the acts of the current Congress. The tariff legislation took form in a bill prepared by Representative William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, which, though not a measure of free trade and not a measure founded on the principle of a tariff for revenue only, nevertheless included as much of these two principles as the expediency of the hour would bear.

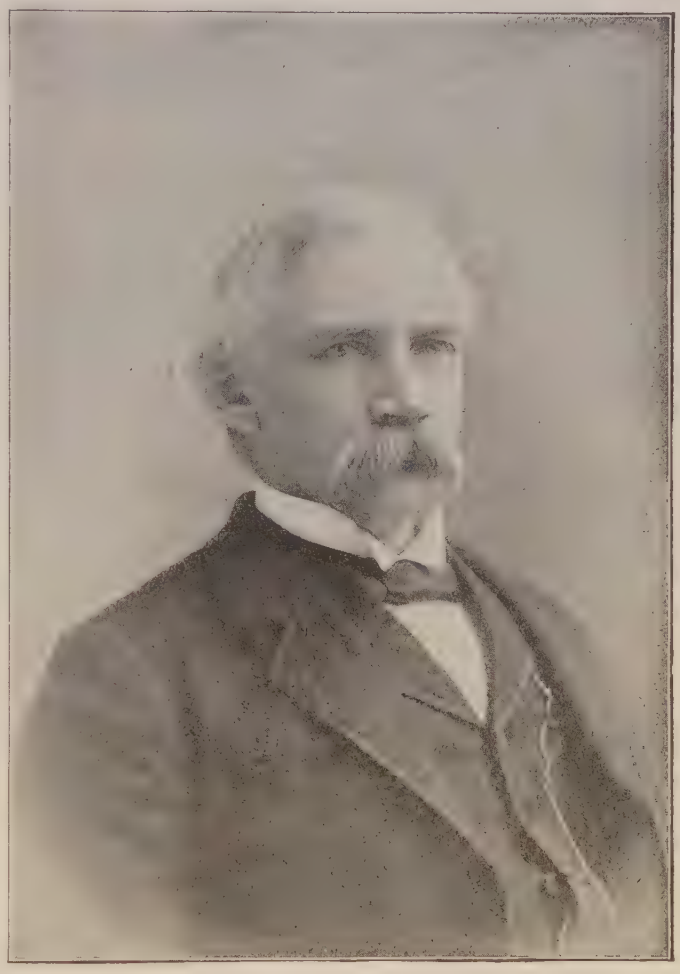
The Wilson Bill was passed by the House of Representatives, and transmitted to the Senate. In that body the monopolies had so

great an influence that a measure proposed by Senator Gorman, including a tariff on coal and iron, and a differential duty on refined sugar, was included in the Wilson Bill, and forced upon the reluctant House. Such was the odium created by this measure, which was adopted on the 13th of August, that the elections following hard after went overwhelmingly against the Democrats.

While this legislative work was in progress, the industrial depression and discontent and suffering of the people led to the most alarming consequences. Strikes and lockouts became the order of the day. Business failures resounded through the land like the falling of a forest. Commerce dwindled away. Presently, in the latter part of April, 1894, a hundred and thirty thousand miners in Pennsylvania and the Ohio valley stopped work, and were joined immediately afterward by fully twenty-five thousand others. Nearly all the coke-plants in Western Pennsylvania were closed. Meanwhile, the discontented and half-starved people began to show their desires and passions in a way never hitherto displayed in the United States.

Those who had been thrown out of employment began to combine, without knowing why, into what was known as the Army of the Commonweal. One such army, under the leadership of J. S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, marched on Washington City, to demand employment from the National Government. Another band came on from the far West, under the leadership of their so-called "General" Kelley. Railway cars were appropriated here and there by these complainants for transportation. Collisions occurred between divisions of the army and various bodies of troops.

On the 30th of May these men of the Commonweal made a demonstration on the steps of the Capitol at Washington. The authorities of the District, on the alert for some excuse, found the leaders of the army on the Capitol grounds on the grass, in a place forbidden. Coxey and Carl Browne were hereupon arrested for trespassing, and were convicted and imprisoned. During the whole summer of 1894, these strange movements of the discontented people continued at various places.



WILLIAM L. WILSON,
Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, Second Administration of Cleveland.

Meanwhile, riots broke out in the coke regions near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. On the 4th of April, 1894, six persons were killed there. Serious disturbances among the miners occurred in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, and Kansas. In many places the State militia was called out, and petty fights occurred. At Cripple Creek, in Colorado, a great riot took place, and prominent citizens were seized and held for some time as hostages.

Hard after this came a prodigious scandal in the politics of New York City. There a vile system had been established under the alleged auspices of the Tammany Society. There came at length a revolt of public sentiment. Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, a noted preacher of the metropolis, led a public crusade against the iniquitous government of the city. It transpired that the saloons and disorderly houses of New York had, in many instances, entered into corrupt combination with the police officials, paying them for the privilege of carrying on their vicious and unlawful pursuits without disturbance. Bribery and blackmail had spread through all the purlieus of the city.

It was under these conditions that the Senate of New York appointed a committee to investigate the shocking condition of the metropolis, and placed at the head Senator Lexow, whose name passed into the history of the day. The revelations made by the committee were astounding. A municipal election came on, and the Tammany Society was routed. A People's ticket was successful against the most powerful political organization in America, backed as it was by an average majority of sixty thousand votes. For the time, at least, a better state of affairs was brought about in the leading American city.

The fall elections of 1894 went overwhelmingly against the Democratic party. It were hard to say whether the triumph of that party only two years previously, or its disaster at the middle of the Cleveland administration, was greater. As a matter of fact, the election of Cleveland, in 1892, was not a great indorsement of the Democratic party. Neither was the overthrow of that party, two years afterward, a popular indorsement of the Republican party. Both of these great elections were in the nature of rebukes administered by a dissatisfied and ultimately independent people, first to one party, and then to another.

The beginning of the second administration of Cleveland was troubled with a complication relative to Hawaii. During the recent Republican ascendency in the Government, an American party had appeared among the Hawaiians, favoring the abolition of the native monarchy, the substitution of a republic therefor, and the ultimate annexation of the islands to the United States.

This policy had the support of the administration of Harrison. A Hawaiian insurrection broke out, and Queen Liliuokalani was dethroned. A treaty of annexation was prepared, and the movement for joining the islands to the United States was under full way when Cleveland came again into the Presidency. His policy differed from that of his predecessor. He sent an agent named Blount to Hawaii, to report on the political conditions there present, and the request was made that the proposed treaty of annexation be returned to the State Department at Washington.

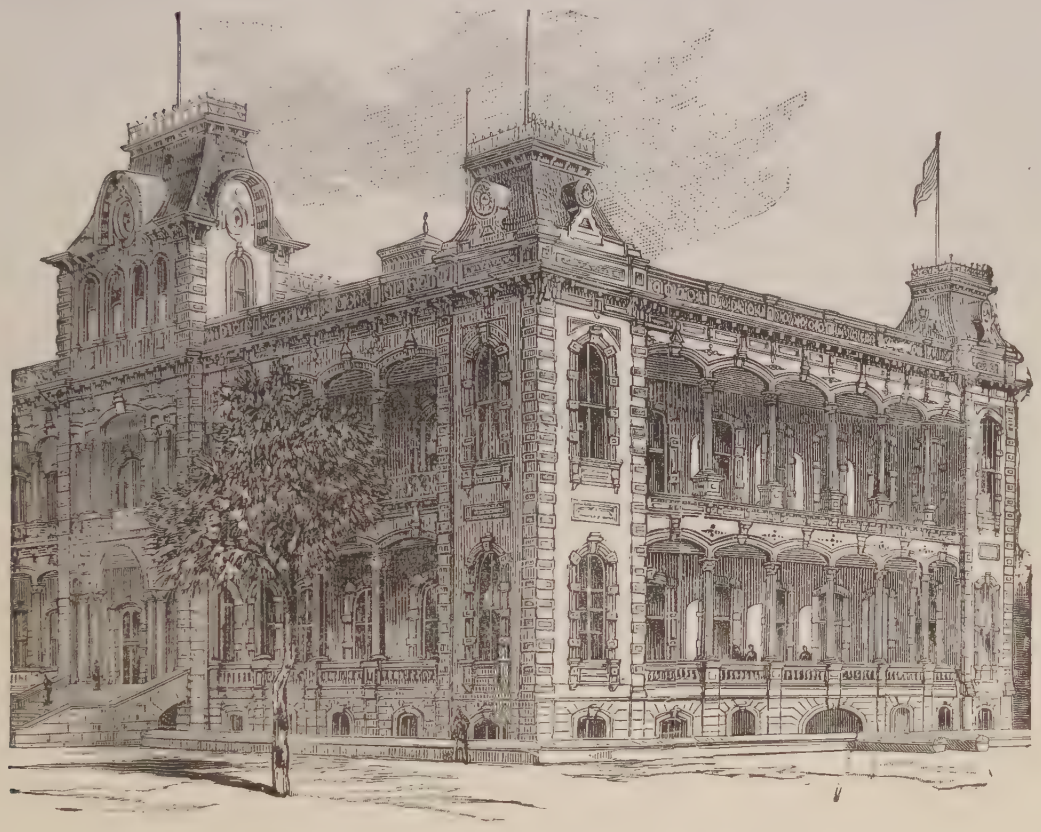
On the 14th of April, 1893, came the report of Blount, which was so adverse to the policy hitherto pursued by our Government that the President ordered a protectorate of the United States, which had been established over Hawaii, to be withdrawn. On the 27th of May, the American flag, which had been run up over the public buildings at Honolulu, and had briefly floated there, was pulled down, and the affairs of the island were remanded to native authority. For a time it appeared that the queen would be restored; but the Republican party had now become so strong that the insular monarchy could not be readily set up again. A republic was presently established by the Hawaiians, led by the Americans resident in the islands, and Mr. Dole, an American, was elected president.

To this period belongs also the important

arbitration between the United States and Great Britain relative to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. In that remote water a serious controversy had arisen between the vessels of the two nations, and acts of violence had taken place. The question was whether the jurisdiction of the United States, with the consequent exclusive right of American sealers to ply their vocation, extended out from the seal islands seaward to the deep waters of Behring Sea. Our Government was disposed to hold that the doctrine of *mare clausum*, or the "shut-up sea" held in this case, while Great Britain—turning from her ancient policy of the shut sea to the doctrine of *mare librum*, or "free sea"—now espoused the principle which the United States had previously maintained.

The ravages of the ships of both nations in the deep waters had already greatly reduced the seal product in Behring Sea, and threatened the extinction of the valuable industry. On the 29th of February, 1892, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the two powers, agreeing to refer the controversy to an International Board of Arbitration. The court thus provided convened on the 23d of March, at Paris, and it was agreed that a temporary understanding, called *modus vivendi*, regulating the conduct of the nations, should be extended to the 31st of October, 1893. The final result was a decision against the United States on the main question at issue; namely, that our Government could *not* extend its authority to open waters of the Behring Sea. An award of damages to the extent of $425,000 was also made against the United States.

The latter part of the year 1894 was still further troubled with alarming difficulties



THE ROYAL PALACE AT HONOLULU.—CAPITOL OF THE HAWAIIAN REPUBLIC.

between the employees and the proprietors of the great manufacturing establishments of the country. On the 17th of July, ten thousand workmen in the great textile manufactories of New Bedford, Mass., struck against a reduction of wages, and soon afterward no fewer than twenty-three thousand operatives at Fall River were locked out by the manafact that the principle for which the workmen contended was just, the public necessity of having the cars operated, and the combined powers of organization and wealth calling upon the authorities, municipal and military, of the city to put down the strikers and rioters, prevailed, and the strike was suppressed—not, however, until several seri-

SEAL COAST IN THE PRIBYLOFFS.—Island of St. Paul. From a Photograph.

This illustration, inserted to elucidate the Behring Sea Seal controversy, has an added interest since the publication by David Starr Jordan of his historical and scientific story "Matka and Kotik," of which the Pribyloffs are the scene.

gers. Then came the strike of the journeymen tailors of New York City, which was long continued, and disastrous alike to employers and employees. In the latter part of January, 1895, a dreadful strike occurred of the employees of the electrical street-car companies of Brooklyn. In this movement about twenty-five thousand men were involved. Notwithstanding the well-known ous conflicts, involving the loss of life and great distress to the people, had occurred.

In that epoch which we are now considering, one event of the most portentous character occurred. The coal strike practically ended on the 18th of June, 1894. The losses entailed upon the coal-mine owners and the operatives were estimated at twenty millions of dollars. On the 26th of June, just after-

ward, the American Railway Union, a powerful organization of operatives, declared a boycott against the Pullman Palace Car Company, having its offices and manufacturing establishments at the town of Pullman, near Chicago.

This boycott was proclaimed by the American Railway Union as an act of sympathy with the striking employees of the Pullman Company. The Company refused to submit to arbitration. Notwithstanding the enormous profits of the corporation, regularly declared on a capital which had been watered until it was more than twelve times as great as at first, the wages of the employees had been time and again reduced, and other oppressive measures had been taken, until the operatives were brought to the verge of desperation. When they struck against further oppression, the Railway Union declared the boycott against the cars, and immediately a tremendous array of power was exhibited on both sides of the controversy.

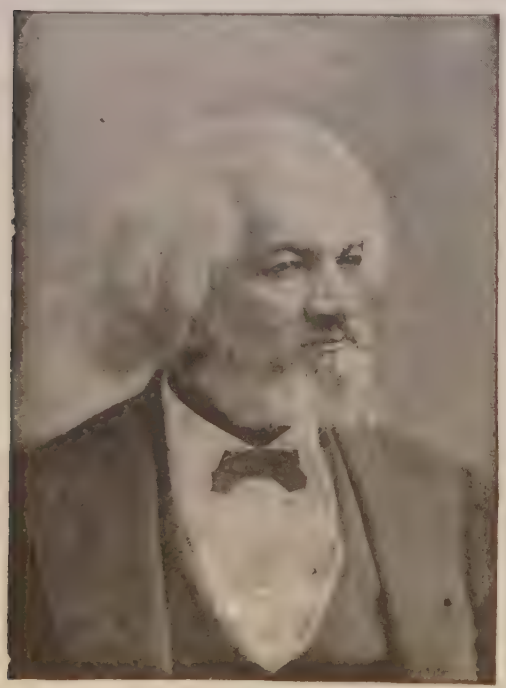
A great blockade of railway freight and of passenger trains on the roads centering in Chicago was established. The mails in some cases were delayed. The strike spread as far as San Francisco, and in two days traffic was practically suspended. The organic forces of society now rallied. On the 2d of July, the United States courts in Chicago issued sweeping injunctions against the strikers. Regular troops under command of General Miles were sent to the scene to suppress rioting. On the 6th of July a great riot occurred; many were killed, and two hundred and twenty-five cars were burned.

Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, and his fellow-officers were arrested on a factitious charge of contempt of court. President Cleveland issued a proclamation on the 8th of July, and ordered a division of the standing army to suppress the riots in California. Gradually the strikers in Chicago were put down, and by the 15th of the month the movement was suppressed. Soon afterward a commission, headed by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, was appointed by the President of the United States to investigate the origin, character, and results of the strike. By this commission the true nature of the event was discovered and established. The report showed that the whole blame for the disaster rested upon the Pullman Company, and that the strikers, except in a very few desultory instances, had not been guilty of either breaking the law or doing other violence to society. In course of a few months, Debs

HONORABLE CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Commissioner of Labor for the United States.

and his fellow-officers of the American Railway Union were brought to trial for the alleged contempt of court, in not answering a summons thereof; and for this they were convicted and sent to prison.

During the administration of Harrison and the second administration of Cleveland, a number of prominent Americans passed away by death. On the 16th of November, 1893, Ex-President James McCosh, of Princeton College, died, at the age of eighty-three. On



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

the 13th of the following April, David Dudley Field, of New York, one of the most distinguished jurists of the United States, expired, at the advanced age of eighty nine. On the following day, Senator Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, passed away, aged sixty-four; and at nearly the same hour, General Henry W. Slocum, who had reached his sixty-seventh year, died in Brooklyn. On the 7th of June, Dr. William Dwight Whitney, the greatest philologist of our country, passed away, at the age of sixty-seven.

On the 20th of February, 1895, the distinguished Frederick Douglass died at his home in Washington. He had long been recognized as the leading African of the world. Since the days of Toussaint l'Ouverture, no man of black visage in any part of the world had been the peer of Frederick Douglass. At the time of his death he had entered his seventy-ninth year. It would appear that although white blood mingled with the Nigritian in his veins, he was nevertheless a true African. His attainments were remarkable. His patriotism was as conspicuous as his humanity. Born a slave, he had lived to become one of the greatest leaders of his epoch. Having on his shoulders the cruel marks of the driver's lash, he had in his brain, none the less, the visions of the dawn, and in his soul all the music of the song-birds of freedom.

The work of transforming Territories into States of the Union was continued during the second administration of Cleveland. In the early summer of 1894 an act was passed to enable Utah to become a State, and this act was signed by President Cleveland on the 17th of July. A constitution was prepared and voted on by the people. This being found to accord with the Constitution of the United States, and to comply with the provisions of the Edmunds Law, that State, after remaining for forty years in the Territorial condition, was formally admitted into the Union on the 6th of January, 1895.

In the last quarter of the century, the progress of civilization into the great Northwest, and perhaps some changes of climate in that region, have brought the disastrous accompanying circumstance of the destruction of great forests by fire. On several occasions, in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, these fires have broken out, spreading from neighborhood to neighborhood, and from county to county, devastating the country for many square miles, and leaving nothing behind but earth and ashes.

On the 10th of September, 1894, one such fire broke out in Northern Michigan, and raged for about a week. For two or three days the conflagration was appalling. The forests were swept down like fields of stubble. Similar fires occurred in Wisconsin and parts

of Minnesota. In the last-named State the towns of Hinckley and Mission Creek were utterly destroyed. So sudden and dreadful was the visitation that in these two towns alone, three hundred and fifty persons perished in the flames. In the various neighborhoods that were ruined by these conflagrations, it was estimated that from 1,200 to 1,500 lives were lost. The destruction of property was quite incalculable.

On the third of December in this year, the last session of the Fifty-third Congress began. In his message, President Cleveland recommended the increase of the American army to its full legal strength of 25,000 men. He also indorsed the project for building additional battleships and torpedo boats, thus following the line of policy laid down nearly twenty years previously by Samuel J. Tilden. It was one of the peculiarities of public opinion, at this time, that it seemed to fall back upon the notion of making strong the Republic by increasing its military power—this in the face of the well-known fact that such preparations are a sign of decadence rather than of strength.

The President also urged such modifications in the tariff schedule as would transfer coal and iron to the free list, and would remove the so-called differential duties from refined sugar. He also recommended the increase of the gold reserve in the treasury by the issuance of gold-bearing bonds. The enormous expenditures which had been made by the Fifty-second Congress, and also by the Fifty-third, had threatened with depletion the gold reserve, which was kept without warrant of law in the Treasury of the United States.

In accordance with this policy, the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 20th of February, 1895, issued $62,500,000 in thirty-year bonds at four per cent. These were taken by a syndicate of New York bankers, who secured the bonds at the rate of about four and one-half per cent. above par, and succeeded in selling them at about twelve and one quarter per cent. above par. The loss to the Government from this nefarious transaction was very great; but it was only the beginning of the process by which the bonded debt of the United States was, in the period which we are here considering, increased by $262,000,000—this in a time of profound peace, and at a period when the people of the Nation were anxiously concerned to have the national debt *extinguished*, rather than *augmented* and *perpetuated*.

JOHN G. CARLISLE,
Secretary of the Treasury, Second Administration of Cleveland.

On the 4th of March, the Fifty-third Con-

gress came to an end. The appropriations for the second session amounted to more than half a billion dollars. The principal things which had been accomplished by the body were—first, the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Silver Law; secondly, the amendment of the McKinley Tariff Bill by the substitution therefor of the Wilson-Gorman Bill, which included a tax of two per cent. on the excess of incomes above $4,000 annually; thirdly, the restoration of the duties on sugar, with a bounty of five millions to the sugar-growers. Negatively, this Congress refused to pay the sum awarded by the arbitration of Paris in favor of the British North American sealers—though the Secretary of State had agreed to the award, and though the agreement had received the indorsement of the administration.

It was in the spring of this year that those difficulties, long pending in the island of Cuba with the provincial government of Spain, came to a crisis. On the 8th of March the American merchant steamer *Alliance* was fired on off the east coast of Cuba by the Spanish cruiser *Conde de Venadido*. An insurrection gathered head in the island, and the patriots, who were the insurgents, found great leaders in José Marti, Calixto Garcia, Maximo Gomez, and Antonio Maceo.

Spain, for her part, sent additional troops to Cuba, and the local government was assigned to the Provincial Governor-General, Valeriano Weyler, between whose administration and the Cubans the utmost animosity began to prevail.

The insurrection assumed revolutionary proportions, and for the ensuing two years a cruel provincial war was waged between the Cubans and their Spanish oppressors. Late in 1896, General Maceo was killed in an ambush, and the Cuban cause seemed about to perish with him; but the sympathy of the United States, the secret aid given to the Cubans, and their own spirit in contending with their oppressors, led to a continuance of the struggle.

For a long time there had been premonitions of serious trouble between our country and the Spanish kingdom. He who ran might read the portent of a coming outbreak, and with closer attention he might read the inevitable result of a war between the two nations.

As far back as 1873, just after the second inauguration of General Grant as President of the United States, an incident had fallen out which for the time seriously threatened hostilities. In that year there was a Cuban insurrection, and an American vessel called the *Virginius*, plying in West Indian waters, and engaged, we do not doubt, in supplying or attempting to supply the Cuban insurgents with the means of prolonging the rebellion, was seized as a filibuster by the Spaniards, and was taken for condemnation into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. There the captain of the vessel, many of the crew, and several other persons connected with the business were condemned and put to death.

The whole affair resembled the fiasco of William Walker in Nicaragua, in 1860. But the execution of citizens of the United States, even when caught in unlawful acts in a neighboring island, was not calmly brooked by the American authorities, and great excitement followed. The Spanish Government, however, acknowledged the haste of its Cuban subordinates, made apologies, and concluded the affair by the payment of large indemnities to the representatives of those who had suffered in Santiago. Other events succeeded at intervals, well calculated to inflame the passions of both Americans and Spaniards. The morbid condition continued without relief until the summer of 1895, when, on the 12th of June, President Cleveland issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the United States to aid the Cuban insurgents; but the proclamation was little regarded.

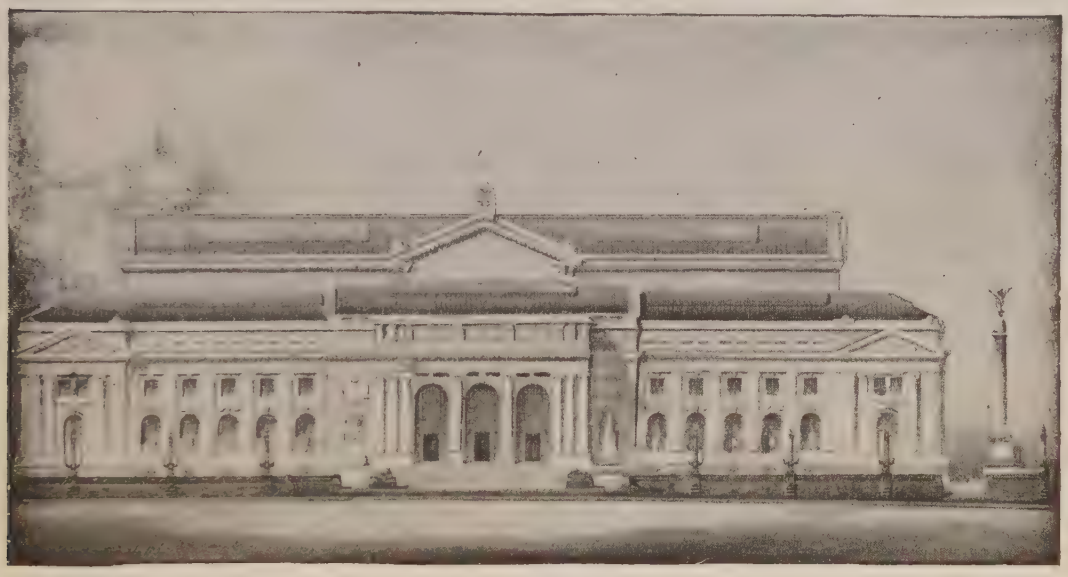
Meanwhile the political affairs of Central America tended to a complete transformation of the isolated States of that region into a Central Republic. A difficulty arose between the Nicaraguans and Great Britain. The proconsul of the latter power, representing the British Government at Bluefields, was illegally expelled from his place, and for this Great Britain demanded reparation, including an indemnity of $77,500. This demand being refused by the Nicaraguans, a body of

English marines seized the custom-house at Corinto, and held it with a threat of further retaliation.

At this juncture, the Government of San Salvador offered to mediate, and the offer, being re-enforced with a guarantee of the payment of the indemnity, Great Britain relinquished the custom-house, and things went well again.

It has been mentioned above that, as a part of the work of the Fifty-third Congress, a tax of two per cent. was laid on incomes amounting to more than $4,000 annually; that is, the *excess* of incomes over $4,000 was to be taxed at the rate of two per cent. This law, if it had become effective, would have greatly increased the revenues of the Government by compelling the rich to pay a reasonable proportion of the taxes of the people. But wealth does not readily assent to be taxed. A strong combination was made against the law, and a suit to test its validity was instituted and carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Before the judges of that tribunal the cause was argued with the greatest ability and persistency. At length a decision was rendered, upholding a *part* of the law and condemning the remainder; some clauses thereof were said to be constitutional and the others unconstitutional; but before this decision was fairly and fully promulgated, the court reversed its own decision and declared the whole income-tax law to be unconstitutional! This was accomplished by the vote of a single justice, who changed from the affirmative to the negative side of the question, thus making a vote of five to four against the law—being a majority of one. The result was disappointing to the great mass of the people of the United States; and the disappointment found expression, as we shall see, in the platform of one of the leading parties in 1896.



PROPOSED NEW PUBLIC LIBRARY OF NEW YORK.

Several matters may be mentioned incidentally at this period that may be properly regarded as historical. One of these was the combination of the Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Libraries in New York City. For a long time the first two of these had existed as separate institutions. Samuel J. Tilden, near the end of his life, provided in his will for the institution of a new library in the city to bear his name; but the will of the great lawyer was assailed by some of the collateral heirs, and was set aside as invalid. The

heirs, however, agreed that a considerable portion of the money bequeathed for that purpose should be given to the project which Mr. Tilden desired to promote.

This circumstance led to the combination of the three libraries under one management. A great library building had already been erected on Fifth Avenue, looking into Central Park. This building was intended, first, for the Lenox Library; but the new scheme contemplated the establishment therein of the Tilden Library as well, and of the removal thereto of the Astor Library from its old station in Lafayette Place. Afterwards, however, these plans were changed, and preliminary arrangements were made to secure for a new building the old reservoir double-block at Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue. Thus the city of New York secured a Public Library of fully 300,000 volumes, with property estimated at about eight million dollars. The final arrangement for this was effected on the 2d of March, 1895.

Another incident was the opening of the Harlem Ship Canal, by which the Hudson River and the East River and Long Island Sound were connected with a channel sufficiently wide and deep for the passing of ships. The visitor to the scene of this great internal improvement can but be struck with the immense possibilities that are provided by nature and man for the future of Manhattan Island.

So far as human foresight can discern, the island, bearing the city of New York, must be destined to hold a conspicuous place in the civilization of many centuries to come. Provision was now made for the passage of ships of large burden entirely around Manhattan by way of the Hudson (or North) River, through the canal and the Harlem River, into East River, and thence into the harbor again. Fancy and patriotism can easily foresee a time when all this vast extent of much more than forty miles of shore will be occupied throughout with stone-walled and stone-paved docks and slips immutable as the ages; more elegant and commodious even than those of the Mersey, into which the ships of all nations shall go, and there be anchored in safety to the shore of what was once a forbidding and desolate island, which was sold by the Indians to the Whites for $20! Such is the work of man on his way from barbarism to civilization and power.

The by-elections, which were held during the year 1895, resulted generally in favor of the Republican party. The country had now been suffering for more than two years from the effects of a disastrous financial panic, from the lack of money for the prosecution of enterprises, from low prices, and, indeed, from almost every economic hardship. These things were charged up to the administration of Cleveland, which became more and more unpopular as time went by. The results of the November elections this year greatly encouraged the Republicans. They were able to claim victories in New York, New Jersey, Iowa, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and even in Maryland and Kentucky. It was at this juncture that the first general election was held in the State of Utah, and this also resulted in a Republican victory; though Republicanism in that region meant the free coinage of silver, together with the reinstitution of protective duties—this against the sentiment of the Republicans in the commercial centers of the East.

When the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress convened on the 2d of December, 1895, the President in his message recommended several financial measures which, on the whole, were calculated to continue and intensify, rather than break, the strain and hardship of the country. He would have the treasury notes issued by the Government, years ago, and long used as currency, to be retired by means of an issue of bonds bearing interest at a low rate. He would also have the tax on the National Banks reduced to a nominal rate—this in the hope of stimulating those institutions to a greater liberality toward their customers and the people at large.

On the 17th of the month the President sent a special message to Congress, calling attention to the fact that the British Government had refused to submit to arbitration

OPENING OF THE HARLEM SHIP CANAL.—Passing Kingsbridge.—From a Photograph.

her dispute with Venezuela relative to the so-called Schomburgk line, which was claimed by Great Britain as the boundary of her possessions in that country. This claim, if admitted, would include many of the Venezuelan gold-fields with the British possessions.

It was the policy of Great Britain at this time—or at least of her subjects—to get possession of nearly all the gold-mines of the world, with a view to putting herself in a position where she might sell her gold to all those nations using that metal as a basis of their currency. In following this policy of fastening the gold corner with immovable anchors, she thought to secure from Venezuela the largest possible extent of territory. The United States hereupon interfered and proposed arbitration. This was refused, and the President referred the matter to Congress. There seemed to impend an international crisis; but the Government of Great Britain, on the urgent representations of the United States, finally acceded to the propriety and right of arbitration as the means of settling the dispute.

A commission was accordingly constituted, and the President appointed Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court; Robert H. Alvey, Chief-Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D White, Ex-President of Cornell University; Hon. Frederick R. Coudert; and President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, to act as a Commission on the part of the United States in determining the Venezuelan boundary; that is, in determining from the historical antecedents what the boundary justly is. In order to promote this work, the two Houses of Congress appropriated $100,000 for the expenses of the Commission while prosecuting the investigation.

ON THE COAST OF VENEZUELA.—Port of La Guayra. From a Photograph.

The first public event of the year 1896

was the additional sale of one hundred millions of thirty-year Government bonds, which was said to be necessary "in order to protect the gold reserve in the treasury." There had been accumulated, at this time, a vast amount of idle, uninvested funds in the banks in the money centers, and these funds sought investment. Enterprises had failed in all parts of the country, and money no longer offered itself to legitimate manufacturing or commercial investments. The industries of the country were at a stand-still, and the necessity existed—according to the policy of the great financiers and bankers—to get their accumulated funds into *some* form of investment. The National bond was the form selected, and the treasury of the United States, acting in conjunction with the powerful money interest of the metropolis, and under the ostensible motive of replenishing the gold reserve, which had been seriously reduced by the exportation of gold coin, ordered the sale of another one hundred millions of four-per-cent. bonds. This sum was a part of the total two hundred and sixty-two millions referred to in a preceding paragraph.

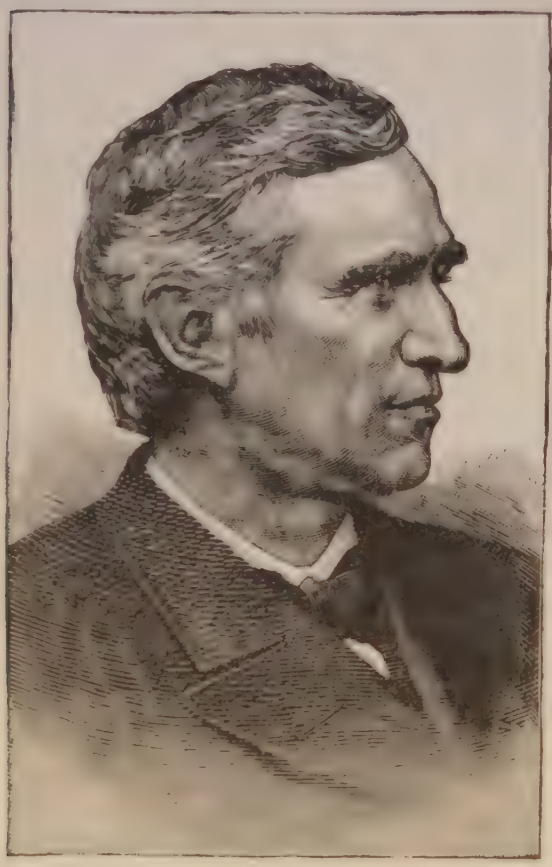
On the 25th of February, 1896, an incident occurred in the harbor of New York which was of an exciting and dangerous character. Officers of our Government boarded a British steamship called the *Bermuda*, which was manifestly fitting out for a filibustering expedition to Cuba. In doing so, the vessel was using an American harbor for an unlawful purpose. She was accordingly boarded and seized, together with a large amount of munitions of war already collected in her hold. The work had been accomplished under the direction of General Calixto Garcia, who was the promoter of the proposed expedition. He was arrested by the officers of the United States, but was subsequently released. On the 15th of March he succeeded in sailing from the harbor of New York with the *Bermuda*, which had again been well supplied with munitions of war, and in reaching the Cuban insurgents without serious difficulty—a thing that could hardly have been accomplished but for the secret friendship of the United States for the patriots of Cuba.

Three days after the incident here referred to, the Senate of the United States passed resolutions, offering the recognition by our Government of the Cuban insurgents to the extent of their rights as belligerents. Similar resolutions were carried in the House. The effect of this action was to arouse profound indignation in Spain. In that country, hostile demonstrations were made against the United States, and it was with difficulty that the Spanish Government could protect the American consulates from the violence of the angry mobs. So great was the excitement in Spain that the universities had to be closed in order to prevent the violence of rioting students.

While the people of the United States continued to suffer the most severe financial disasters and industrial hardships, and while a large part of the people attributed this condition to the attempt which had been made in the treasury management of the United States to introduce and confirm the English system of money, the American ambassador at the Court of St. James, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, following the policy of the administration which he represented, sought to promote good-fellowship with the British nation—this to the extent of arousing strong opposition at home. The House of Representatives passed resolutions of censure, on the 20th of March, 1896, against Ambassador Bayard, condemning him for utterances which he had given in speeches made at Edinburgh, Scotland, and at Boston, England; but the resolutions were of small effect in checking the tendency of the times.

In April of this year occurred an international episode of considerable interest. Some idealist had proposed that the ancient Olympian games of the Greeks be revived, and that representatives of the European and American nations should repair to Athens to participate in the celebration of the 766th Olympiad. The project excited the imaginations of many peoples, and athletes from several countries in Europe and America repaired to the scene of the contest. The

games were celebrated in the ancient classical manner. One of the principal features was racing. It remained for the year 1896 of our era to witness the repetition of the old foot-race made from the field of Marathon to the Acropolis in Athens. The race was won by an American! Indeed, our Americans showed themselves to great advantage in these games. Eleven of the so-called "points" of excellence were awarded to American athletes. The Greeks themselves won ten points; the Germans, seven; the French, five; the English, three; the Hungarians, two; the Australians, two; the Danes, one; and the Swiss, one.[1]



THOMAS F. BAYARD.

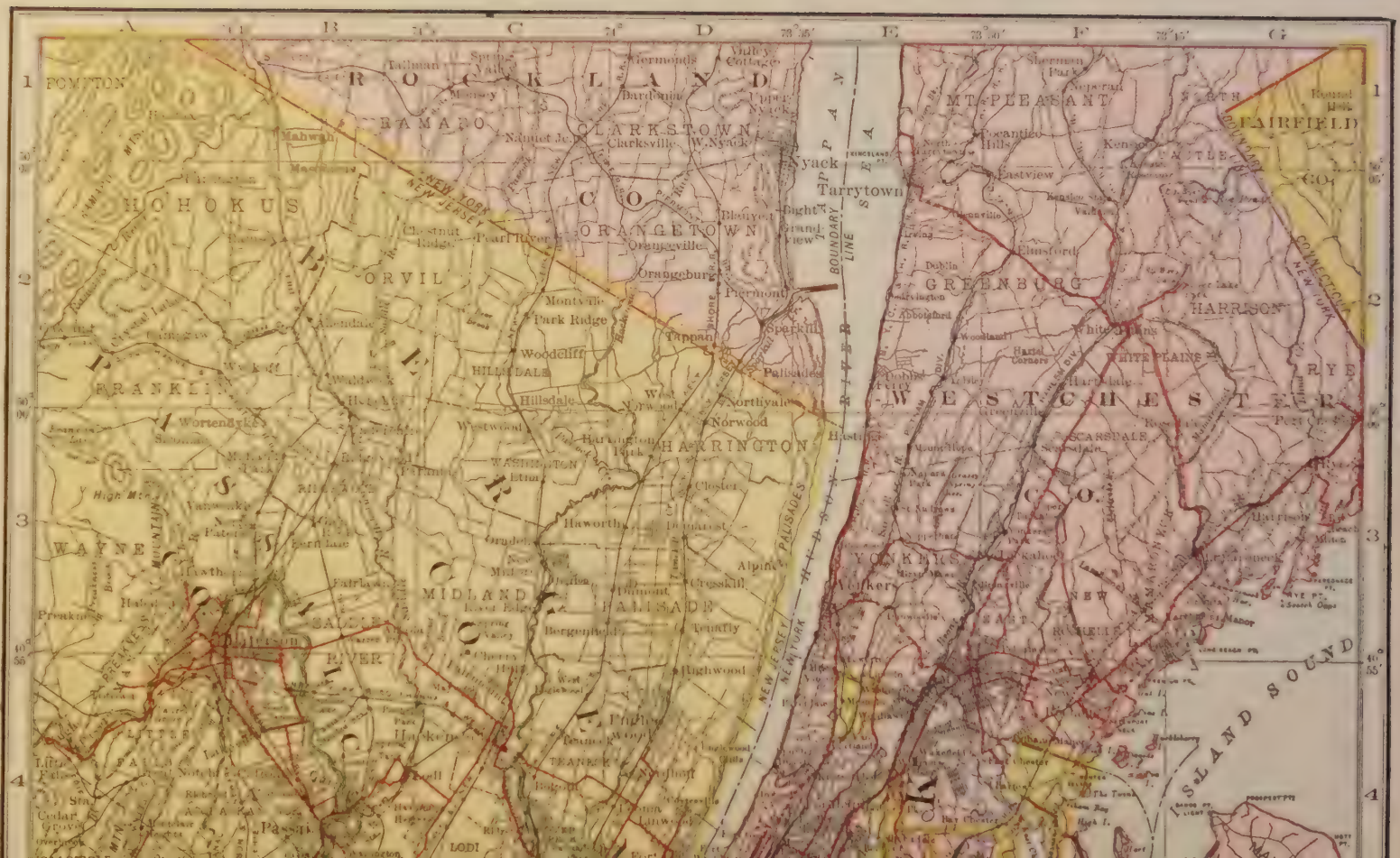
Ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, Second Administration of Cleveland.

One favorable fact must be recorded with respect to the second administration of Cleveland, and that was the placing of fully 30,000 employees of the National Government under the Civil Service rules. This was the largest practical movement ever made in the direction of a general reform of the Civil Service in the United States. The sincerity of Mr. Cleveland in promoting this great work, which had been begun nominally as far back as the administration of Grant, can not be doubted; and this fact will probably remain as the principal thing to be commended in his administrative policies.

On the 11th of May, 1896, Governor Levi P. Morton, of New York, signed the bill for the institution of what, in the phraseology of the times, is called "the Greater New York." The policy of enlarging cities so as to include much and exclude little had already been begun in Chicago. About fifteen years previously that city had widened her borders until she had become of greater territorial extent than any other city in the world. Her Halsted Street, straight as an arrow, had been extended within the corporate limits to the unparalleled length of twenty-eight miles! The project of a like enlargement was agitated in New York, and the sentiment in favor thereof grew till at length it prevailed, and "Greater New York" became a fact. By this means, Long Island City, as well as Brooklyn, and all of Richmond County, with many surrounding cities and suburbs, was included under a single municipal government, thus advancing New York to the second rank among the cities of the world. Only London remained at the close of the century superior in population and resources to the American metropolis.

Meanwhile the political condition of the United States had become distracted to a greater degree than had been known since 1856. The Republican National Convention was called to meet at St. Louis on the 18th of June. It was with the greatest difficulty that the body could be held together in tolerable solidarity until a nomination of

[1] For illustration of the Greek games see 292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WESTCHESTER CO.
BERGEN CO.
PASSAIC CO.
HUDSON CO.
PUTNAM CO.
FAIRFIELD CO.
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
CONNECTICUT
BOUNDARY LINE
HUDSON RIVER
NEW JERSEY PALISADES
ISLAND SOUND
PONTON
RAMAPO
CLARKSTOWN
HOHOKUS
ORVIL
FRANKLIN
WAYNE
MIDLAND
HALLSADE
HARRINGTON
ORANGETOWN
MT. PLEASANT
GREENBURG
HARRISON
RYE
YONKERS
NEW ROCHELLE
Nyack
Tarrytown
Piermont
Sparkill
Pearl River
Orangeburg
Park Ridge
Woodcliff
Hillsdale
Northvale
Norwood
Haworth
Closter
Alpine
Cresskill
Englewood
Tenafly
Hackensack
Passaic
Paterson
Wortendyke
Mahwah
Ramapo
Suffern
Sloatsburg
Tappan
Irvington
Dobbs Ferry
Hastings
Scarsdale
White Plains
Greenburg
Fairfield
Bridgeport
Port Chester
Rye
Mamaroneck
Larchmont
Pelham
Mount Vernon
New Rochelle
Eastview
Elmsford
Dublin
Woodland
Hartsdale
Greenville
Yonkers
Saw Mill River
Bronx River
Hutchinson River
Croton River
Pocantico Hills
Sherman Park
Valley Cottage
Upper Nyack
Bardonia
Clarksville
W. Nyack
Blauvelt
Grand View
Palisades
Hillsdale
Westwood
Hackensack
Lodi
Saddle River
Ramapo Mountains
Preakness
Totowa
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Fair Lawn
Garfield
Passaic River
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Pequannock River
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Midland Park
Ridgewood
Glen Rock
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Totowa
Little Falls
Cedar Grove
Verona
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Bloomfield
Nutley
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Jersey City
Hoboken
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Union City
West New York
Guttenberg
North Bergen
Secaucus
Carlstadt
Rutherford
East Rutherford
Lyndhurst
Wood-Ridge
Teterboro
Moonachie
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Ridgefield Park
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Fort Lee
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Oradell
New Milford
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Harrington Park
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New Rochelle
Pelham
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Port Chester
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Mamaroneck
Larchmont
Harbor Island
Glen Island
Hunter Island
Pine Island
Davenport Neck
Premium Point
Huckleberry Island
Execution Rocks
Sands Point
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Good Pt.
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Rye Pt.
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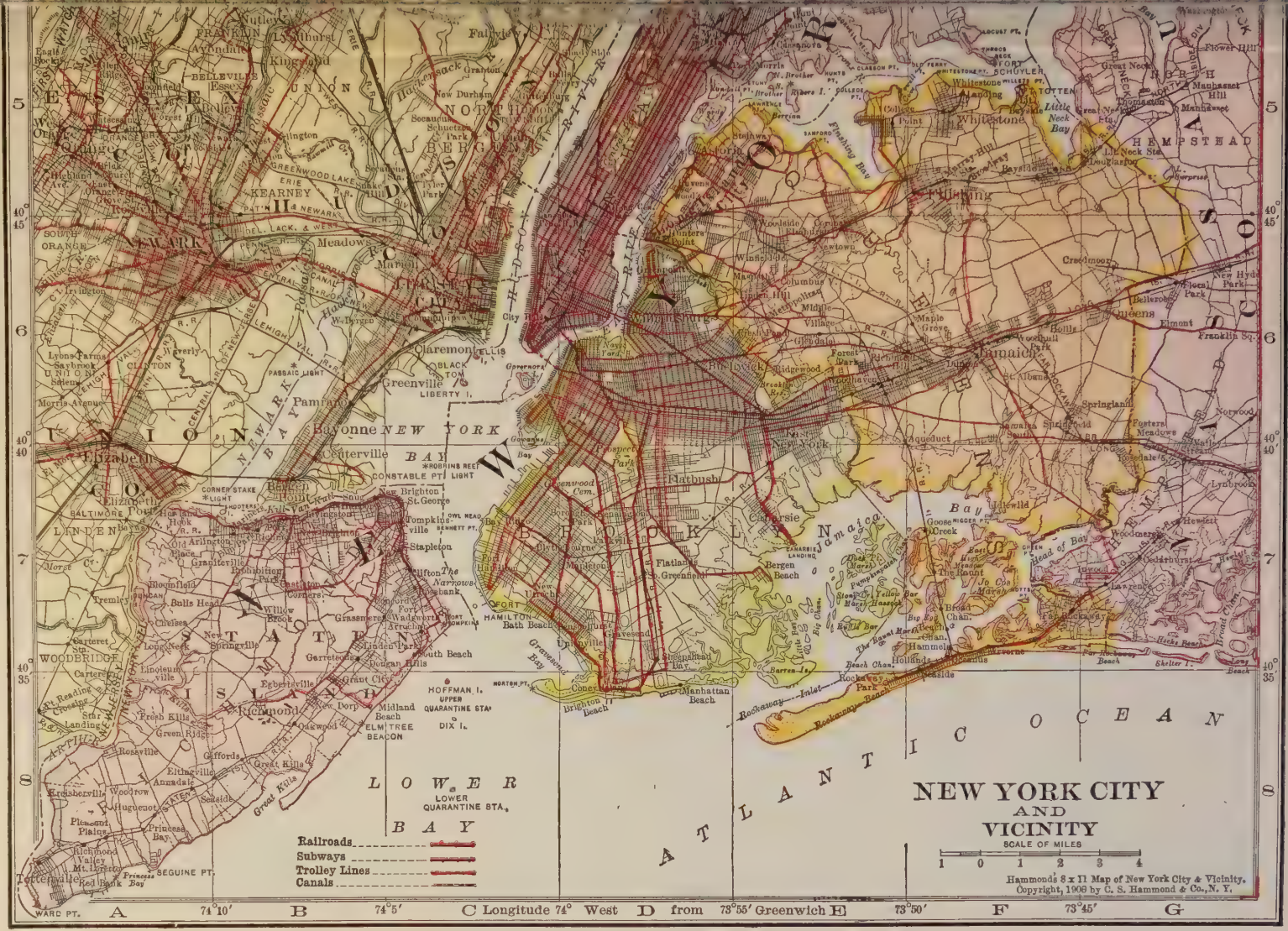
NEW YORK CITY
AND
VICINITY
SCALE OF MILES
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Railroads
Subways
Trolley Lines
Canals
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW YORK BAY
LOWER BAY
UPPER BAY
HUDSON RIVER
EAST RIVER
NEWARK BAY
JERSEY CITY
HOBOKEN
BROOKLYN
QUEENS
RICHMOND
NEWARK
ELIZABETH
BAYONNE
STATEN ISLAND
LONG ISLAND
Hammonds 8 x 11 Map of New York City & Vicinity.
Copyright, 1906 by C. S. Hammond & Co., N. Y.
A 74°10′ B 74°5′ C Longitude 74° West D from 73°55′ Greenwich E 73°50′ F 73°45′ G

candidates could be made. A considerable party, under the leadership of Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, and Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada, withdrew from the Convention hall; but the principal body remained intact, and William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated for President of the United States. For Vice-President, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated. The Republican platform declared for the maintenance of the gold standard of values, and at the same time for bimetallism by international agreement; for the re-establishment of a protective tariff; for the control of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States; for the ownership of the Nicaraguan Canal by our Government; for an increase of the army and the navy; for the purchase of the Danish Islands in the West Indies to be used as a coaling station; for the protection of American citizens in Armenia and Turkey; for the development of reciprocity in trade with the Central and South American Republics; for the admission to Statehood of the Territories; for the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to adjust the disputes between capital and labor.

On the 7th of July, the Democratic National Convention was called at Chicago. This body, also, was threatened with disruption. The one vital issue before the Convention was the question of the restoration of the silver coinage to the position which it held before the act of 1873. The sentiment in favor of the free coinage of silver was overwhelmingly predominant in the Democratic Convention; but the opposite opinion was stubbornly upheld by the minority, under the leadership of Senator David B. Hill, of New York.

As champion of the free silver cause at length appeared in the Convention, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who, in a brilliant speech, carried the Convention with overwhelming enthusiasm to the standard of free silver. He was then himself nominated for the Presidency.

LOWER SECTION OF GREATER NEW YORK.—VIEW OF THE CITY FROM THE HUDSON.—From a Photograph.

For the Vice-Presidency, the nomination was given to Arthur Sewall, of Maine. The platform declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; for a tax on incomes; for a repeal of the protective tariff laws; for the prohibition of immigration in competition with American labor; for an increase in the powers of the Inter-state Commerce Commission, etc. The Convention also uttered a severe criticism on the Supreme Court, relative to the abrogation of the income tax, and on the National banking system of the United States. Rotation in office was favored, as was also the early admission of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Candidate of the Democratic Party for President, 1896–1900.

The National Convention of the Populist party was held in St. Louis on the 22d of June. By this body the Democratic nomination of William Jennings Bryan, for the Presidency, was indorsed, and for Vice-President, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated. The platform declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; for the ownership by government of the railway and telegraph lines of the United States; for free homes to settlers; for a tax on incomes; for postal savings banks; for an increase in the volume of currency. The Convention denounced the issuance of National bonds; declared in favor of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum; and insisted on the immediate foreclosure of the liens held by the Government of the United States on the Pacific railways. All three of the leading Conventions declared the sympathy of the American people for the patriots of Cuba.

On the 2d of September, 1896, a wing of the Democratic party, calling itself "the *National* Democratic party," convened in the city of Indianapolis, and went through the form of nominating for the Presidency, Ex-Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The principal item in the platform was the declaration for the establishment and perpetuation of the gold standard of values. It also declared for a tariff for revenue only. The members of this Convention issued mostly from the capitalistic centers of the country, and came together for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the election of the regular Democratic candidates. As was afterwards

shown, the movement was more in sympathy with Republican policies than Democratic, as expressed in the Chicago platform; and it was sustained throughout the campaign for the purpose of affording Democrats who were opposed to the vital principles of that instrument an opportunity to express their dissent.

The result of the election was in favor of the Republicans. McKinley and Hobart were chosen by a popular majority of 601,854. The vote of the Republican candidates showed a majority *over all* of 286,452. The electoral vote was, for William McKinley, 271; for William Jennings Bryan, 176. This result had been proclaimed in advance, as a fact from which a revival of prosperity was to come to the American people; and the predicted revival did follow the close of the campaign. The Democrats, however, pointed to the established fact that similar recuperations had invariably succeeded every commercial panic.

In the meantime—that is, in the summer of 1896—a wave of interest passed over the Nation, originating in the Far North. Another Polar expedition was added to the long list of those that had preceded it. The Norwegian explorer, Fridtjof Nansen, conducting an Arctic expedition, arrived at Värdo, Norway, on the 13th of August, with the announcement that he had succeeded in reaching a higher latitude than ever before attained by man. His farthest point towards the Polar spot was registered as 86° 14′ N.

Nansen had prosecuted his voyage in the belief that a constant current flows from the Siberian sea into that of Greenland. He had noted the driftwood on the coast of Greenland, and had found traces in the ice-masses and mud and dust of that region leading him to believe that these vestigia are of Siberian origin. Acting on this belief, he constructed a vessel able to withstand the impact of ice, and undertook to float with the ice-pack from the new Siberian Islands to Spitzbergen. The explorer was endowed, to the extent of $100,000, by the Norwegian

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

President of the United States, 1897-1905.

Storthing and by private contributions. His ship was called the *Fram*.

Nansen departed on his voyage on the 24th of June, 1893. The explorer ascertained, for the first time, the correct outline of the Siberian coast. It was in 78° 50′ N. that the *Fram* was anchored to an iceberg. This was 133° 34′ east longitude. For six weeks the

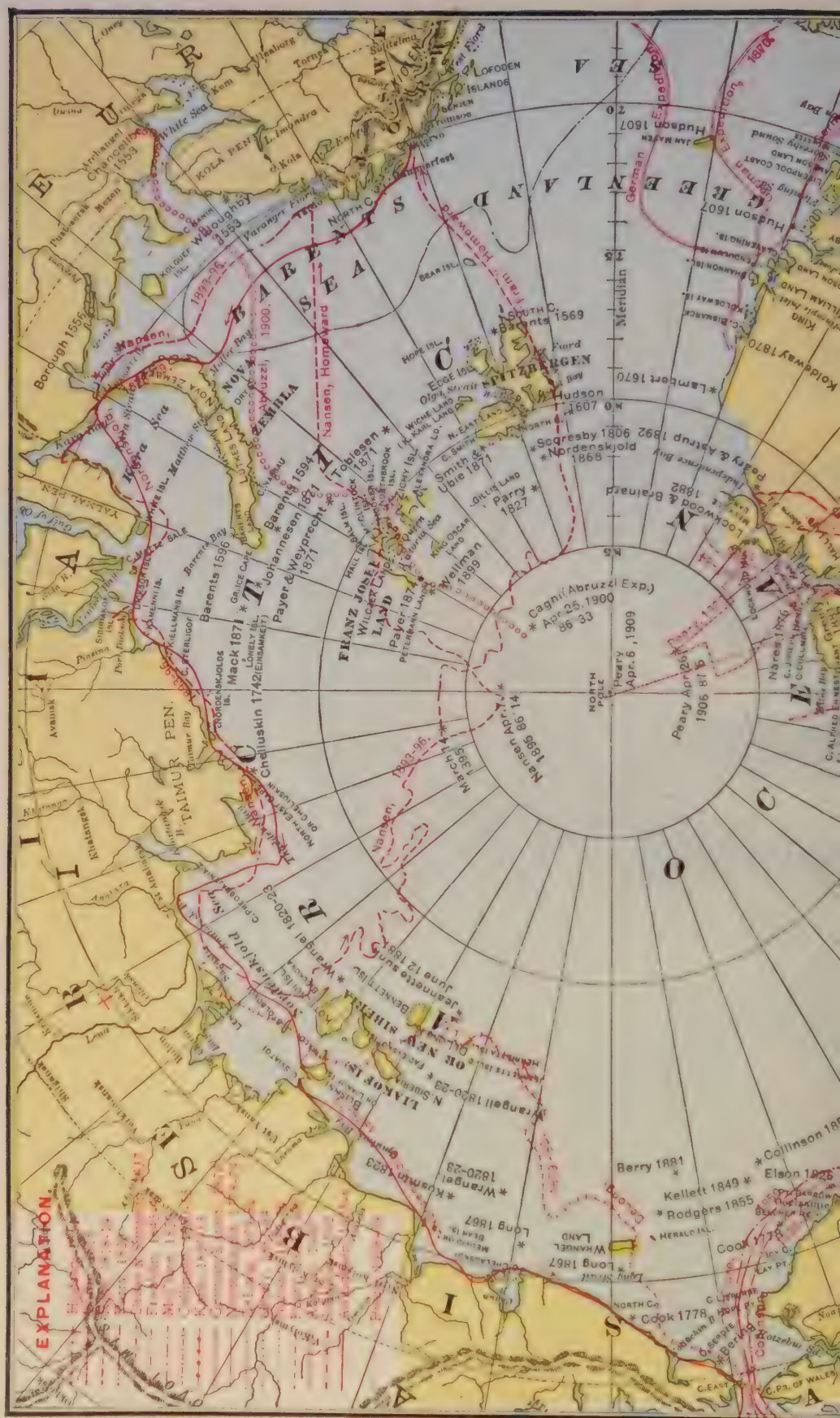
Fram drifted to the south. Then the northward tide set in, and continued through the winter and spring of 1893–94. The cold was appalling. For weeks together the mercury was frozen. The desolation of the ice-fields was terrible to witness. But the *Fram* withstood all assaults. At length the deep Polar sea was found. At 79° N. the line showed ninety fathoms. From this point, voyaging northward, the measurement ranged first to 1,600 and then to 1,900 fathoms. In June, of 1894, the vessel reached 81° 52′ N., and about New Year's Day, 1895, the point of 83° 24′ N. was passed. This marked the ultimate excursion northward of former explorers. Passing this line, Nansen entered a sea never before traversed by ship.

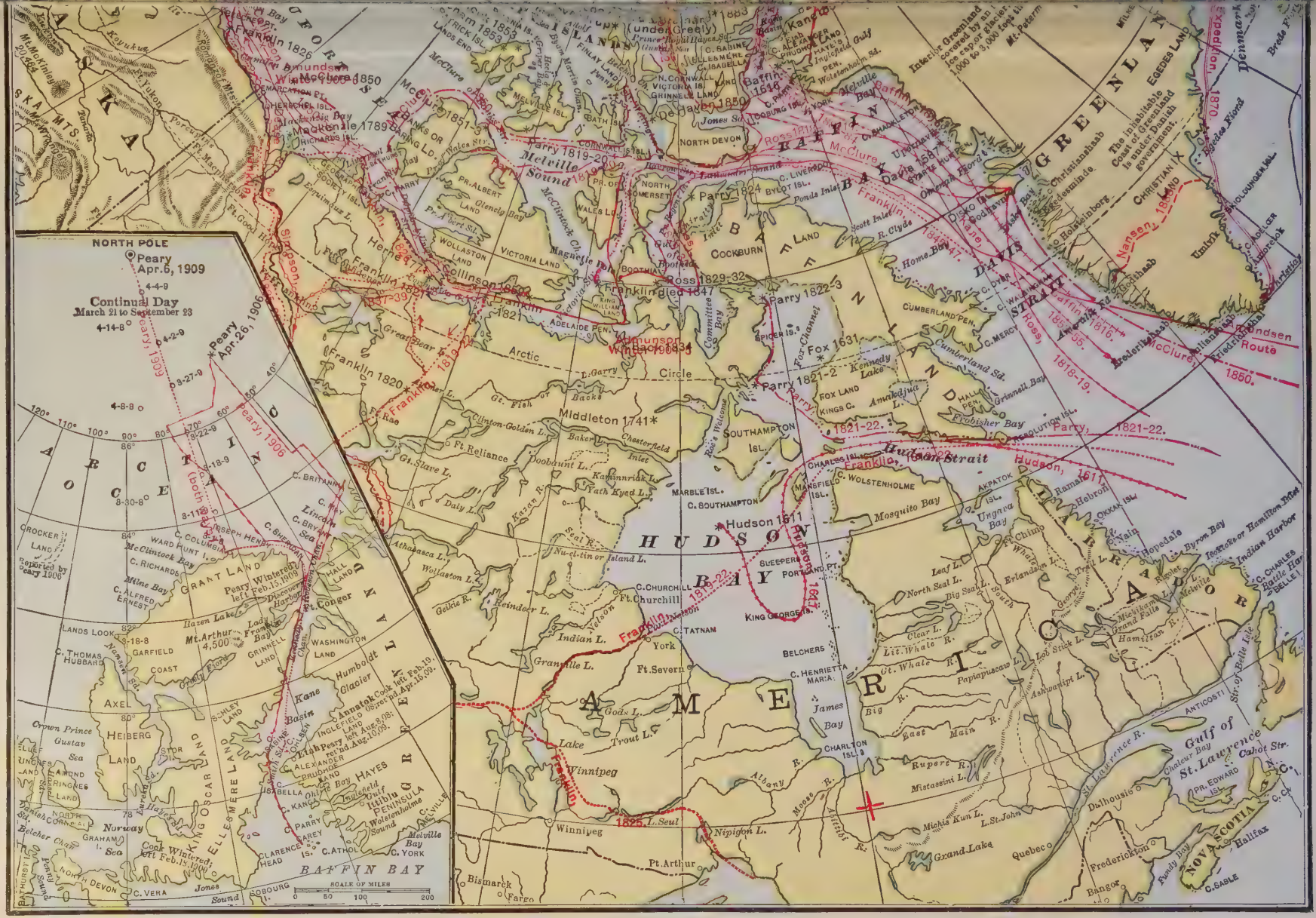
FRIDTJOF NANSEN.

For a season the *Fram* was frozen fast in an ice-flow, thirty feet in thickness; but the stout ship at length broke loose and emerged from the situation, wholly uninjured. Satisfied that the vessel would drift safely toward Greenland, Nansen, on the 14th of March, 1895, accompanied by Lieutenant Johansen, with dog-sledges and small boats, started north on the ice-flow. On the 7th of April, 1895, he arrived, after indescribable toil and peril, in latitude 86° 14′ N., which was the highest point of his venture towards the Pole.

The return journey was of incredible hardship. On the 22d of June, 1895, a seal was shot, and by this means the explorers were saved from starvation. The journey was resumed, and on the 24th of July, land was seen; but the ice had not been broken up, and two weeks passed before the shore was reached. The point of land was the hitherto unknown projection of Franz Joseph Land. Here Nansen and his companions dwelt during the winter of 1895–96. They lived on bear and walrus meat, in a hut roofed with skins and warmed with burning oil. With the coming of spring, the explorers proceeded down the coast, where they were met by Captain Jackson, leader of an English expedition, which had been sent to Franz Joseph Land on the day of Nansen's arrival.

At Värdo the *Fram* entered open water a little northwest of Spitzbergen. The crew had been obliged to blast their way through one hundred and fifty miles of the ice-pack. On August 20th the *Fram* was anchored safely in the harbor of Skaervo, Finmark. Such had been the good-fortune of the expe-


EUROPE
ASIA
ARCTIC OCEAN
BARENTS SEA
GREENLAND SEA
NOVAYA ZEMLYA
SPITZBERGEN
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
NORTH POLE
Meridian
Nansen, Homeward
Nansen 1895 86 14
Cagni (Abruzzi Exp.) Apr. 25, 1900 86 33
Peary Apr. 6, 1909
Peary Apr. 26 1906 87 6
Nansen 1893-96
Wrangel 1820-23
Long 1867
Cook 1778
Berry 1881
Kellett 1849
Rodgers 1855
Collinson 1850
Hudson 1607
Lambert 1670
Segresby 1806
Nordenskjold 1868
Parry 1827
Wellman 1899
Mack 1871
Barents 1596
Johannesen 1871
Payer & Weyprecht 1871
Tobiesen 1871
Chelluskin 1742
Bordugh 1556
Willoughby 1553
Chancellor 1553
Toscanelli 1474
Behaim 1492
Solomon 1878
German Expedition 1869-70
Koldeway 1870
Lockwood & Brainard 1882
Nares 1876
Payer 1874
Leigh Smith 1880
Pearing 1871
Gilles Land
Parry
Smith & Dibe 1871
Hudson 1607
Barents 1569
Ziegler 1903-05
Toscanelli 1900
Kolguev Isl.
Vaigats Str.
Yugor Str.
Matthias Sea
Kara Sea
Yalmal Pen.
Taimur Pen.
Kolyuchin Bay
Behring Str.
Liakof Is.
New Siberia
Bennett Isl.
Jeannette sunk June 12 1881
Herald Isl.
Wrangel Land
Long Str.
Cape Prince of Wales
Cape East
North Cape
Herschel Isl.
Kotzebue Sd.
Behring Sea
EXPLANATION


NORTH POLE
Peary
Apr. 6, 1909
Continual Day
March 21 to September 23
Peary Apr. 26, 1906
Peary 1906
Peary 1909
Nansen 1895
Sverdrup 1898-1902
Amundsen Winter Quarters 1903-05
Amundsen Winter Quarters 1910-12
Amundsen Route 1903-1906
Amundsen Route 1910-1912
Franklin 1819-20-22
Franklin 1825-27
Franklin 1845-47
Franklin 1848-49
Franklin 1850
Franklin 1821
Franklin 1826
Franklin 1820
Franklin 1827-33
Franklin 1829-33
Franklin 1836-37
Franklin 1839
Franklin 1840
Franklin 1848
Franklin 1851-53
Franklin 1853
Franklin 1854
Franklin 1857-59
Franklin 1860
Franklin 1861
Franklin 1864
Franklin 1865
Franklin 1866
Franklin 1867
Franklin 1869
Franklin 1870
Franklin 1871
Franklin 1875
Franklin 1878
Franklin 1879
Franklin 1880
Franklin 1881
Franklin 1882
Franklin 1883
Franklin 1884
Franklin 1885
Franklin 1886
Franklin 1887
Franklin 1888
Franklin 1889
Franklin 1890
Franklin 1891
Franklin 1892
Franklin 1893
Franklin 1894
Franklin 1895
Franklin 1896
Franklin 1897
Franklin

dition that not a single life was lost during the more than three years of exposure to the perils of the Polar seas.

The 4th of March, 1897, witnessed at Washington City the brilliant event of the inauguration of President William McKinley, twenty-fourth President of the United States. He had already constituted and announced, unofficially, his Cabinet. The place of Secretary of State was assigned to John Sherman, of Ohio. The other appointments were: Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, Secretary of the Interior; Joseph McKenna, of California, Attorney-General; James A. Gary, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.

Never could there be anything more outwardly auspicious, from a political point of view, than this complete restoration to power of the Republican party. Its victory seemed to be complete. The great organized powers of the country were almost unanimous in its support. The populous cities, with their tremendous corporate interests, were strongly devoted to the new President, and strongly influential in determining the policy of the incoming administration.

The political history of the country, reviewed for the last twenty years, thus showed a series of remarkable oscillations. The Democratic victory of 1884 succeeded the long unbroken Republican ascendency which had gone before. The election of 1888 brought a revulsion, and put the Republican party into power under Harrison.

THE SHIP FRAM.

The result in 1892 showed another striking reäction in the restoration to power of the Democratic party, during the second administration of Cleveland. The election of 1896 still again reversed the public judgment, and brought back the Republican ascendency under McKinley. To him, and the party which he represented, the country now looked for political guidance for the ensuing quadrennium.

On April 27, 1897, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant was celebrated with a memorial service

and parade in New York City. The occasion was that of the dedication and delivery to the custody of the city of the great marble tomb

JOHN SHERMAN,
Secretary of State, Administration of McKinley.

of General Grant, at Riverside Park, on the Hudson. In a preceding part of this work we have already narrated the circumstances of the death of the hero of Appomattox, and of the preparations for building an appropriate monument to his memory.[1] This work was undertaken soon after the General's decease; but for some time the enterprise, under inefficient management, lagged.

At length, however, General Horace Porter, who had been a member of Grant's staff during a large part of the Civil War, was appointed at the head of a Monument Commission to prosecute the work to completion. Books were opened, and subscriptions to the number of more than ninety thousand were made to finish the monument. A suitable site was selected a short distance south of the temporary tomb in which General Grant's remains had lain for more than a half score of years, and there the splendid mausoleum was built. No other such tomb exists in the New World. The structure is of plain marble, in the severest simplicity of the Doric style.

The monument was completed by the beginning of 1897; but the dedication was postponed until the recurrence of the anniversary of the birth of the hero, April 27. The event was memorable. The parade was the finest ever witnessed in America. Great interest was shown by the people in all parts of the United States. The ceremonies were more elaborate than those attending the first funeral of the General, nearly twelve years previously. In spite of the chilly air and high wind which prevailed, the great city put on her memorial garb, and the long course of the procession was through

TOMB OF ULYSSES S. GRANT,
At Riverside, New York.

the finest display of flags and streamers and emblems ever witnessed in New York.

About a million of people thronged the line of march or awaited the arrival of the

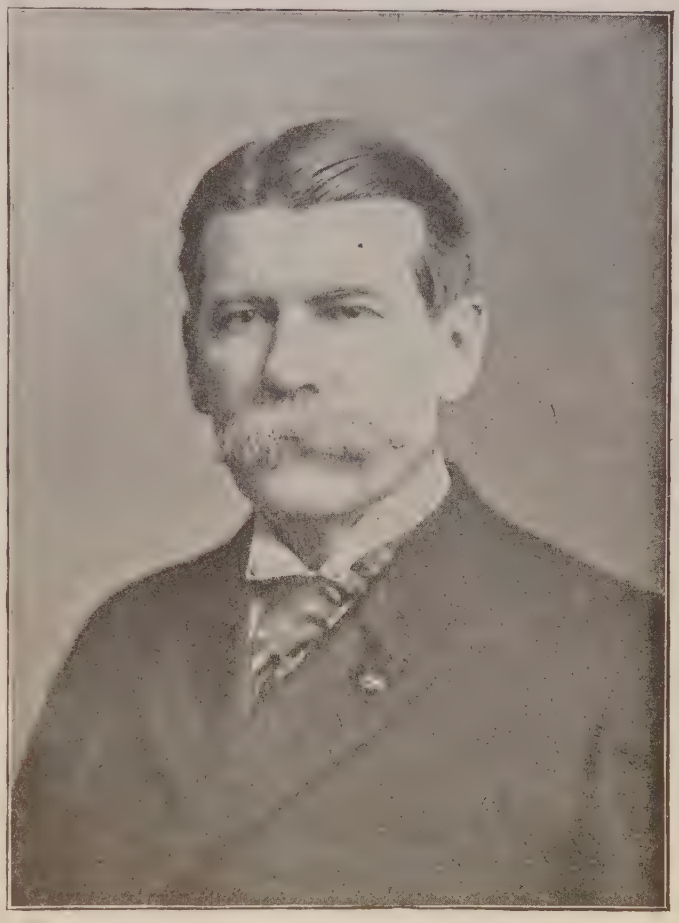
[1] See Chapter CXXVI., p. 224.

OAHU
WAIANAE
EWA
HONOLULU
Barbers Pt.
Kaena Pt.
Kahuku Pt.
Waimanalo
Makapuu Pt.
Koko Head
Diamond Hd
Cable to Midway I.
MOLOKAI
Kaiwi Channel
Kaiwi Channel
Kaena Pt.
LANAI
Kealaikahiki Channel
KAUAI
NIIHAU
KAMUKAHI CHANNEL
Alapii Pt.
Haena Pt.
Kawaihoa Pt.
Puuwai Pt.
Kona Pt.
Cable to Midway I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
158°30'
159°
159°30'
160°
160°30'
21°30'
21°
20°30'
Longitude West from Greenwich

HAWAII
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
Railroads
Steamship Lines
Submarine Telegraph Cables
Size of type indicates relative importance of places
PACIFIC OCEAN
MAUI
MOLOKINI I.
KAHOOLAWE
Alalakeiki Chan.
Halawa Pt.
Honakohau
Kahakuloa Pt.
Kahakuloa
Waihee
Wailuku
Kahului Har.
Spreckelsville
Hamakuapoko
LAHAINA
Lahaina
Kahului
Paia
Haiku
Huelo
Keanae
WAILUKU
Makawao
Olowalu
Kihei
Waiakoa
Nahiku
MAKAWAO
Hana
Kauiki Head
Hamoa
Kookea
Ulupalakua
Makena Ldg.
Nuu
Kipahulu
Kaupo
MAUNA KEA 13,805
Upolu Pt.
Honoipu Ldg.
Kohala
Akokoa Pt.
Mahukona Har.
Mahukona
Waipio
Kukuihaele
Kamamaka Pt.
Pasuhau Ldg.
Kohala Mts.
5505
Honokaa
Paauilo
Kukaiau Ldg.
Laupahoehoe
Kawaihae Har.
Kawaihae
Kamuela
Kaauha Pt.
Waipunia B.
KOHALA
Honokuaye B.
Lalamilo
Kaauau Pt.
Kawaihi B.
Kaholo Bay
Mahewalu Pt.
Nawili Pt.
Keahole Pt.
Hualalai 8,273
Kaiwi Pt.
Kailua B.
Kailua
Holualoa B.
KONA
Keauhou
Keikawahe Pt.
Kealakekua
Keawekaheka Pt.
Kealakekua B.
Napoopoo
Honaunau B.
Hookena
Kauhako B.
Kauluoa Pt.
Kaena Pt.
OAHU
Ookala
Kukuau Pt.
Papaaloa
Nohaku Pt.
Hakalau
Hakalau R.
Honomu
Alia Pt.
Pepeekeo
Onomea B.
Papaikou
HILO
Hilo
Hilo Bay
Keokea Pt.
Waiakea Ldg.
Keaau
Olaa
Kurtistown
Mountain View
Pahoa
C. Kumukahi
Kapoho Sta.
PUNA
Volcano House
Kalapana
Keauhou Ldg.
Pahala
Punaluu Ldg.
Honuapo
Naalehu
Kaena Pt.
Kau Desert
Kaalualu Har.
Kalae
KAU
Hammond's 8 x 11 Map of Hawaii
Copyright, 1905, by C.S. Hammond & Co., N.Y.
156°30′ J 156° K 155°30′ L 155° M
158°30′ E
Longitude 156° West from Greenwich 155°
21° 30′
20° 30′
19° 30′
19°

column at the monument. More than sixty thousand men were in line, of whom fully ten thousand were veterans of the Union War. Large detachments of Confederate veterans also participated in the parade; for General Grant's memory was cherished also by the old soldiers of the "Lost Cause." Federal troops, State militia organizations, naval and military cadets, and civic bodies without number, completed the procession, which was many hours in passing, and which *en route* was everywhere received with the strongest expressions of appreciation and affectionate approval.

The city was in gala attire. There was universal holiday. The march was begun at 10.30 A. M., and was not completed until 7 P. M. The grand stands were erected in the vast open spaces around the monument. Here the distinguished guests were assembled. The members of General Grant's family had the place of honor. The President and the retiring ex-President of the United States sat on the platform, and were surrounded with a great throng of the most distinguished American and foreign guests. The principal speakers were President McKinley and General Horace Porter, the latter of whom delivered the formal oration of the day. The event indicated clearly the strong patriotic sentiments of the American people, their surviving enthusiasm for military heroism, and, in particular, their unquenchable devotion to the memory of the Silent Man of Galena.



GENERAL HORACE PORTER,
Ambassador of the United States to France, 1897.

In June of 1897 President McKinley sent to the Senate, from the Department of State, a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Japan protested against this measure. It was claimed that that power had planned to seize upon Hawaii, a charge that received a certain plausibility from the fact that the number of Japanese in the Republic was far beyond the number of any other one nationality, and also from the fact that Japan, on account of the refusal of the officials at Hawaii to allow a large number of recent Japanese immigrants to land, had sent two warships to the harbor of Honolulu. On the other hand, Japan declared that the shutting out of the immigrants was contrary to her treaty with the Hawaiian Republic, and that the warships had been sent to the island merely in support of her claim for damages.

The rumors of a possible Japanese uprising in the island, while largely credited in the United States, were not trustworthy,

owing to the essential minority of numbers on the part of the Japanese as compared with all others in the territory. Of the native Hawaiians of pure blood there were, at this time, at least thirty-seven thousand, with an additional ten thousand of mixed descent. Of the Chinese, the natural enemies of the Japanese, there were fifteen thousand, while the nine thousand Portuguese, two thousand Americans, fifteen hundred Englishmen, and twelve hundred Germans, made the total much too great to be overcome.

NELSON DINGLEY.
Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, Administration of McKinley.

In signing the treaty of annexation the State Department made a declaration to the effect that the Government of the Republic was of an elective and parliamentary character that had been formally recognized by the foreign powers, and that it had continued for four years firm in its authority; wherefore its petition for the protection of the United States might be justly regarded as the will of the people. As to the character of the bulk of the inhabitants, the difficulties of admitting them to citizenship were dismissed with the statement that it would seem to be advisable that Hawaii should continue *permanently* as an annexed Territory, without having any authority in the legislation of the United States.[1]

The new Administration was ushered in with a revival of the tariff question. This issue had indeed been forced to the fore in the late Presidential campaign, and it was understood that the election of McKinley would be followed with an attempt to revise the existing tariff system of the United States as the same was formulated in the Wilson Bill of 1893. In accordance with this expectation, the tariff was made almost the sole question of discussion in the special session of Congress, which began coincidently with the inauguration of McKinley.

The purpose of the Administration was openly expressed to limit, as far as possible, the

[1] This declaration of the President of the United States slipped the anchor of the immemorial policy of the Republic. Always, hitherto, the acquisition of territory by the United States had been distinctly with the understanding and purpose to organize such territory by the people of the same, and to admit such territorial organization into the Union on terms of equality with the other States. It remained for President McKinley to open the way for the annexation of permanently dependent territories having neither the promise nor the possibility of statehood in the Union.

work of the special session of 1897 to a revision of the existing system on the lines of the McKinley theory. To this end the subject was immediately sent to the House Committee of Ways and Means, of which Nelson Dingley, of Maine, was chairman. After about two months a bill was prepared, which effected considerable changes in the existing schedules, increasing the tariff on many articles to the protective level, transferring many others from the free to the dutiable list, and many others from the ad-valorem schedule, which had been largely used in the Wilson scheme, to the list of specific duties.

The bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives, went to the Senate, was debated by that body, and was extensively revised and amended. In this form the measure was sent to a Conference Committee of the two Houses, from which it was reported back on the 19th of July, and was adopted by the Lower House. Once more the bill went to the Senate for approval, and was by that body adopted on the 24th, receiving thereupon the President's signature, and becoming a law of the land.

The new measure was less radical than had been anticipated, and was in the nature of a compromise among the various elements of commercial society, whose interests, drawing in this direction and in that, resulted in a final patchwork of devices for increasing the revenue and affording additional protection to certain branches of industry.

CHAPTER CLX.—THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

THE last four years of the nineteenth century witnessed many important events among the nations of both the new world and the old. In our own country this period may be marked for the increasing interest taken by the people in international affairs. Perhaps the reason for this change might be found in the improvement of the means for inter-oceanic communication. Cables were laid undersea between all of the principal ports of the civilized nations. Telegraphic wires were stretched over the hitherto inaccessible regions of Asia. The journalistic press teemed with information about the affairs of men and states in all parts of the world; commerce tended to become universal.

As a result of all this, the people of even the most isolated countries discovered a hitherto unknown interest in the progress of political events and the general vicissitudes of nations. In some instances the new condition worked favorably to the peace of mankind, but in others it conduced to turmoil and war. The unequal development of the different nations and the difference of institutions and of race brought into sharp contact states and kingdoms that had hitherto held few relations. The Republic of the United States, more than ever before, felt and expressed a concern about the affairs of the European powers. The Venezuelan difficulty between our country and Great Britain was one of the first symptoms of the changed and changing order. Another and more specific result was the rising conflict of sentiment, purpose, and interest between the United States and Spain. The holding by Spain of valuable possessions in proximity to the American coast furnished both motive and occasion for the straining of relations between the two countries.

Already, as we have seen in a previous chapter, a rebellion had broken out in Cuba against the Spanish authority in that island. The provincial government was, during the winter of 1897–98, put to its utmost tension in the effort to reduce the insurgents to submission. It was natural that the American

DISTRIBUTING FOOD TO THE RECONCENTRADO'S From a Photograph.

people should sympathize with the Cuban rebels, and that they should extend at least covert assistance to the popular cause in the island. Notwithstanding the feelings of amity which had recently prevailed as a concomitant of the World's Columbian Exposition, the Americans now conceived an extreme dislike to Spain, and in particular to Spanish dominion in the West Indies. It is probable that the efforts of the Cuban Junta and the sale of Cuban bonds in the United States—which bonds would become valuable in case the rebellion should be successful, but remain valueless in the event of failure—conduced to the growing dislike of Spain, and furnished an *à priori* reason for the interference of our Government in the affairs of Cuba.

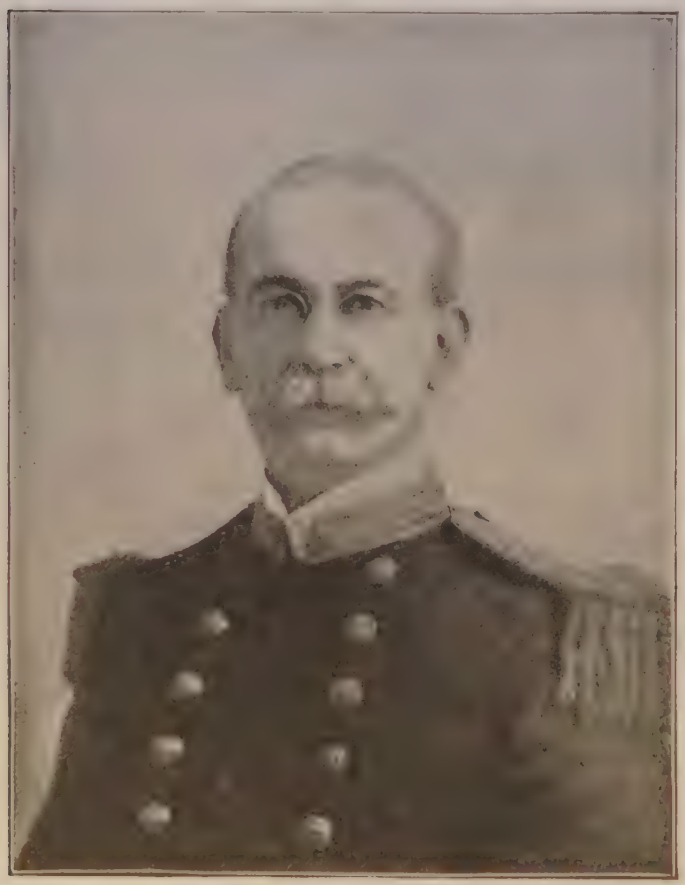
It may be that these hostile elements and causes of conflict would have subsided had it not been for an incident which presently added to the inimical conditions, and indeed precipitated an open rupture. Although the incident referred to was immediately disavowed by Spain, and although it was ostensibly waived by the American government, the effect of the thing done could not be trammeled up. On the evening of the 15th of February, 1898, while the American battleship *Maine* was lying at anchor in the harbor of Havana, a dreadful explosion, either within or without the vessel, occurred, by which the battleship was wrecked and sent to the bottom. The catastrophe, if accidental, might well have been overlooked but for the appalling loss of life. Two hundred and sixty-six American seamen were carried down with the great ship to instantaneous death in the sea. Only Captain Sigsbee, who was on board and was saved as by a miracle, and a few officers who were on shore, escaped the awful fate of the sailors.

THE BATTLESHIP MAINE.

Great was the sensation produced in the United States by the destruction of one of the favorite American battleships. The distrust and anger of the people could hardly be restrained. The *Maine* had gone into the harbor of Havana in a friendly way, as is customary with the battleships of nations in foreign waters. Such ships represent much

more really than do the vessels of the merchant marine the sovereignty of the nation to which they belong. An insult done to a warship is therefore generally regarded as a just cause for a hostile declaration.

The Spaniards in Havana had looked upon the *Maine* with distrust and prejudice. The Spanish newspapers had denounced the presence of the warship in the harbor, and had



CAPTAIN CHARLES D. SIGSBEE,
Commander of the Battleship Maine.

called it a taunt and a banter, as though the ship should say to the authorities, "We are here to look on, and to strike you if you dare." A suspicion arose under these circumstances that the *Maine* had been treacherously destroyed, and this suspicion was confirmed by many circumstances. *Somebody* had done the evil deed. Ostensibly the *Maine* had been destroyed because it had seemed a menace to Spanish authority. The presumption was that fanatical adherents of that authority had wrought the destruction of the ship.

Spain, for her part, immediately and fully disavowed the thing done, and offered to join our National authorities in an investigation. A Court of Inquiry was instituted at once by the National Government, and an investigation was made of all the circumstances of the case. This court rather vaguely reported that according to the evidence obtainable, the *Maine* had been destroyed by some explosion against her side *from without*. The character of the wreck indicated, by the bending of the irons and the forcing inward of the fragments of the hull, that the force had been applied against the outer side of the vessel. But in what manner or by whom the torpedo (if torpedo it were) had been exploded, or by what means the mine (if mine it were) had been sprung, could not be, or at least was not, ascertained. In any event, the loss of the great battleship with nearly all her brave defenders, furnished an animus in the war which ensued, and justly or unjustly the battlecry of "Remember the *Maine*" was heard on the American side in every engagement, whether on land or sea.

The general tendency of affairs, and the war-breeding incident just narrated, acted together in 1898 in precipitating hostilities between Spain and the United States. Just after the loss of the *Maine*, when the excitement relative thereto was hot, scores of representatives of the American press made their way to Cuba, and the newspapers teemed with accounts of the condition of affairs in the island. Many inflammatory stories were published, and conflicting reports were scat-

tered broadcast. As matter of fact, the civil war in Cuba had for the most part degenerated into bloodthirsty cruelty on the part of the Spaniards, and into guerilla methods and mere bushwhacking on the part of the Cubans. The ruling government which had been established by Captain-General Valeriano Weyler, in January of 1896, might well be indicated historically with a splotch of blood as that of his antitype, the Duke of Alva, had been to the Protestants of the Netherlands. Appeals began to be made to the Government of the United States for interference on behalf of the Cuban patriots, and the outcry increased, until the roar was heard from ocean to ocean. There was a brief interval of confusion and growing hostility, and then a Commission of Inquiry, appointed by the Government and headed by Senator Thurston, of Nebraska, proceeded to Cuba to make an authoritative investigation.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PALACE, HAVANA.—Official Residence of Captain-Generals Weyler and Blanco.—From a Photograph.

traced around with cinders.[1] Intelligence of his methods was widely disseminated, and his name became as hateful to the Americans

[1] One of the incidents of the Weyler administration was for its savagery well calculated to waken the ire, not only of the Americans, but of the civilized world. The Captain-General found it difficult to discriminate between combatants and noncombatants. The Cuban forces were irregulars; now they appeared in the character of soldiers, and now in the character of civilians. They were not unlike the patriot bands who in the days of our Revolution made—

"The British soldier tremble when Marion's name was told."

General Weyler, finding it impossible to concentrate and overwhelm the rebels, adopted a sweeping measure which was directed against noncombatants as well as combatants. He issued an "edict of concentration," by which the inhabitants of the insurgent districts were ordered to betake themselves to the fortified towns, there to be pent up with those who had been actually engaged in the rebellion. Death and solitary confinement were denounced as punishments against all who should refuse to obey the order. The wretched inhabitants—men, women, and children—flocked into the towns, and were shut up. Having no supplies, they soon began to starve. Disease came with all its horrors, and the so-called *Reconcentrados* suffered the pangs of slow torture until they died by thousands. American newspaper correspondents and photographers sketched and pictured the scenes witnessed among the sufferers, and photographs of such scenes, undeniably true, were scattered like firebrands among the Americans, whose animosity was already kindled to the point of flaming.

LEADING NAVAL COMMANDERS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. 1898.

The report of this commission made in the two Houses of Congress was wholly unfavorable to Spain. The excitement in governmental circles rose to a high pitch, and resolutions were introduced in Congress declaring in favor of the autonomy of Cuba, and the cessation of Spanish rule. At first, measures were devised to interfere only to the extent of ending the Cuban war. It was urged that the continuation of such a conflict in immediate proximity to the American

STREET SCENE IN HAVANA.

coast and in total disregard of the interests of commerce, and indeed of civilization itself, could not be longer tolerated. Nor can it be truly denied that the administration of Spain in Cuba had for a long time been so inefficient in fact and so repugnant to the instincts of progress as to create a just sentiment of indignation on the part of the people of the United States. Moreover, the Cuban revolution was in all respects analogous to our own war of independence. The insurgents were in the same attitude towards the Spanish despotism which our American rebels had held towards the British Colonial despotism of 1765. That despotism our fathers had renounced, and against it they took up arms—just as the Cubans of 1897 took up arms against Spain.

Interference by one nation on the score of humanity in the affairs of another nation is a principle recognized in international law. But such interference is a measure upon which modern nations have ventured but sparingly. Still, under the rules of international law, the United States *might* interfere in Cuba to put an end to the war on the ground of its barbarity and long continuance; and whether inhumanity existed such as to warrant interference was a question which, according to the law of nations, our Government might decide for itself, even against the protest of Spain.

It was soon manifest that simple interference to prevent further barbarities and to end the conflict between the Spanish authorities and the Cuban rebels could not be carried out without engendering a war of more serious proportions. The excitement at Washington City and throughout the country rose to fever heat. The President first

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

AMERICAN FLEET UNDER COMMAND OF REAR-ADMIRAL SAMPSON, BEARING DOWN ON CUBA.
From an original drawing.

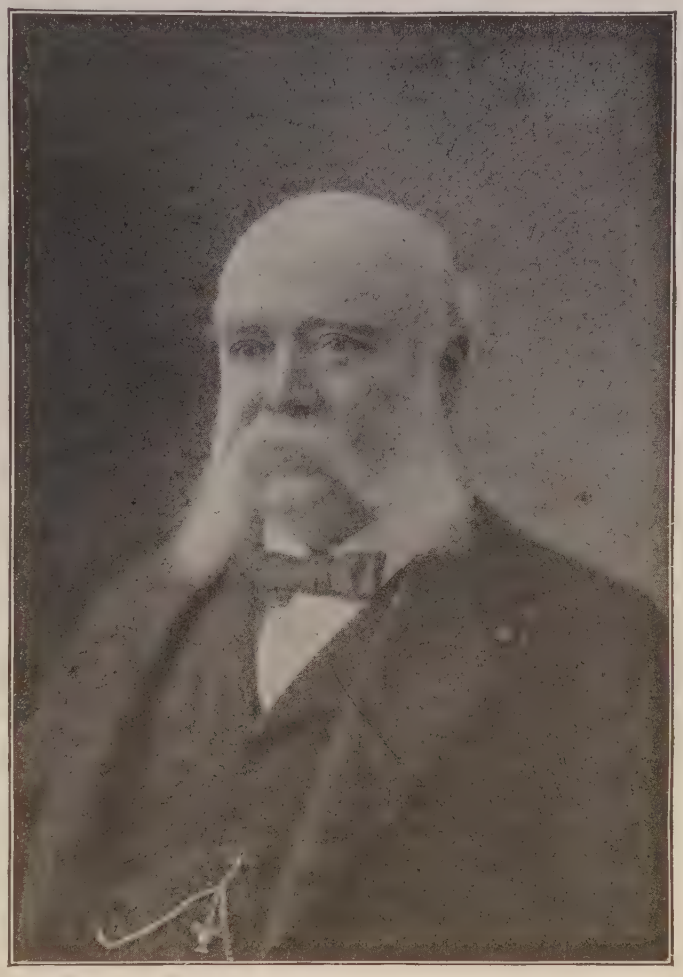
sought to stay the tide and to prevent the clash of arms. At length, he sent to Congress an elaborate message on the condition of affairs in Cuba, and on the evils of Spanish rule in that island. He concluded his communication by asking, rather feebly and inconsequentially, for authority to act at his own discretion in the premises, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States in carrying out his diplomatical purposes, and in bringing the Cuban business to a settlement, by force of arms if needs be.

The message of the President was by no means satisfactory to Congress or to the people at large. The two Houses, in hot blood, took the matter up, and passed a resolution *directing* the President to interfere in the affairs of Cuba, and this to the end that the independence of the people of the island might be secured. Hereupon, the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor Polo y Bernabe, demanded his passports, and at once left the country.

On April 19, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives declaring that the people of Cuba "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." On the same day, a similar resolution was passed by the Senate. The concurrent measure was signed by the President on the 20th, and an ultimatum was sent to Spain demanding the immediate withdrawal of her land and naval forces, and indeed every token of her authority from Cuba—this under compulsion of an answer before noon on April 23.

This action on the part of the Government of the United States was very properly construed by Spain as a declaration of war. The passports were accordingly made out and handed to the American ambassador, General Stewart L. Woodford, who immediately departed for Paris. Hereupon, on the 26th of the month, the President issued a proclamation declaring a state of war and ordering the blockade of the Cuban ports.

Havana, the most important city and port in the West Indies, was first to be surrounded and hemmed in by the American fleet. This had been already sent into Cuban waters under command of Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson. The squadron, including the flagship *New York*, the battleships *Iowa* and *Indiana*, the cruisers *Cincinnati*, *Detroit*, and *Nashville*, the gunboats *Wilmington*,



GENERAL STEWART L. WOODFORD,
Ambassador of the United States to Spain, Administration of McKinley.

Machias, *Castine*, and *Newport*, and the monitor *Amphitrite*, departed from the American coast on the 22d of April, and in a short time reached its destination. On the way to Havana, a Spanish ship, the *Buena Ventura*, was run down and captured by the

W. T. Sampson

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

Nashville. This was the first act of formal hostility—the first stroke of the war. In a few days, a cordon of warships was established around Havana, and certain vessels were sent to guard the entrance to other ports. The military plan included the complete blockade of Cuba, so as to isolate the Spanish forces in the island, and cut them off from succor by the home government of Spain.

As between the two nations thus plunged into war, the balance of military strength lay strongly on the side of the United States. Nevertheless the Spaniards had a powerful army in Cuba, and the fortifications of the two principal cities of Havana and Santiago were strong, almost impregnable. The Spanish fleets compared favorably with the American. In the West Indies, the enemy's squadron consisted of one first-class battleship and eight warships of the second class, of which the principal were the *Cristobal Colon*, the *Maria Teresa*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, the *Reina Mercedes*, and the *Vizcaya*. The Spanish squadron did not attempt to prevent the investment of Havana, for that would have involved at once a critical naval battle—something which the Spaniards could not well afford to hazard.

On the 23d of April, the President of the United States issued a call for a hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers. The National Guards in nearly all of the States were at once mobilized, and recruiting went on everywhere with the utmost enthusiasm. The country was thoroughly aroused, and warlike preparations were seen on every hand. Camps of rendezvous and instruction were established, and in an incredibly short time, the ranks were filled for the conflict. On the 26th of April, the proclamation of a state of war was formally issued by the Government. Already, the blockade of Havana had been effected by Rear-Admiral Sampson, and bombarding between the battleships and the shore batteries along the Cuban coast had begun.

At the outbreak of hostilities, an assault on Havana was expected, but the fortifications of that city were so strong and the harbor was so dangerously mined that it was deemed inexpedient to make a naval descent on the place. The American fleet was accordingly directed first of all against Matanzas, and afterwards against Santiago de Cuba. On the 27th of April, the batteries at Matanzas were bombarded by Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*. The other ships participating in the attack were the cruiser *Cincinnati* and the monitor *Puritan*.

CAMP OF RENDEZVOUS AND INSTRUCTION.—PART OF CHICKAMAUGA PARK, GEORGIA.

This first action of the war was trivial, and resulted in no loss to the Americans.

Meanwhile, another scene had opened on the far-off coast of Asia. At this time, the Pacific squadron of the United States was lying in Mirs Bay, on the Chinese coast, north of Hong Kong. This division of the American navy was under command of Commodore George Dewey, whose name was soon to become famous in American annals. Dewey was informed by cable of the progress of events in the United States, and he had his fleet well in hand when the declaration of war was issued. On the very next day, he was, under the rules of international law, warned by the Chinese authorities to depart within forty-eight hours from neutral waters. The mandate found the Commodore ready to go. His bunkers were full of coal, and everything was in preparation for battle. A Spanish fleet, under command of Admiral de Montojo, was also in the Pacific waters, having for its business in that part of the world the protection of the Philippine Islands.

This great group, called by the Spaniards *Islas Filipinas*, numbering about fourteen hundred islands great and small, constitutes an archipelago lying between the China Sea on the west and the Pacific Ocean, on the east. The principal islands are Luzon, Camarines, Mindoro, Samar, Leyte, Panay, Negros, Sebu, Bohol, Mindanao, Palawan, and the Sulu cluster. The capital of the whole is Manila, on Luzon. The bay of Manila is the principal harbor of the Philippines, and here was resting Admiral de Montojo's fleet consisting of the armored cruisers, *Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Velasco*, *Mindanao*, and *General Lezo*, besides a fleet of minor vessels and water craft.

The condition of affairs in the Philippines just previous to the outbreak of hostilities may well be noted. About the end of summer, 1896, an insurrection broke out involving the greater part of the Filipino population, and headed by a certain Dr. Rizal, whose motive was to throw off the Spanish yoke and to make the islands independent.

Baltimore. Raleigh. Olympia. Petrel. Boston. McCullogh. Concord.

FLEET OF COMMODORE DEWEY EN ROUTE FROM MIRS BAY TO MANILA, APRIL 29, 1898.

By the courtesy of the *Scientific American*.

From an original drawing.

The influence of Rizal among the Filipinos became as great as that of Garcia or Marti in Cuba. Indeed the two insurrections, the one in the western, and the other in the eastern insular possessions of Spain, were sufficiently alike in their general features and leadership as to warrant the belief that they were somehow parts of the same movement.

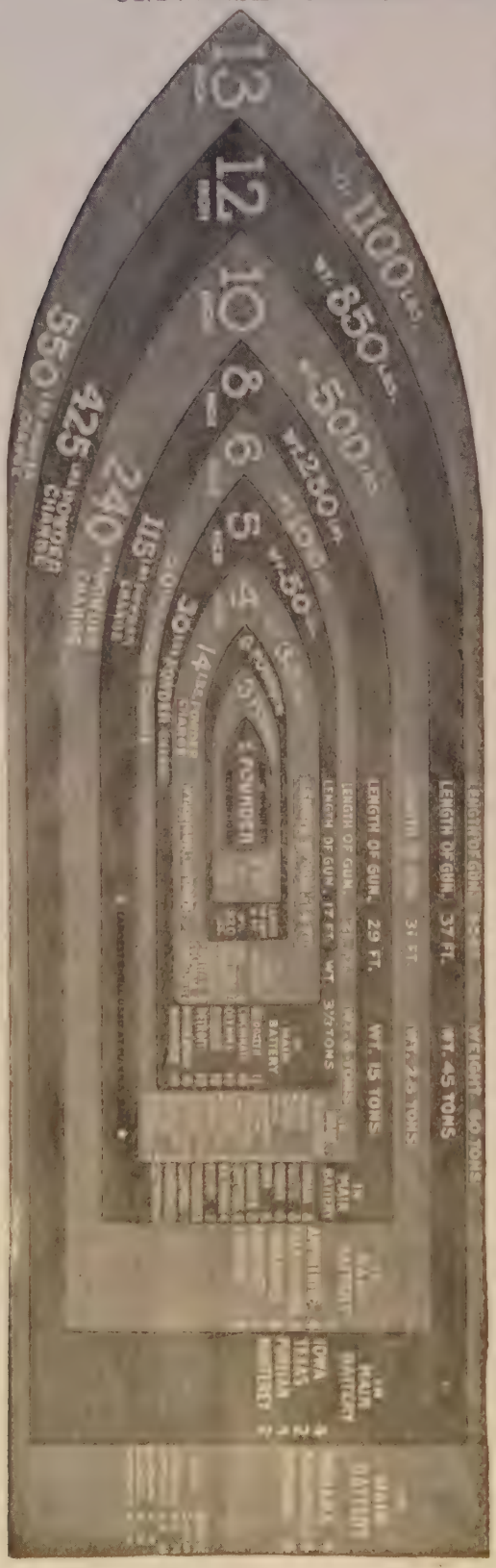
The revolt in the Philippines made great headway for a season, but by the end of 1897, the Governor-General, Prèmo de Riviera, was able to report the suppression of the rebellion. Dr. Rizal had, in the meanwhile, been captured, tried by court martial, and shot. The fact of his trial was accompanied with so strange a personal incident as to make it worthy of historical mention. While Rizal was under sentence, he married a Philippine girl named Josephine Bracken, who, herself of Irish origin, had given her girlish enthusiasm to the cause of which Rizal was the leader. She became, after the execution of her husband, the divinity of the insurrection. They who knew enough of history to recall Joan of Arc, said that the girl-widow of Rizal was the Maid of Domremy come again.

Large reinforcements had to be sent out by the Spanish government before the bold front of the revolt could be broken. Even then, as it subsequently appeared, the report of the suppression of the insurrection in December, 1897, was premature. General Blanco, who had been governor of the Philippines, was in the interim transferred to the West to take the place of General Weyler in Cuba. The rebel chiefs of the Filipinos having first been able to dictate the terms of settlement, were then able to revive the rebellion, and of this secondary insurrection, the celebrated Emilio Aguinaldo became the genius and general. Such was the condition in the Philippines at the close of 1897.

MATANZAS.

Commodore Dewey's instruction was to proceed against the Philippines, and to attack the Spanish fleet wherever found. The harbor of Manila was defended not only by the warships of Spain, but also by the land batteries which had been established at the naval station of Cavite, about seven miles southwest of the city. The Spanish fleet lay under the protection of the heavy guns of Cavite.

On the 29th of April, Dewey got under way from the Chinese coast, and on the 30th of the month, anchored in Subig Bay, on the



SHELLS USED IN THE GUNS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY—ONE EIGHTH ACTUAL SIZE.

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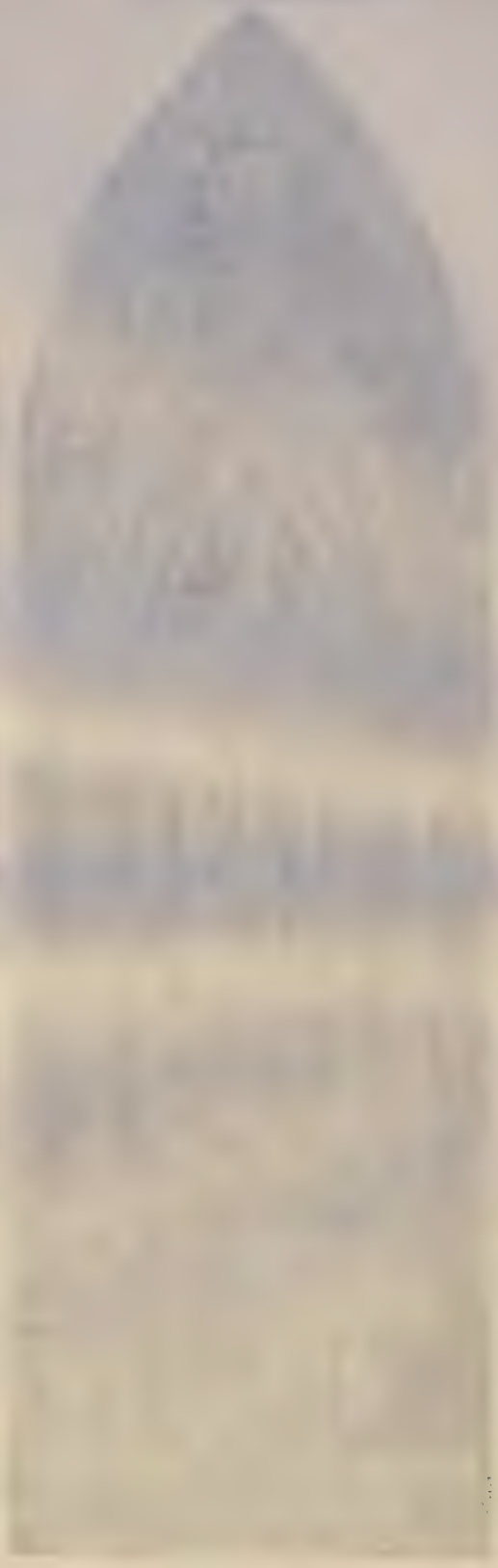
coast of Luzon, about thirty miles from Manila. Thence in the night, he followed the shore line, and about midnight made his way through the channel into the harbor of Manila. On the next day, which was Sunday, May 1st, about five o'clock in the morning, the American squadron, arranged in battle order, headed for the Spanish position. A spirit of enthusiasm prevailed among the sailors. A foolish and bombastic proclamation issued by Divilio, the Spanish governor of the Philippines, was read, and the attack was begun with shouts of "Remember the *Maine!*"

The conflict which ensued was the first in which American battleships had contended with foreign armored vessels. Many of the details of the battle may be omitted from the narrative, but other incidents are worthy of commemoration. The *Olympia* led the fighting from the American line, and the *Reina Cristina* took the brunt of the onset. From the first, it was noted that the Spanish guns, though courageously served, were not skillfully aimed. The shots flew wide of the mark. Many of the shells fell short and others exploded far over and beyond the American vessels. At length, as Dewey's ships with each circuit of attack drew nearer and nearer to the Spanish vessels, and received their fire as well as that from the shore batteries, feeling no hurt from either, until only fifteen hundred yards remained beteen the lines, the *Reina Cristina* steamed out courageously against the *Olympia*, and was mortally wounded with two tremendous shells, which struck her, exploded, and set the vessel on fire.

This was the beginning of the final *mêlée*. Dewey, after five circuits, ever nearing the Spanish ships, closed with his antagonists, and one by one the enemy's vessels were destroyed or driven ashore. Once during the engagement, between seven and eight o'clock, the American commander drew off to inform himself better than he could otherwise do of his injuries and losses—if any—and to refresh



UNITED STATES ARMY AND NAVY UNIFORMS, SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

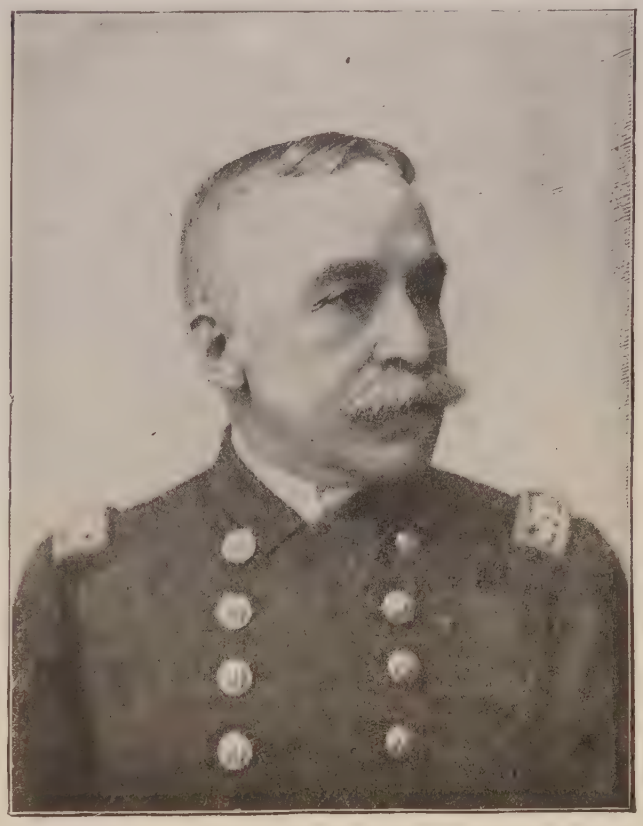
the sailors with their morning coffee. His conduct throughout was as cool and discerning as if the battle were a sham fight in friendly waters.

Not a vessel of Montojo's fleet was saved. The loss of life to the Spaniards was great, but on the American side not a single man was killed. Only the engineer of one ship fell down and expired from a nervous shock. The victory of the American fleet was complete and overwhelming. Even the land batteries of Cavite were silenced. Thus, in added glory to the American flag, was ended the first conflict of the war. The news reached the United States by way of Hong Kong and produced the greatest excitement and enthusiasm. Commodore Dewey sprang suddenly into fame and he remained to the end, *par excellence* the hero of the war. In a characteristic dispatch, he announced the result as follows:

"MANILA, May 1st.—The squadron arrived at Manila at daybreak this morning. Immediately engaged the enemy and destroyed the following spanish vessels: *Reina Cristina, Castilla, Ulloa, Isla de Cuba, General Lezo, Del Duero, Correo, Velasco, Mindanao, Don Juan de Austria, Isla de Luzon,* one transport and the water battery at Cavite. The squadron is uninjured, and only a few men are slightly wounded. The only means of telegraphing is to the American consul at Hong Kong. I shall communicate with him. DEWEY."

The next event of the war, far less important than the battle of Manila, occurred at Cardenas on the Cuban coast, on the 11th of May. This place was defended by land batteries, and against these the armored cruiser *Wilmington,* the topedo boat *Winslow,* and the gunboat *Hudson,* were directed. Several Spanish vessels were lying at the docks at Cardenas. As soon as the American vessels came within range, they opened fire. The Spanish batteries replied, and there was a furious cannonade, resulting in the silencing of the Spanish guns.

Here was shed the first American blood of the war. A random shell struck the *Winslow* in the hull and destroyed her boiler.



By the courtesy of Scientific American.

COMMODORE GEORGE DEWEY, 1898.

The *Hudson* came to her relief, and threw out a line, but just at this juncture, while Ensign Bagley and six men were standing in a group to catch the line, a second shell exploded in their very faces. The ensign and four of the men were killed. The engagement was notable also for another circumstance, and that was for the first landing of Americans on Cuban soil. A short distance from Cardenas, at a place called Diana Cay, was a Spanish battery, which was

HARBOR AND DEFENCES OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.—From a Photograph.

attacked and silenced by a steel gunboat, the *Machias*. As soon as the firing ceased, Ensign Willard, with only three men, went ashore and raised the American flag over the wreck of the defences.

In the meantime, the land and naval forces of the United States under the command-in-chief of Major-General Nelson A. Miles, were despatched to several strategic points. On the 11th of May, the fleet under command of Rear-Admiral Sampson made a descent on Porto Rico, and on the following morning began a bombardment of San Juan. This place, the capital of the island, was defended by a castle named the Morro—for such is a favorite name which the Spaniards give to their principal fortresses or bastions. Sampson's fleet consisted of the powerful battleships *Iowa* and *Indiana*, the armored cruisers *Detroit* and *New York*, and the monitors *Amphitrite* and *Terror*, together with the *Wampatuck* and other auxiliaries. The Spanish position was strong, but the artillery of El Morro was chiefly the 7-inch guns which the Spanish government had recently sent out, very unequal in caliber and range to the tremendous pieces of the American battleships.

The bombardment began in the early morning. The tropical heat was quite intolerable. The American sailors began to drop down from exhaustion, but the Spanish fire did little harm. After three or four hours of fighting, during which the American shells passing over the fortifications, and falling in the town of San Juan, wrought dreadful havoc with all manner of edifices and drove the inhabitants into the country, Sampson ordered the firing to cease, and steamed to the westward a distance of twenty miles, where the fleet came to anchor and the sailors were refreshed and rested. What the Spanish losses were could not then be ascertained, but the Americans escaped with little injury. The battleships were hit many times, but no men were killed. The event demonstrated the great difficulty of overcoming land fortifications without the coöperation of an army.

At this time it appeared that the war

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

TYPICAL MONITOR OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.—The Monterey en route for Manila.

would assume first-class proportions. On the 25th of May, the President of the United States issued a call for 75,000 additional volunteers. On the same day, an advanced detachment of the army, under General Wesley Merritt, who had been appointed military governor for the Philippines, was despatched from San Francisco for Manila. Other detachments, making an aggregate of about thirty thousand men, were sent forward to the same destination. All the transports and warships, including the monitor *Monterey*, arrived in safety in due course of time, thus presenting the spectacle of an American army and fleet far off the eastern coast of Asia, fully nine thousand miles from the shores of North America.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTOR RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON.

At the close of May, the chief interest of the war centered at Santiago de Cuba. There the Spanish fleet of Admiral Cervera had come on the 19th of the month and entered the harbor, and there it was blockaded. On the 31st of the month, the *Iowa*, the *Massachusetts*, and the *New Orleans* bombarded the Spanish fortifications at the mouth of the harbor, and the attack was kept up after Admiral Sampson took command in person.

It was at this juncture, namely, on the 3d of June, that the assistant naval constructor, Richmond P. Hobson, performed the daring exploit which so greatly aroused the enthusiasm of his countrymen. Under the direction of Admiral Sampson, Lieutenant Hobson, with a detachment of seven brave fellows like himself, took an old and heavy ship, the collier *Merrimac*, and steered the vessel under fire of the Spanish batteries and fleet into the narrow throat of the harbor, and by exploding torpedoes sunk the ship almost crosswise in the channel. The object was to plant an obstruction which should prevent an exit of Cervera's fleet. The fact that the undertaking was not quite effectual by no means marred the heroism of Hobson and his men, who, after their daring exposure to the Spanish shells coming down in a shower on the vessel and all around her, took to a boat, pushed off from the wreck, signaled to the Spanish officers, and were at length captured without the loss of one life! The name of Hobson suddenly appeared in eulogiums on all the newsboards in America.

Seven days after Hobson's exploit, a military descent was made on the island, and six

hundred marines were landed at Caimanera, on Guantanamo Bay. The Spaniards resisted the movement, and fighting ensued in a desultory manner for several days. The skirmishing hardly rose to the dignity of battle, though the Spanish losses were considerable, and a few Americans were killed or wounded.

By this time the preparations for a formidable invasion of the West Indies were sufficiently forward to permit the departure of an expedition. A large army had been collected as the Fifth Corps at Tampa, Fla., from which place on the 12th of June, the soldiers, embarking on twenty-nine transports, were directed to Santiago de Cuba, under command of Brigadier-General William R. Shafter. It was intended that this force should coöperate with Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley in their reduction of Santiago. The expedition arrived at its destination on the 20th of June, and was debarked two days afterwards at Baiquiri and Siboney, two unimportant points on the coast a short distance from the old capital of the island. To this point, also, on the 26th of June, came three transports from Aserraderos carrying General Calixto Garcia's Cuban contingent of 3,000 men, which force coöperated thereafter with the army of invasion.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN MAJOR-GENERALS MILES AND WHEELER. HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY NEAR SANTIAGO.

At this period of the war, the progress of events began to be distracted by cross-purposes among the military authorities. The question arose as to the relative authority of the Secretary of War and the Commander-in-chief of the army. Military reputations began to be made and unmade without manifest reason therefor in either case. The methods adopted to raise a revenue sufficient for the expenditures of the Government were debated in Congress, and the influence of the moneyed interests began to be felt in shaping legislation, and in obtaining army contracts. The revenue bill, which was passed and signed by the President on the 13th of June, provided for stamp duties on many kinds of business paper, and for taxation on an extensive schedule of commodities. It also provided for the sale of $200,000,000 of three-per-cent 10-20 coin bonds.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American.*

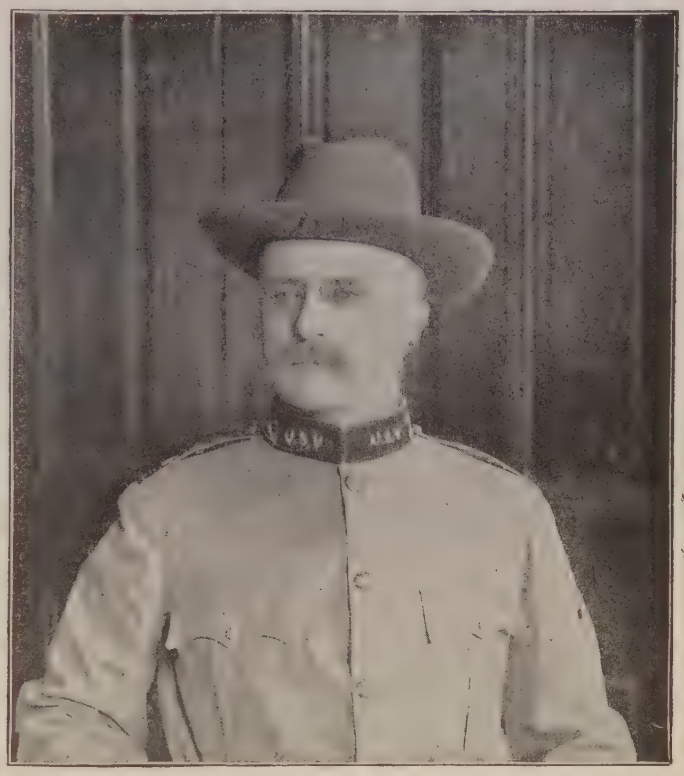
ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN ARMY AND FLEET AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

From an Original Drawing.

These were designated as a *popular* loan, but in practice they were nearly all indirectly absorbed by the National banks as a means to the end of enlarging and perpetuating the circulation of their notes. The Secretary of the Treasury made haste to sell these bonds to the limit of his option, until, notwithstanding the large expenditures of the Government, the Treasury became engorged with money to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. This large sum, abstracted from the general means of exchange, created a stricture in the money market while the business was on, and still further reduced the price of commodities.

In spite of these adverse conditions, however, the war was waged with much enthusiasm. All political parties joined in support of the Government in the active prosecution of its military enterprises. Meanwhile, the remaining Spanish fleet, lying at Cadiz, was ordered by the military authorities of the kingdom to start for the Philippines, there to confront the squadron of Admiral Dewey. The Spanish armament, under command of Admiral Camara, steamed through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, but the Sagasta government became alarmed lest Camara's fleet should be sent to the bottom, like that of Admiral Montojo. An order was accordingly despatched for the return of the expedition, and Camara, arrested by the counter command at Suez, retraced his course. It was expected in the United States that the Spanish commander would continue his progress across the Atlantic, to aid in the liberation of Cervera's fleet at Santiago de Cuba, but this movement was not attempted.

The first fighting, after the landing of the American army on Cuban soil, was brought on by the advance of a division of General Joseph Wheeler's cavalry forces under command of Brigadier-General Young, and in particular by the regiment of so-called Rough Riders, a body of troopers recruited from different parts of the country, but mostly composed of cowboys from the southwestern parts of the United States. This regiment was commanded by Colonel (afterwards General) Leonard Wood, who became military governor of Cuba, and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned his place as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to take a command in the field, and who by the stress of his military popularity succeeded in the following fall in reaching the governorship of New York.



COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The troops of Young and the Rough Riders of Wood and Roosevelt advanced from the landing place at Siboney in a courageous but rather spectacular manner, and on the 24th of June, at a place called Las

Guasimas, encountered the enemy in a sort of ambush line in the high grass and tropical undergrowth, and here there was the first taste of serious battle. The ground was hotly contested, and the Spaniards were with difficulty driven back. Several of the Americans were killed, including Captain Capron, who led the advance troop of Wood's command.

The contest at Las Guasimas, however, was only a preliminary to a much more serious battle which ensued a few days afterwards. In order to understand the situation, the reader must consider the topography of the coast and the country in which the American army now found itself. That army had been debarked on the southern coast of Cuba, some distance *beyond* Santiago; that is, on the coast *eastward* from the mouth of the harbor, a distance of about sixteen miles. As we have said, the principal landing was made at Baiquiri, but there was also an intermediate landing about halfway between that place and Santiago.

This intermediate place of debarkation was Siboney, and it was from that point that the advance had been made to Las Guasimas, where the engagement occurred. The time had now come for the army to make its way against Santiago itself. In doing so, a single road had to be followed, running first northward from Siboney, and then westward. On this route, a little to the left, there was a high, half-mountainous hill, called El Poso, from which the city of Santiago and its defences could be plainly seen with field glasses.

Almost due north from El Poso, at a distance of about three miles, was the little village of El Caney, held by a force of Spaniards. This was the outpost of Santiago on the northeast. Between El Poso and Santiago, the road was crossed almost at right angles by the two tributaries of the San Juan River. The valley of the San Juan thus lay between El Poso and Santiago. Where this valley rose on the west, it was bordered by a rather steep upland, called San Juan Hill. This lay nearly two miles from Santiago. The valley of the San Juan was covered with woods, bushes, tropical vines, and, in the glades, high grass in which an army could almost hide itself, but could only progress with difficulty.

The Spaniards in order to defend Santiago, had taken possession of San Juan Hill, and established there a blockhouse with lines of entrenchment running to right and left. The road to Santiago lay directly over this hill, which must therefore be carried by assault, or outflanked by the Americans. In making the advance, the latter must traverse at right angles the San Juan valley, ford the two tributaries, and charge for about five hundred yards under the enemy's fire, before the crest could be reached. Meanwhile, General Lawton's division was sent off on the right to capture El Caney.

It was on the night of the last day of June that the order was given for the advance. General Shafter was confined to his tent by sickness and the overwhelming heat. General Wheeler was also ill, and the immediate command of the cavalry division was devolved on General Sumner. Colonel Wood of the Rough Riders had for like reasons to take the place of Brigadier-General Young. All of these subordinate commands were parts of the general command of Major-General Kent, whose infantry regiments were coming up from the rear.

The order was to break camp and advance at four o'clock on the morning of July 1st. About twelve thousand men were altogether involved in the movement; but the line of march was so narrow that only the advance columns could at first be brought to confront the enemy. Along the narrow road at sunrise of an intolerably hot, tropical day, the Americans made their way. The road was little more than a trail through the woods, across the valley and the two branches of the San Juan. A battery was established on El Poso, and the First and the Tenth dismounted cavalry were established near by in support.

From El Poso, the guns opened on the Spanish entrenchments of San Juan Hill. The infantry advance proceeded as well as possible along the road and through the high grass and bushes. Coming within range of

the guns of the Spaniards, the latter opened fire, mostly with smokeless powder. The American fire produced clouds of smoke, which soon enveloped the scene, and furnished a clear indication to the Spaniards as to the range at which they should direct their guns.

The battle of San Juan Hill thus began in the low woods, from which the American fire was directed as well as practicable up the slope, while the Spanish fire was directed somewhat downward, and with fatal precision. It had been intended that General Lawton, after taking El Caney, far on the right, should deploy against the left flank of the enemy on San Juan Hill, and thus contribute to the capture. But the event came out differently; for the Americans in the San Juan woods found themselves in an untenable position. They had either to go forward or to fall, as they were falling, by scores and hundreds.

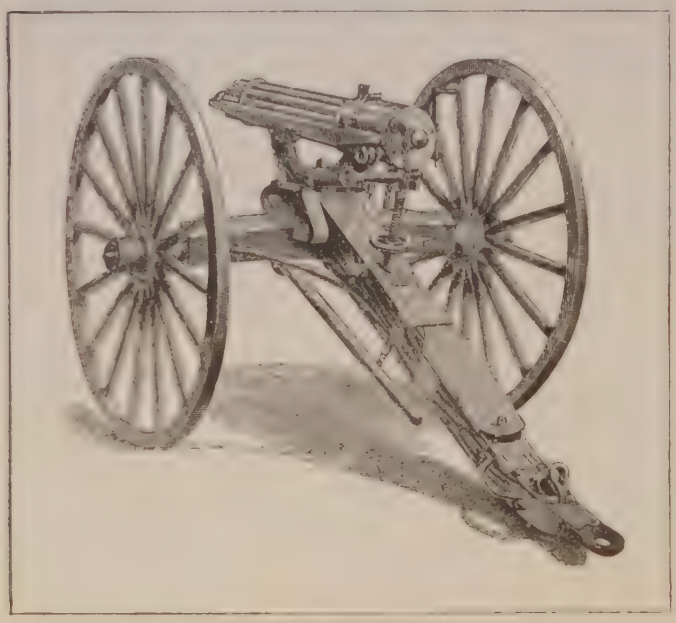
It appears that the general command at this period was weak and uncertain, but the regimental officers, and some of the field officers of higher grade, such as General Chaffee, General Sumner, and others, were very courageous and successful. In the absence of the commanding general, they took the matter into their own hands. The First and Tenth dismounted cavalry, as well as the Sixth, the Third, and the Ninth, were at the fore and bore the brunt of the fire, which was hot and fatal. The Rough Riders, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, distinguished themselves by their valor. For a considerable time, however, the progress was slow and the American losses heavy. The soldiers, creeping forward in the hot grass and lying down at intervals, suffered greatly from the heat, and the Spanish fire blazed overhead constantly, clipping the bushes, cutting lines through the grass, and inflicting wounds and death on the brave men who could scarcely return a like punishment on an entrenched enemy.

Gradually, however, the command of General Hawkins, who led Kent's division, and Colonel Roosevelt with the Rough Riders got a freer swing, and an actual charge was begun. Soon after this, however, an incident occurred which made the further movement of the infantry and dismounted cavalry more easy, expeditious, and effective. The advance of the brigades of Hawkins and Wykoff, leading directly against the center of the ridge where the blockhouse stood, was made successfully about one half of the distance between the contending lines,

GENERAL H. W. LAWTON.

but at that point the Spanish fire became so galling that the American charge was arrested, and the men, for the most part, protected themselves by lying down in the grass and underbrush. In fact, between twelve and two o'clock, the battle had assumed an unpromising aspect, and at times the Americans were threatened with repulse.

A retreat, however, was out of the question; the Americans were in no mood for that, and, besides, the heavy columns of General Kent, pressing on from the rear, had filled up the narrow road, so that the front brigades were pressed forward and held in place even if they had wavered. It was at this crisis in the fight that an episode occurred, generally overlooked in accounts of the battle, but nevertheless of a memorable character. This was the coming into action of a battery of Gatling guns, under command of Lieutenant John H. Parker. It is not certain, indeed, but that this fact was the turning point in the whole engagement. Parker had for a long time been an enthusiast as it respected the efficiency of machine guns. He was himself a graduate of West Point, but his peculiar views about the character of the battery with which he was entrusted had never been accepted or practically demonstrated on any field of battle.



GATLING GUN.

It is said indeed that Parker had been to some extent the butt of ridicule on the score of his one idea, namely, that no enemy could withstand his Gatling guns. Having his battery well in hand, he was ordered forward during the advance across the San Juan valley, and when the charge came to a standstill, he found himself occupying a point of advantage far in advance of some of the Americans who had lain down to protect themselves from the Spanish fire. Having got his guns into position, he began at a signal from the commanding officer of the Thirteenth Infantry, and an engagement which was perhaps unprecedented in the history of warfare ensued. He let loose his Gatlings, and in the space of eight minutes, threw fully twenty thousand Krag-Jorgensen balls into the Spanish lines. He began at the right end of the trenches on San Juan, and deliberately swept them from right to left and back again. It was like a sickle cutting the grass. Nothing could withstand the remorseless chawing of the bullets as they swept the crest. In fact, it was this blast of death that ended the business so far as Spanish resistance was concerned.

The American infantry now rising again from its protected positions, and following in the wake of Roosevelt's regiment of Rough Riders and a regiment of brave colored soldiers who had gone forward with them over some of the lines lying flat in the grass, renewed the charge and rushed on to the crest without further resistance. The soldiers found there indeed none to resist. The Spaniards who had escaped the besom of the Gatlings were seen straggling away in flight. Their comrades who had attempted to hold the trenches were either dead or fallen with wounds. It can perhaps never be known

THE FINAL CHARGE AT SAN JUAN HILL.

precisely how much of the havoc was caused by the preceding infantry fire, and how much was the result of Parker's blast of Gatling balls. But it is certain that the latter ended the conflict and made the remaining charge and capture of the hill a duty which a few companies of militia could have performed as well as an army with banners.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

MAP OF THE HARBOR OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Once in possession of the trenches and blockhouse of the enemy, the Americans in some sense held the key to Santiago. That city was visible about a mile and a half away, but the immediate defences, including the Morro, were strong, and further battle seemed inevitable. In the first days of July, the Americans made themselves as comfortable as they might in the blazing heat which to them, unused to the tropical fire, seemed a furnace. They suffered greatly while holding the ground which they had won by battle. The contest was now on for the possession of Santiago.

The situation of affairs at the front was constantly reported by cable to the people of the United States, but the news was filtered through a censorship, which the Government had established as a necessary restraint on the unbridled American press. As was subsequently revealed, one marked result of the censorship was to make and unmake military reputations. It is one of the vices of such a situation, that its distance and inaccessibility make easy the misrepresentation of facts and the building up of invented and highly decorated heroes. Meanwhile, in all parts of our country, the excitement became extreme, and this was by no means allayed with the knowledge of the serious losses with which the victory of San Juan Hill had been clouded. On the American side, 231 men were killed, 1,364 wounded or missing. This sacrifice, including those who fell at Las Guasimas, embraced nearly the entire loss by violence of the Americans during the war; but the horrible losses by disease came swiftly after and swallowed up the insignificant loss by battle.

On the 3d of July, while the American line rested on the ridges of San Juan, occurred the second critical conflict of the Spanish-American war. This was the great naval battle between the American fleet, under Sampson and Schley on the one side, and the Spanish fleet of Admiral Cervera on the other. The result was a second and, in this instance, complete and overwhelming victory for the Americans.

We have already noted the mistake of Admiral Cervera in permitting himself to be pent up (May 19th) in the harbor of Santiago. No doubt he was obliged to enter

that narrow water with its long channel like the neck of an ostrich; for his ships must have coal. But the Admiral remained in the, to him and his country, fatal enclosure for forty-five days, backed as it were against the land batteries and the Morro. True it is that Cervera acted under orders. The theory of the Spaniards was to hold Santiago with their army and fleet in coöperation. ish authorities grew restless, and at length Captain-General Blanco, who had succeeded Weyler in the governorship of Cuba, ordered the unfortunate Cervera to get out of the harbor at all hazards. Unless this could be done, the end of the war was already in sight. It appears that Cervera doubted the expediency of getting out from his defensible position. To do so would mean a critical

By the courtesy of *Scientific American.*

EL MORRO OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.—ENTRANCE TO HARBOR.

The flaw in the theory was that the situation enabled Sampson and Shafter to hold *them!* And the American grip was too strong for the throat of the enemy.

Gradually the situation of Cervera became intolerable. Admiral Camara did not arrive from the East to assist in the liberation of his colleague. Had he arrived, Sampson and Schley lay outside to confront him, and perhaps to destroy his fleet. The Spannaval battle just outside the harbor with a probably fatal result and final catastrophe to the Spanish cause. But the order to the Admiral was peremptory, and he accordingly made the trial.

In the early morning of July 3d, the American officers on the warships discovered the Spanish vessels steaming through the channel. Up to this time the fleet lying outside, had consisted of the *Oregon,* the

Indiana, the *Iowa*, the *Texas*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Massachusetts*, Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*, the *Vixen*, the *Marblehead*, the *Mayflower*, and the *Gloucester;* besides an armored vessel bearing the searchlight which stood immediately in front of the entrance to the harbor.

The morning of the exit was clear and fine. Cervera's sortie was not made at the hour expected. At that particular time, the situation was peculiar. Admiral Sampson, on board the *New York*, had gone eastward about nine o'clock, and was at a point between seven and eight miles from the Morro of Santiago. When the smoke of Cervera's fleet was seen he instantly turned in his course. The Admiral ordered all the fires to be turned on, and the vessel was discharged at full speed towards the scene of action.

8-inch. 4-inch. 10-inch. 5-inch. 12-inch. 6-inch. 13-inch.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

GROUP OF SHELLS AT THE WASHINGTON NAVY YARD.

Already, however, the American warships at the mouth of the harbor were cleared for action, and the battleship *Iowa*, under command of Captain Robley D. Evans, put across the bow of the *Infanta Maria Teresa*, thus beginning an engagement destined to be one of the most remarkable in naval warfare. Cervera's vessels came out of the harbor in the following order, namely,

the *Maria Teresa*, the *Vizcaya*, the *Cristobal Colon*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, and the torpedo-boat destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton* at the rear. The *Reina Mercedes*, as it subsequently appeared, remained in the harbor, where on the night of July 4th she was purposely sunk by the Spaniards in the channel near the Morro to escape the guns of the *Texas* and the *Massachusetts*.

The Spanish fleet on getting into clear water, made all haste to the west, as close to the coast as possible, with the manifest purpose of escaping, and of fighting to escape. The first American ships in the action were the *Iowa*, the *Texas*, and Commodore Schley's flagship, the *Brooklyn*; also the *Indiana*, the *Oregon*, and the little *Gloucester*, which made up courageously to the *Pluton* and the *Furor*, engaging them, and succeeding before the battle was over in sinking them both. It was a feat memorable in the battle of ships. Indeed the *Gloucester*, under command of the valiant Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainright, flew like a hornet at the big Spanish battleships, and fired upon them as they passed out of the harbor. Certainly a single shot, successfully planted from one of the heavy Spanish guns would have sent the *Gloucester* to her final account, but she escaped unhurt.

The management of the squadron by Commodore Schley was admirable, and the captains of the big warships, each and several, distinguished themselves in the rush and fury of battle which ensued. The American fleet closed in rapidly on the flying Spanish vessels. At first the *Iowa* led with the *Oregon* second and the *Brooklyn*, *Texas*, and *Indiana*, nearly abreast. All of the Spanish vessels felt the fatal bolts from the American guns, and it was not long until the *Maria Teresa* was set on fire. In the third aspect of the battle, the *Cristobal Colon* had forged to the fore, closely followed by the *Vizcaya*, and then at a space of nearly a mile, the burning *Teresa*, and then the *Oquendo*. On the American side, the intrepid *Oregon* had gone ahead of her competitors. The *Iowa* came next, then the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, and the *Indiana*. Meanwhile, Admiral

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

TYPICAL AMERICAN FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP, THE IOWA.

Sampson's vessel, the *New York*, was coming on from the rear at the rate of over seventeen knots an hour. The *Brooklyn* was making thirteen two-tenths knots an hour, and the *Oregon* twelve nine-tenths knots.

As for the Spanish ships, they were perhaps handled as well as they might be in flight. They fired backwards with vigor and courage, but their shots flew wide. The marvelous thing about the battle was the small injury done by the Spanish guns on the American vessels, and the destructive fatality of the American fire on the Spanish ships.

COMMODORE WINFIELD S. SCHLEY.

It can not be doubted that the spectacle was one of the sublimest and at the same time one of the cruelest ever witnessed. The Sunday-morning sea was covered with clouds of smoke. The *Teresa* took fire, and went to the beach in flames. Then the *Oquendo* caught, and the *Vizcaya* was beaten to death. The fourth position of the battle showed the *Colon* flying with a prospect of escape down the coast, and but for the projection of the cape of Santa Cruz, Cervera's flagship might indeed have got away. But the cape beating out to sea compelled the Spanish Admiral to turn out also to the south, thus exposing the left side of his ship, and losing much time.

In the meantime, the *Oregon* had forged forward until she had come opposite the burning *Teresa*, and was clearly making a death race with the *Colon*. After the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn* and the *Iowa* came next. At this juncture, the *Oquendo* and the *Teresa* went out of the fight by the gate of destruction. The *Colon* in the fifth aspect was far ahead, and the *Vizcaya* on fire still steamed feebly to the westward, but the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, and the *Iowa*, were hard in the wake, and the merciless shells with every discharge of the great guns did havoc to the flying vessels.

In the sixth aspect, the *Oregon* came abreast with the *Vizcaya*, as did also the *Brooklyn*. The *Iowa* and the *Texas* did the *Vizcaya* to death, and the *Oregon* and the *Brooklyn* followed the *Cristobal Colon* to her fate. For nearly an hour after the principal fight was ended it was a race between the two American ships as to which should be first in at the death of the last of the Spaniards. The *Oregon* overtook the *Colon* first, and headed her for the shore, where she was beached, and where the engagement was ended with Cervera's surrender of his ship. The *Brooklyn* at this time had closed in on the last Spanish ship and the *New*

DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH FLEET AT SANTIAGO.

York had also reached the scene with the *Texas* to participate in the finale. The *Vixen* also drew up, and the scene ended in about an hour and forty-five minutes from the time of the issuance of the Spanish fleet from the harbor. The *Massachusetts* had been sent to Guantanamo Bay for a supply of coal, and that vessel was thus prevented from participating in the battle.

A summary of the result showed *the total destruction of the Spanish fleet.* Some of the men from the dying vessels got ashore, where they were confronted by a division of Cubans. All of the Spaniards were captured, some on shore, but mostly from the vessels. Scores were drowned, and many were burned to death. When the *Colon* was headed by the *Oregon*, she hauled down her flag, and made for the beach. Commodore Schley sent Captain Cook of the *Brooklyn* to receive Cervera's surrender, which included the entire surviving force of 525 men. Before twelve o'clock, every Spanish vessel had been sunk, beached, knocked to pieces or burned by the merciless fire of the American gunners.

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER RICHARD WAINWRIGHT.

The victorious American battleships, though many times struck by the Spanish shells, were little injured, and the losses of life were trifling. Before the work was completed with the heavy Spanish vessels, the *Gloucester*, the *Indiana*, and the *Iowa*, had made way with the *Pluton* and the *Furor*, which ships succeeded in getting but a short distance from the mouth of the harbor. The little *Gloucester* had been aforetime the pleasure yacht of Pierpont Morgan of New York, by whom the vessel was sold to the Government and converted into a diminutive iron-clad cruiser. Her commander so distinguished himself by his daring as to gain the rank of a hero.

The destruction of Cervera's fleet was virtually the end of the conflict in Cuba. On the same day of the engagement, General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago, and coincidently, about the same hour, the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrones, was taken by the cruiser *Charleston* belonging to the Pacific Squadron.

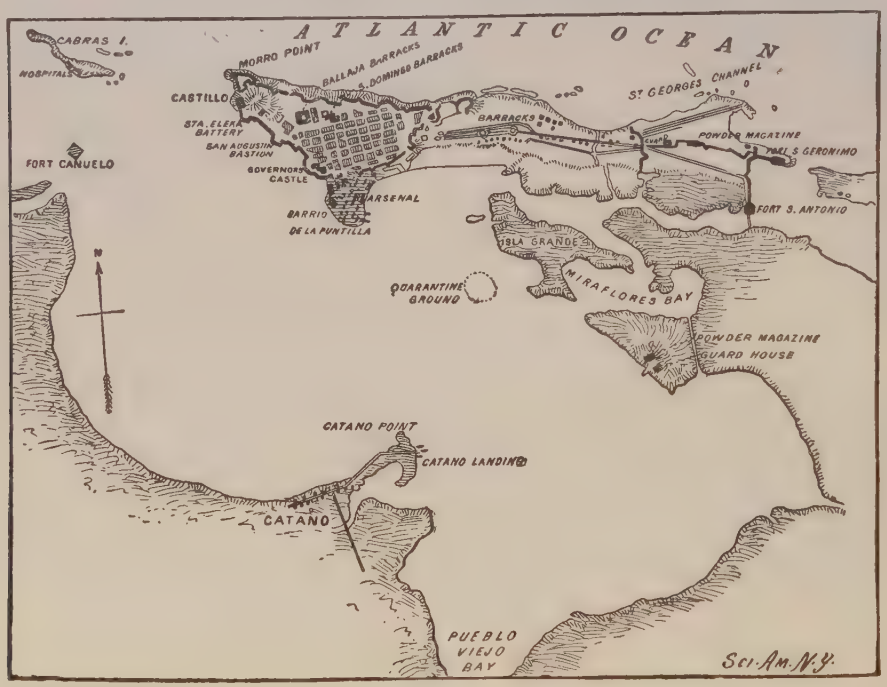
On the 7th of July, a notable civil event was projected into the military calendar. The long-continued effort of those interested to gain possession of the Hawaiian Islands was at last successful. Resolutions of annexation having been passed by Congress, the President of the United States, on the date referred to, signed the Congressional measure, and the steamer *Philadelphia* was despatched to raise the American flag at Honolulu. This was done amid the silent acquiescence of the Hawaiian population.

For two weeks after the destruction of the

MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES.

Spanish fleet, the defences of Santiago held out against the pressure of the Americans. But at length, resistance was seen to be useless, and the besieged city capitulated. General Linares, the Spanish commandant, had been wounded during the siege, and it devolved upon his successor, General Toral, to surrender the city and its defenders to the Americans. General Shafter, after consultation with the authorities at Washington, and acting under direction of the commander-in-chief, dictated the terms of the capitulation, from Tampa or Key West. At length he decided to be himself the leader of an expedition into the West Indies. He accordingly embarked for the scene of war and reached Cuba on the 11th of July. He was thus in time to determine the conditions on which the surrender of Santiago would be accepted. When this work was accomplished, he put himself at the head of a large division, set out from Guantanamo Bay, and debarked at Guanica, on the Porto Rican coast.

The city of San Juan had been bombarded



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

HARBOR AND FORTIFICATIONS OF SAN JUAN.

which included not only Santiago de Cuba, but the whole eastern portion of the province, with the total of about 20,000 prisoners of war. The office of military governor of Santiago was assigned to General Leonard R. Wood, formerly Colonel of the First Volunteer Cavalry of New York.

For a while after the fleet and armies began to operate in Cuba, and in the East, General Nelson A. Miles, Commander-in-chief of the American forces, remained at Washington, or directed the military and naval movements by Admiral Sampson as early as the 12th of May, but the formal invasion of the island was not made until the 25th of July. Within three days, General Miles compelled the surrender of Ponce, by whose inhabitants he was received rather as a deliverer than as a conqueror. The other towns in the vicinity surrendered without serious resistance. The whole island was subjugated with little expenditure of treasure and with scarcely the loss of a single life. It was needful that General Miles, in order to participate person-

ally in the field, should expedite his movements as much as possible, for the end was already at hand.

Not only the results of the several conflicts, but also the pressure of international suggestions was now felt in producing a cessation of hostilities. The French Republic, friendly through many historical, social, and religious motives with the Spanish kingdom, and influenced not a little by the solicitations of the French holders of Spanish bonds, sought assiduously to bring about a cessation of the war. M. Jules Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, exerted himself in interviews with the President and Secretary of State to incline them favorably to peace. He procured from President McKinley, on the 30th of July, a statement of the general conditions on which the United States would consent to peace. These conditions M. Cambon signified to his own government and to Spain—with the result that the terms were first informally, and then formally, accepted.

By the 9th of August the French ambassador was able to signify to the President the willingness of Spain to end the conflict on the conditions named. In the meantime, the troops of the United States, at the town of Malate, near Manila, in Luzon, had repulsed the Spaniards who had attacked them and inflicted a slight loss on the enemy.

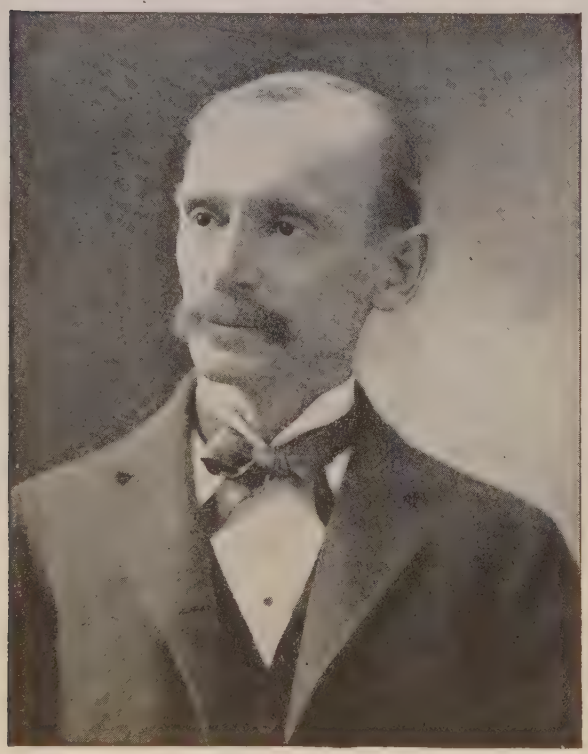
By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

VIEW IN PRINCIPAL STREET OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.

The preliminary agreement, called a protocol, which the President of the United States prescribed to Spain, was signed by Hon. William R. Day, Secretary of State, for the United States,[1] and by the French ambassa-

[1] At the beginning of the administration of McKinley the important office of Secretary of State was held by John Sherman, who had been induced to resign his position as Senior Senator of the United States for Ohio in order to receive the Cabinet appointment referred to.

dor, for Spain, on the 12th of August, 1898. The terms included the independence of Cuba and the withdrawal of the Spanish authorities from the island; the cession of Porto Rico to the United States—this as a result of the war; the cession of the island of Guam in the Ladrone Islands to the United States; the occupation of the harbor and city of Manila, pending the final disposition of the Philippines by the decision of the Commissioners, appointed by the two nations to meet in Paris before the 1st of October, to determine by permanent treaty the conditions of peace.



WILLIAM R. DAY,
Secretary of State, Administration of McKinley.

The event moved forward speedily to a conclusion. The President appointed as Peace Commissioners on the part of the United States, ex-Secretary of State, William R. Day; Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota; Senator William P. Frye, of Maine; Hon. Whitelaw Reid, and Senator George Gray, of Delaware. The Spanish government also appointed five distinguished Commissioners headed by Señor Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Spanish Senate. The other members on the side of Spain were Señor Abarzuza, Señor Garnica, General Cerero, and Señor Villarrutia. The Commissioners met at Paris on the 1st of October, and proceeded at once to organize and to take up the important diplomatical matters submitted to them for final decision.

The war entailed upon the American people several most serious consequences. In the first place, it brought the all-important question of the proper disposition and management of the insular territories acquired by the treaty. Hitherto, all territorial acquisition by the United States had been made with the distinct purpose of peopling such territories with American citizens, organizing republican governments, and admitting the territories into the Union as equal States in the sisterhood. This method did not seem to suggest itself with respect to Hawaii or to the islands acquired by the war. These were inhabited, for the most part, by the descendants of the Latin races, by hybrid populations, and by Orientals, few of whom knew anything and most of whom knew nothing of republican institutions or self-government in any form.

Sherman, however, was in many respects out of accord with the policy of the administration, and he was soon displaced from the Cabinet under the powerful pressure that was brought to bear upon him. A pretext was found for his removal on the score of the alleged failure of his mind. It was given out that he was paretic and half-insane, and this statement was repeated until the public mind was completely abused relative to the Secretary's condition. His resignation, when it was procured, was accepted by the President, and Honorable William R. Day, who had been holding the office of Assistant Secretary of State, was promoted to fill the vacancy occasioned by the "resignation" of Sherman. The duty of conducting the department of State thus, during the greater part of the Spanish-American war, devolved upon an officer who had had no previous experience in public affairs, or any special preparation for the serious diplomatical duties which were placed upon him.

The proposition to establish a colonial system for the acquired islands, in the manner of the British Colonial governments, seemed repugnant to all American traditions, if not positively contrary to the Constitution of the United States. A party sprang up, however, willing to take this risk—willing to introduce a sort of modified imperialism instead of the strictly republican and democratic theory of government. The movement, however, was opposed by an anti-imperialistic party; but the lines of division between the two did not coïncide with the lines of the existing political cleavage. This question obtruded itself powerfully into the party contests of 1898.

The war brought in its train several other consequences that were hurtful to the Nation and a drawback to the progress of the age. The *spirit* of war was encouraged. The conflict, which had been undertaken generously, and with the sole professed design of securing the independence of the Cubans, was soon modified and deflected with the notion of territorial acquisition. Those who favor the maintenance in the United States of a great standing army and a prodigious navy were encouraged, and the recently prevailing sentiment in favor of arbitration received a backset from which recovery must needs be slow. The rampant partisans of the war soon began to flaunt their bravado against the very principles of peace, and openly to advocate the revival in America of the old war passions prevalent among the European nations.

Besides all this, abuses sprang up in the military management which reflected discredit upon the Department of War, and spread a feeling of distrust against those responsible for the welfare of the soldiers. The public provision for the support of the military movements was so inadequate to the actual requirements of the camp, the field, and the hospital, that private benefactions had to be added to alleviate the sufferings of the army. The naval administration was superb, but the land forces were frequently neglected, and were even deprived of the abundant provisions made by a generous people for their comfort and preservation. These facts were brought out by the American press, and were directed with much bitterness against the administrative authorities in the party contests of 1898.

Perhaps the most salutary advantage gained by the American people, as a result of the conflict with Spain, was the complete effacement of the animosities and prejudices remaining from our great Civil War. It had been very difficult for the men of the South and the men of the North to become reconciled. Though a full generation had arisen and glided away, the deep-down recollections of the past in the hearts of millions of our people could hardly be removed to give place to other sentiments than those which had prevailed in the days of the great Rebellion. The pictures of that terrible time still stood in the silent chambers, and the effort to turn their faces to the wall was resented as an affront to the dead.

The war with Spain had the effect to obliterate the surviving antagonisms of our people. The men of the old Confederacy and their sons sprang forward with enthusiasm to the support of the national cause. Such men as General Fitzhugh Lee and the veteran General Joseph Wheeler were assigned to important commands, and both they and their soldiers, whether from the South or the North, showed a heroic devotion to the flag of the Republic. The soldiers of the two sections fraternized completely, and over the grave of the past the grass grew green in the summer of 1898.

While the issue of the war, so far as the American arms were concerned, was highly auspicious, many things followed in the train well calculated to spread grief and anxiety among the people. It had been foreseen that the climate of the West Indies would severely try the constitution of the American soldiers. The war broke out at the beginning of the dangerous season—dangerous as to both the torrid heat and the malignant diseases which prevail in the tropics. From this source much more was to be apprehended than from the armies of the enemy.

The event corresponded with the appre-

hension. No sooner had the American forces been debarked in Cuba than the fatal effects of climate and disease began to be felt in the invading camps. The season was less disastrous as to temperature than had been feared, and the diseases peculiar to the Cuban climate did not come in the most malignant form. Yellow fever appeared in only a sporadic manner. The worst affliction of the soldiers was typhoid fever and malarial affections of various kinds. Of such ailments a great many soldiers sickened and hundreds died. The losses from this source were far in excess of the losses from marching and battle.

The effects of the prevailing diseases were aggravated by the imperfect supply-system and the inadequate medical and surgical service. It was soon known that the army about Santiago was suffering greatly for provisions, medicines, and hospital accommodations. The percentage of the sick increased, and it was a fortunate circumstance that the fall of Santiago and the announcement of the protocol came at so early a period of the year. Provisions were soon made for the withdrawal of divisions of the army, and as soon as the sick soldiers could be distributed in camps, they were sent thereto, and in course of time, a better system of medical service and of supply was instituted.

The mustering out of the forces followed in the latter part of August, September, and October, though a sufficient army was retained to make certain that no advantage should be taken by Spain pending the negotiations at Paris.

In the course of a few months, the hostility to the management of the War Department was intensified by the discovery that some of the principal army supplies had been of an inferior quality and unwholesome. It appeared that the beef contractors had in particular sent to the West Indies large consignments of both fresh and prepared beef which was found to be worse than useless as food for the soldiers. A guaranty had been given by the beef trusts of Chicago that the whole beef, that is, beef in carcass, sent to the army should be refrigerated in a manner to be preserved fresh for seventy-two hours after delivery from the ships. Instead of this, much of it was found to be putrid on delivery, or covered with mouldy exudations of a nauseous and poisonous character.

The principal army supply was so-called "canned roast beef." It transpired that this supply had been furnished from poor stock, and, as testified at the inquiry, had been treated with preservative chemicals. It was said, in the phraseology of the times, that the beef was "embalmed;" that is, treated as animal bodies are treated to preserve them against decay. The Court of Inquiry, however, appointed to investigate the charges held that they were not sustained.

The premonitions of this business were blown abroad about the time of the conclusion of hostilities. Subsequently, an investigation of the matter was ordered by the President. General Miles, the Commander-in-chief, went on record in verification of the charges. Other noted officers did the same. Hereupon, General Eagan, the Commissary General of the army, openly denounced General Miles as a liar. For this he was court-martialed and dismissed from the service. But the President of the United States, modified the verdict into a decree of suspension from office for six years, without suspension of his salary—a fact which led to much unfavorable criticism of the War Department, General Alger, the secretary of war, and the President, for his apparent support of his subordinates.

Meanwhile, when the regiments began to arrive from Cuba and their condition came to be known, the nation was shocked at the spectacle presented. The soldiers died by hundreds and thousands. In the home camps to which they were assigned, such as Camp Wikoff, at Montauk Point, on the eastern extremity of Long Island, the scenes of suffering continued until late in the year. Even then, when the regiments were disbanded and the soldiers returned to native town or country side, they appeared rather as spectres than as men.

The summary of the total losses of the Americans during the war furnished ma-

terial for much reflection and comment. It appeared that the general character of war had changed. In the first place, the small loss of the Americans from the casualties of battle was a matter of astonishment. Only 329 men had been actually killed in action, and 125 others had died of their wounds, making a total loss by violence, *in the army*, of 454. But the record of loss by disease was appalling; for this amounted to 5,277, being nearly twelve times as great as the total loss in battle! Or again, the whole loss in the army, amounting to 5,731, was three hundred and eighteen times as great as that in the navy; and yet the war was essentially a naval war! On the battleships, only seventeen men were actually killed in action, and but one man died of his wounds, while not a single marine died of disease during the three and a half months of the conflict. The contrast was so astounding as to be pitiable. The fatal element as shown in these statistics was the enormous death list resulting from diseases and inadequate and unwholesome supplies in the army.

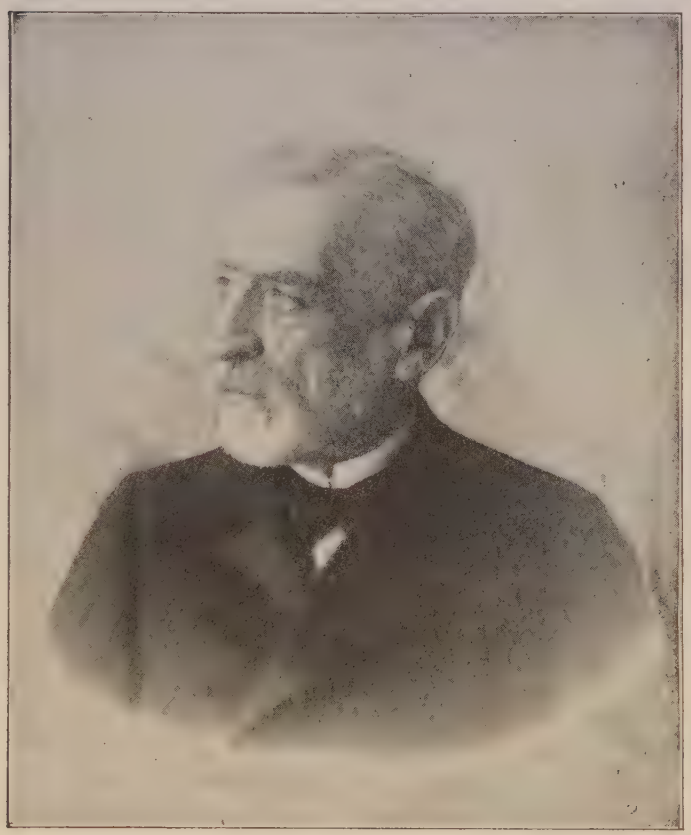
RUSSELL A. ALGER,
Secretary of War, McKinley's Administration.

In the city of Paris the Commissioners of Peace began their work on the 1st of October. The American representatives had the advantage in all that ensued. Most of them, indeed all except Senator Gray, went to the Congress strongly predisposed to the policy of expansion, and to the conclusion of a treaty without much regard to the protests and arguments of the Spanish ambassadors. Meanwhile the whole force of the administration at Washington was turned to the policy of getting as much as possible out of the war. The sentiment grew in favor of holding the Philippines, and indeed everything else which had been, however temporarily, under control of the Americans during the conflict.

A very specious form of argument was invented at this time to the effect that everything which had been covered by the flag of the Republic should be retained—as though the flag and they who carried it could do no wrong! Against this sentiment there was among the American people nothing to oppose except weakness and moral trepidation. It was in vain to point out the fact that when the protocol of peace was signed, not one foot of the Philippine territory was under the American flag. It was only *after* the

protocol was proclaimed that Commodore Dewey made his successful onset on Manila. At this time the flag was indeed raised over that city, and a reason was thus found, not only for holding the harbor and city of Manila, not only for taking possession of the island of Luzon, but for the retention of the whole Philippine archipelago!

The American representatives at Paris were borne on by the tide, and the Spanish



SEÑOR EUGENIO MONTERO RIOS,
Chairman of the Spanish Members of The Peace Commission, Paris, 1898.

representatives were forced back under the pressure. The United States had all the while the powerful backing of England. Any favor which Spain might receive from France had meanwhile turned the other way; for the French holders of the Spanish bonds now saw a hope of payment in the conclusion of peace. They who hold the war debts of the world have one prevailing motive of conduct which rises above all national and international considerations and rests wholly in the hope of securing their bonds and perpetuating them as an interest-bearing fund.

It became evident before the result of the negotiations was announced that the largest advantages (even though they might be disadvantages) would be taken by the Americans as the fruit of victory. As to Porto Rico, that island had already been conceded by Spain to the United States at the conclusion of hostilities. As to Cuba, it had been agreed that the Spanish authority should be abrogated, the Spanish forces withdrawn, and independence secured to the people of the island. And herein lay a serious complication, for it had now been discovered that the Cuban republic, in behalf of which the war had been virtually undertaken, was an insubstantial fact, and that the Cuban army was rather an obstacle than an auxiliary. Still, the declarations of policy regarding Cuba were so distinct that controversy relative to the island could hardly break out at the Paris conference.

The same might be said of the island of Guam, that point of the Ladrones, or Marianas, which had been conceded to our Republic at the time of the protocol. But as to the Philippines, everything was controversial. The Spanish representatives, led by Señor Montero Rios, stoutly resisted the aggressive policy of the Americans, who soon hesitated not to claim the whole archipelago, and to shape the contention so that there could be no receding. Along this line, the members of the conference debated, adjourned, reassembled, modified unimportant details, but fixed their views more and more until the 18th day of December, when a result was finally reached in the form of a treaty to be sub-

FLORIDA
Miami
The Everglades
Cape Sable
Florida Bay
FLORIDA KEYS
Straits of Florida
Fort Jefferson
DRY TORTUGAS
REBECCA SHOALS
Key West
MARQUESAS KEYS
SUGAR LOAF KEY
GULF OF MEXICO
DOG ROCK
N. ELBOW CAY
Nicholas
HAVANA
Guanabacoa
Arcos de Canasi
Matanzas
Cardenas
LA HABANA
MATANZAS
Bolondron
Navajas
Jardines
Beimba
Colon
Jaguey
Cienaga de Zapata
Santa Teresa
Palmillas
Quemado de Guines
Calimete
Lajas
Cartagena
Yaguaramas
Cienfuegos
Trinidad
Golfo de Cazones
CABEZA DEL ESTE DE LOS JARDINILLOS
Canarreos
PINAR DEL RIO
Pinar del Rio
Consolacion del Sur
Dayaniguas
Colon
San Luis
Vaguas
Laguna de Cortes
Melones
Serranos
Juala
Salina
Mantua
Montezuelo
San Francisco
San Julian
Martinez
Guanes
Palacios
Quivican
San Cristobal
Guara
Cabanas
Artemisa
Guira de Melena
Batabano
Rincon
Madruga
Jaruco
Rocia
Guanajay
Candelaria
Consolacion del Norte
Bahia Honda
Mariel
Guanimar
Isla de Pinos
Nueva Gerona
Santa Fé
Cunada
Caudal
Jorobado
ISLE OF PINES
(ISLA DE PINOS)
Cabo Frances
C. Pepe
P. Braua
P. del Mangle
P. del los Barcos
P. del Estrecho
P. de la Fisga
P. del Gato
P. Gordas
P. Cristobal
ISLAS DE LOS MANGLES
Archipelago de
PETATILLOS BANK
E. del Hambre
CAYO LARGO
CAYO ROSARIO
CAYO RAPADO
CAYO BUENA VISTA
CAYO JUTIAS
C. San Antonio
Yucatan Channel
Corrientes Bay
C. Corrientes
GRAND CAYMAN
LITTLE C
CARIBBEAN SEA
CUBA
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 75 100
Explanation:
Capital of Cuba thus: HAVANA
Capitals of Provinces thus: Matanzas
Railroads:
Hammond's 8 x 11 Map of Cuba.

Providence N. W. Channel
Providence N. E Channel
GREAT ABACO I.
JOULTER CAYS
WHALE CAY
RIDING ROCKS
Red Bay
NEW PROVIDENCE I.
Nassau
James Pt.
ELEUTHERA
Palmetto Pt.
ISLAND
ORANGE CAY
HIGHBORN CAY
Eleuthera Pt.
Bird Pt.
BILLY I.
ANDROS ISLAND
BIGWOOD CAY
YELLOW CAY
CAT ISLAND
Exuma Sound
Devils Pt.
Columbus Pt.
SAN SALVADOR
CONCEPTION I.
GREEN CAY
GREAT EXUMA I.
C.St.Maria
RUM CAY
CURLY CUT CAYS
LONG ISLAND
LARKS NEST
SAMANA CAY
Santaren Channel
ANQUILA ISLANDS
Crooked Island Passage
Pittstown
CROOKED I.
C.Verde
SEAL CAY
FORTUNE I.
ACKLIN I.
Canal Viejo de Bahama
CAYO GUINCHOS
CAYO COCO
CAYO CRUZ
ISLA TURIGUANO
GREAT RAGGED I.
CAY VERDE
ISLA GUAJABA
El Sabinal
CAYO SABINAL
CAYO S. DOMINGO
P. Maternillos
Puerto de Manati
Puerto de Malaguata
Puerto del Padre
P. de Herradura
Salinas
Gibara
Pta. de Sama
Puerto de Baños
Pont Nipe
Puerto de Cayo Moa
Jaraqua
E. de Canete
P. Bay
P. de Baracoa
Punta de Maisi
Windward Passage
Guantanamo Bay
Sagua de Tanamo
Mayari Alto Cedro
Holguin
Manzanillo
Santiago de Cuba
Golfo de Guacanabo
GRAN BAJO DE BUENA ESPERANZA
CAYOS DE LAS DOCE LEGUAS
QUEEN'S GARDENS (JARDINES DE LA REINA)
P. de Macurijes
Santa Cruz
Camaguey
CAMAGUEY
Sierra de Cubitas
Sierra de Tuinicu
Sierra Maestra
Pico de Turquino
Cabo Cruz
P. de Matles
P. Tabacal
Santiago Bay
Siboney
Daiquiri
ORIENTE
SEA

mitted for approval to the treaty-making powers of Spain and the United States.

Near the close of the year 1898, this treaty of Paris was transmitted to the governments of the respective nations. As to the main point, the agreement reached included the cession of the whole Philippine group to the United States, and the payment by the latter to Spain of $20,000,000. This sum was claimed by the Spanish representatives and was allowed by the American representatives on the score of the ousting of Spain from her forts, government buildings, and other material improvements in the Philippines, rather than as money paid for the islands themselves. These were claimed by the United States on the score of conquest and indemnity, and also on the ground that it had become the duty of our Government to secure for the Philippine Islands such civil and political institutions as might enable them to obtain and enjoy all the liberties to which mankind are entitled.

A population of fully 8,000,000, semi-barbarians and savages, was thus transferred to the sovereignty of the United States with the consequent necessity of establishing over the Filipinos some kind of colonial government such as that employed by Great Britain in the control and management of her insular and other foreign possessions. The full text of the treaty, agreed to and signed by the Commissioners of Spain and the United States, may not be profitably repeated; only the leading articles, with a summary of the less important parts, are here inserted as the logical conclusion of the story of the Spanish-American war.

"ARTICLE I.—Spain renounces all right of sovereignty over Cuba. Whereas said isle when evacuated by Spain is to be occupied by the United States, the United States, while the occupation continues, shall take upon themselves and fulfill the obligations which, by the fact of occupation, international law imposes on them for the protection of life and property.

"ARTICLE II.—Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and the other islands now under her sovereignty in the West Indies and the Isle of Guam in the archipelago of Marianas or Ladrones.

"ARTICLE III.—Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, which comprise the islands situated between the following lines."

The remainder of the article defines at length the ocean boundaries which inclose all of the islands of the Philippine archipelago.

"ARTICLE IV.—The United States shall, during the term of ten years, counting from the interchange of the ratifications of the treaty, admit to the ports of the Philippine Islands Spanish ships and merchandise under the same conditions as the ships and merchandise of the United States."

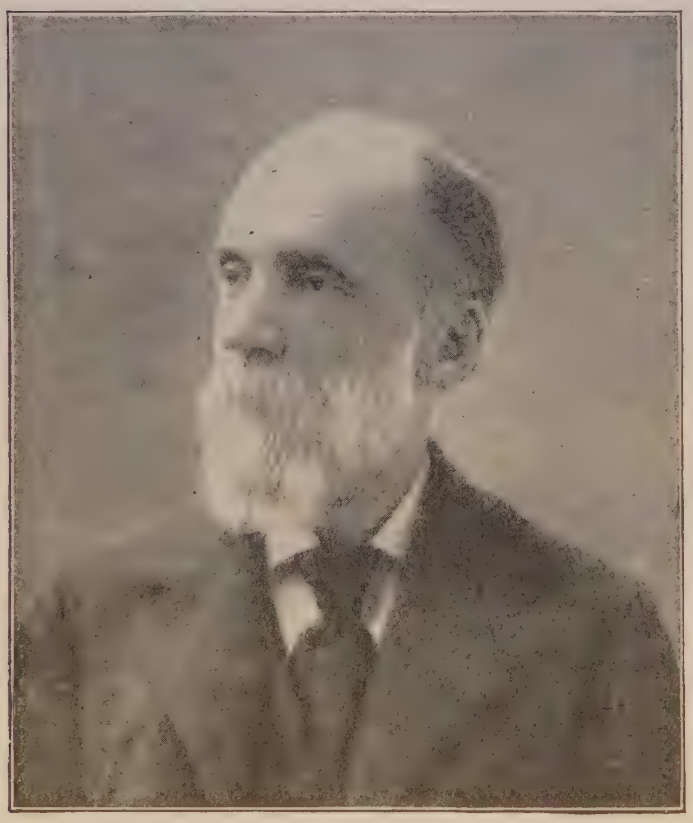
The fifth article made it incumbent on the United States to transport to Spain all the Spanish prisoners of war; to concede to the captured soldiers their arms; to enjoin on Spain the evacuation of the Philippines and the Isle of Guam; to grant to Spain the retention of such of her flags and standards and arms as had not been taken in actual battle, except the heavy ordinance of permanent fortifications.

The sixth article required that Spain should set at liberty all prisoners, political and military, in Cuba and the Philippines, and that the United States should likewise liberate all persons who had been taken and imprisoned during the war.

"ARTICLE VII.—Spain and the United States mutually renounce by the present treaty all claim to National or private indemnity, of whatever kind, of one Government against the other, or of their subjects or citizens against the other Government, which may have arisen from the beginning of the last insurrection in Cuba, anterior to the interchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as also to all indemnity as regards costs occasioned by the war. The United States shall judge and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain, which she renounces in this article.

"ARTICLE VIII.—In fulfillment of Articles I, II, and III of this treaty, Spain renounces in Cuba and cedes in Porto Rico and the other West Indian isles, in Guam and the

Philippine archipelago, all buildings, moles, barracks, fortresses, establishments, public roads, and other real property which by custom or right are of the public domain, and as such belong to the crown of Spain. Nevertheless, it is declared that this renouncement or cession, as the case may be, referred to in the previous paragraph, in no way lessens the property or rights which belong by custom or



GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER.

law to the peaceful possessor of goods of all kinds in the provinces and cities, public or private establishments, civil or ecclesiastical corporations, or whatever bodies have judicial personality to acquire and possess goods in the above-mentioned renounced or ceded territories, and those of private individuals, whatever be their nationality."

. . . . . .

In the ninth article it was provided that all Spanish subjects, native or domiciled in the ceded territories, should have the right of passing under the future sovereignty of the places in which they dwelt, or of freely returning to Spain. In doing so all rights of property should be strictly observed.

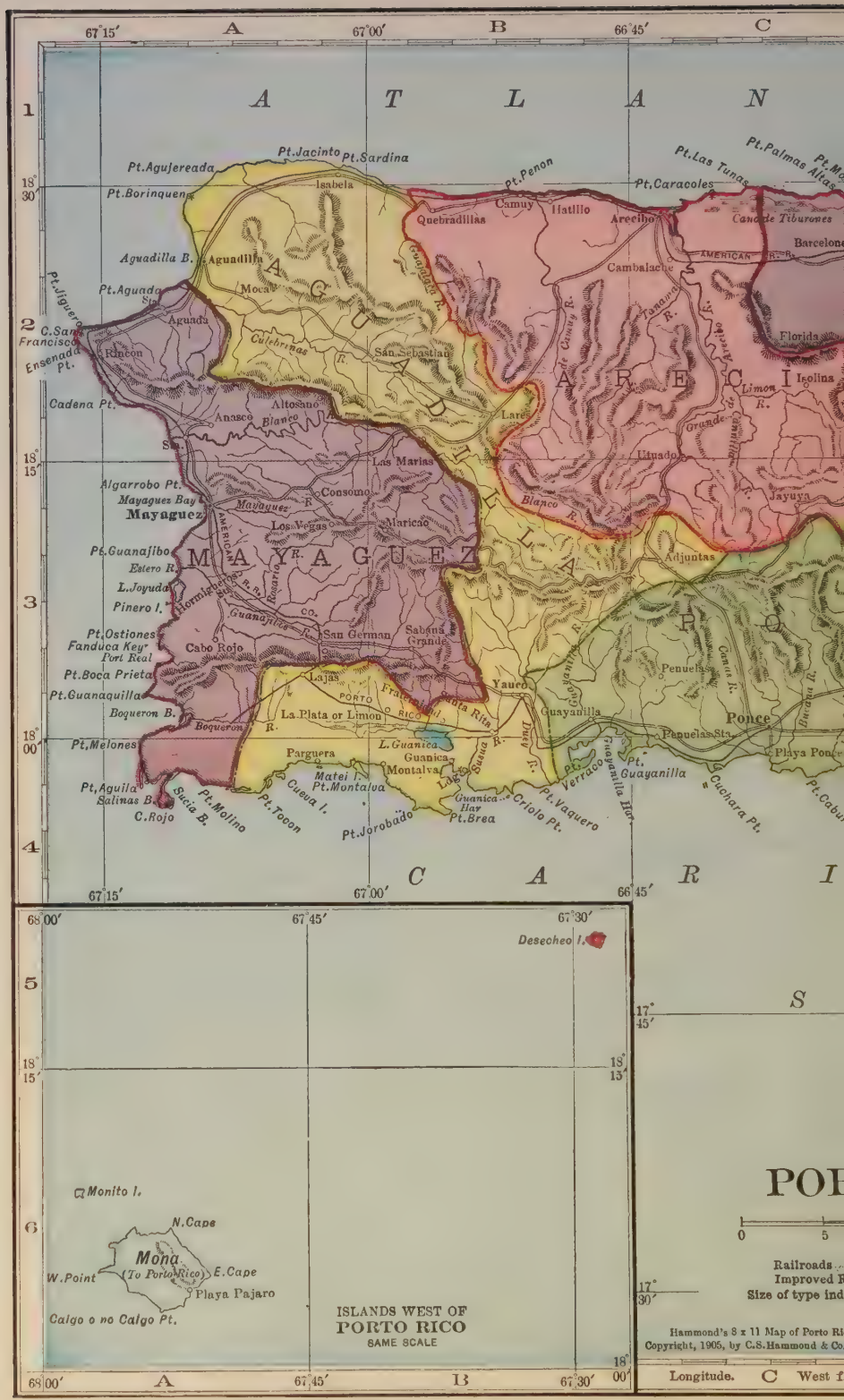
"ARTICLE X.—The inhabitants of the territories whose sovereignty Spain renounces or cedes shall have assured to them the free exercise of their religion.

"ARTICLE XI. — Spaniards residing in the territories whose sovereignty Spain cedes or renounces shall be subject in civil and criminal matters to the tribunals of the country in which they reside, conformably with the common laws which regulate their competence, being enabled to appear before them in the same manner and to employ the same proceedings as the citizens of the country to which the tribunal belongs must observe."

In Article XII the forms of judicial proceedings in the countries affected by the war were defined. The manner of carrying sentences into effect and the forms of criminal prosecutions were ascertained and declared.

"ARTICLE XIII.—Literary, artistic, and industrial rights of property acquired by Spaniards in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and other territories ceded on the interchange of ratifications of this treaty shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary, and artistic works which shall not be dangerous to public order in said territories shall continue entering therein with freedom from all customs duties for a period of ten years dating from the interchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

"ARTICLE XIV.—Spain may establish consular agents in the ports and places of the territories whose renunciation or cession are the object of this treaty.


ATLANTIC
CARIBBEAN
AGUADILLA
AGUADA
ARECIBO
MAYAGUEZ
PONCE
Pt. Jacinto
Pt. Sardina
Pt. Agujereada
Pt. Borinquen
Isabela
Pt. Penon
Pt. Caracoles
Pt. Las Tunas
Pt. Palmas Altas
Quebradillas
Camuy
Hatillo
Arecibo
Cambalache
Barceloneta
Florida
Isolina
Aguadilla B.
Aguadilla
Pt. Aguada
Moca
Aguada
Rincon
C. San Francisco
Ensenada Pt.
Culebrinas R.
San Sebastian
Cadena Pt.
Altosano
Anasco
Blanco
Lares
Limon
Grande
Utuado
Jayuya
Las Marias
Algarrobo Pt.
Mayagues Bay
Mayaguez
Consomo
Mayaguez R.
Los Vegas
Maricao
Pt. Guanajibo
Estero R.
L. Joyuda
Pinero I.
Hormigueros
Rosario R.
Guanajibo R.
Adjuntas
Pt. Ostiones
Fanduca Key
Port Real
Cabo Rojo
San German
Sabana Grande
Pt. Boca Prieta
Pt. Guanaquilla
Boqueron B.
Boqueron
Lajas
Yauco
La Plata or Limon R.
Guayanilla
Penuelas
Ponce
Pt. Melones
Parguera
L. Guanica
Guanica
Montalva
Matei I.
Pt. Montalva
Pt. Aguila
Salinas B.
C. Rojo
Sucia B.
Pt. Molino
Pt. Tocon
Cueva I.
Pt. Jorobado
Guanica Har.
Pt. Brea
Pt. Vaquero
Criolo Pt.
Pt. Verraco
Guayanilla Har.
Pt. Guayanilla
Cuchara Pt.
Playa Ponce
Desecheo I.
Monito I.
N. Cape
Mona
(To Porto Rico)
W. Point
E. Cape
Playa Pajaro
Caigo o no Caigo Pt.
ISLANDS WEST OF
PORTO RICO
SAME SCALE
Railroads
Improved R
Size of type ind
Hammond's 8 x 11 Map of Porto Ri
Copyright, 1905, by C.S. Hammond & Co
Longitude. C West f

I C O C E A N
B B E A N
SAN JUAN
Pt.Puerto Nuevo
Pt.Ceno Gordo
Pt.Boca Juana
Pt.Fraile
Pt.Salinas
Palo Seco Pt.
Pt.Maria
Pt.Maldonado
Pt.Vacia Talegas
Pt.Uvero
Pt.Miquillo
Comezon Cove
Pt.Picua
Pt.Percha
Embarcaderos Pt.
Pt.San Diego
C.San Juan
Hicacos I.
Palominos I.
Rio Piedras
Carolina
Canovanas
Loiza
Trujillo Alto
La Muda
Rio Grande
Mameyes
Luquillo
Fajardo
Pt.Mata Redonda
Pt.Figuera
Port Medio Mundo
Ceiba
Pineros I.
Pt.Puerca
Ensenada Honda
Pt.Cascajo
Naguabo
Algodones Bay
Port Nayuabo
Pt.Lima
Santiago Key
Punta Santiago
Las Piedras
Humacao
El Morrillo
Morro de Humacao
Pt.Candelero
Pt.Guayanes
Yabucoa Har.
Yeguas Pt.
Maunabo
Pt.Tuna
Port Maunabo
C.Mala Pascua
Pt.Viento
Pt.Figuras
Ft.Barrancas
Las Marcas Rf.
Caribes Is.
Pajaro I.
Ratones I.
Jauca Is.
Pt.Petrona
Mata I.
Pt.Arenas
Rincon Bay
Salinas
Santa Isabel
Guayama
Arroyo
Patillas
Aguirre
Central Aguirre
Cayey
Aibonito
Barranquitas
Comerio
Naranjito
Corozal
Morovis
Toa Alta
Toa Baja
Bayamon
Catano
Martin Pena
Dorado
Vega Alta
Vega Baja
Manati
Arecibo
Barros
Camuy
Hatillo
Quebradillas
Isabela
Aguadilla
Aguada
Rincon
Anasco
Mayaguez
Hormigueros
Cabo Rojo
Lajas
Guanica
Yauco
Guayanilla
Penuelas
Ponce
Juana Diaz
Coamo
Orocovis
Barceloneta
Florida
Manati
Vega Baja
Vega Alta
Toa Alta
Toa Baja
Bayamon
Catano
Dorado
Rio Piedras
Carolina
Canovanas
Loiza
Trujillo Alto
La Muda
Rio Grande
Mameyes
Luquillo
Fajardo
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Humacao
Las Piedras
Punta Santiago
Yabucoa
Maunabo
Patillas
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Arroyo
Aguirre
Salinas
Santa Isabel
Coamo
Aibonito
Cayey
Barranquitas
Comerio
Naranjito
Corozal
Mor

"ARTICLE XV. — The Government of either country shall concede for a term of ten years to the merchant ships of the other the same treatment as regards all port dues, including those of entry and departure, light-house and tonnage dues, as it concedes to its own merchant ships not employed in the coasting trade. This article may be repudiated at any time by either Government giving previous notice thereof six months beforehand.

"ARTICLE XVI.—Be it understood that whatever obligation is accepted under this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba is limited to the period their occupation of the island shall continue, but at the end of said occupation they will advise the Government that may be established in the island that it should accept the same obligations.

"ARTICLE XVII.—The present treaty shall be ratified by the Queen Regent of Spain and the President of the United States, in agreement and with the approval of the Senate, and ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington within a period of six months from this date or earlier if possible."

It was in the years 1897–98, that the great change in public opinion and purpose, with respect to some of the fundamental principles and constitutional forms of the United States, was first noticed. Republicanism as a form of government, and democracy as a theory of society, had never been completely and finally demonstrated in our country. True, republicanism as a form of government, and democracy as a motive force in society, had triumphed in the American Revolution, had given form to the Constitution of the United States, had been vindicated in the general

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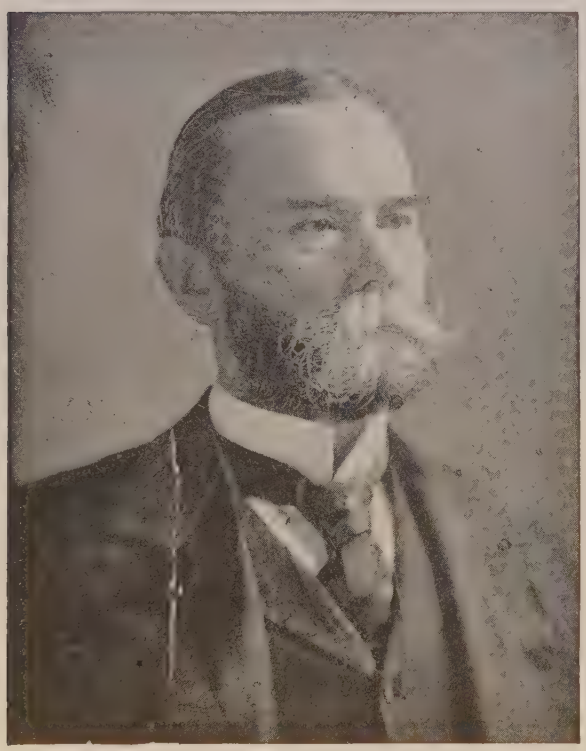
history of the Union, and in the local organizations of nearly a half-hundred commonwealths. But the great bottom principles and practices of free popular government had never been universally accepted by the people of this country, and of late years, both republicanism in fact and democracy in theory had been seriously weakened.

It now appeared that a large part of the people had been infected with foreign sentiments. They had been undermined by an overdone commercialism which regards successful trade as superior to free citizenship. With this had come also an unspoken distrust of the republican form of government, and a subtle preference for European methods

in both State and society. The easy passage of the Atlantic, and the ever-increasing wealth of the upper classes in America, had aggravated this political degeneration, and had promoted a preference for the institutions and methods of monarchy.

The un-American tendency expressed itself in many tangible facts. Notwithstanding the declared purpose of our Government, as interpreted by the fathers, the sentiment grew in favor of a large standing army. It grew, particularly, in the direction of the creation of a great fleet of warships. It grew in the direction of admiration for the institutions and methods of the British empire. Notwithstanding the fact that our only two serious foreign wars had been fought with Great Britain in order to break her authority over these States and to keep her at bay from our shores, an ill-conceived prejudice in favor of an Anglo-American alliance, as against the rest of the world, took possession of the people of the Atlantic States and spread far into the interior.



JOHN HAY,
The New Secretray of State, 1898, McKinley's Administration.

Then came all of a sudden the ambition to acquire foreign territory. This, of course, could be done only by aggression, purchase, and conquest; but the desire grew until it became a passion. The European governments hold many foreign possessions, and to be like the European governments it was necessary that the United States should have foreign possessions also.

In the four hundred years succeeding the discovery of America, all the continents of the world and all the important islands of the sea had passed by acquisition, by purchase, or by conquest, under the dominion of the stronger races of mankind. Some of the races were native and to the manner born, but many were discoverers, aggressors, and conquerors. At the close of the nineteenth century, there was no additional territory, either insular or other, to be gained by the aggressive nations by means of discovery and occupation; but there still remained the methods of purchase and conquest. There also remained one other very effective method; that is, the method of a stronger nation's gaining a foothold on foreign territory, and then holding it as a point in national honor!

The colonial possessions of Great Britain had been mostly acquired by this method, and the time came when the method recommended itself to the United States. The advocates of territorial acquisition defined their policy as "expansion." Hitherto the Territories of the Republic had greatly expanded, and for such expansion the Constitution provided. A provision was made in advance by the fathers to settle, occupy, and develop Territories with a *view to the admission of such Territories into the Union as independent States.* A large part of our history as a Nation had been involved with this process. By this means, the thirteen small States, with which the Union began, expanded to forty-five great States, with the

prospect, at the century's close, of five others. In 1867, the Republic gained a vast accession of territory in Alaska, but this acquisition also had respect to the creation of States. The intermediate stage in our process of State-making had always been the organization of a territorial government by the people of the Territory in question. Such a thing as a colonial government is unknown to our Constitution, and unprecedented in our history.

In spite of these undeniable facts and principles, however, the desire sprang up and became aggressive, particularly among the commercial classes and in the dominant political party, to enter upon a career of foreign territorial acquisition. This happened almost coincidently with the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. It also happened that that conflict was directed on the American side almost wholly against the insular possessions of Spain. The most important of the possessions, the West Indian, lay contiguous to the American coast.

There was much which concurred at this juncture to inflame the rising sentiment of territorial aggrandizement. Excited citizens began to talk about the "Greater America." There seemed to be something romantic and great about the conquest of the insular territories of Spain. The map was scanned in order to discover her possessions in the ocean. Another circumstance, which seemed fortuitous, conduced to the same end. The Pacific division of the American fleet, at the outbreak of the war, lay within easy striking distance of the Philippine Islands belonging to Spain. These were second only in importance to Cuba and Porto Rico. The result was that while the war progressed, the island-getting sentiment rose in fervor. It became a settled purpose on the part of the Government and a large part of the people to take the island empire of Spain from her; and to do this, and as a justification of it, the reason was advanced that the conquest and transfer of the Spanish islands was just and necessary in order to civilize and Christianize the barbarian populations and as an indemnity to the United States for the outlay incurred by the war.

It was easily foreseen by the leaders of this transformation of public opinion and policy, that new methods of government and new principles of government, wholly different from those which had hitherto been accepted, must prevail, if the imperialistic plan should be carried out. It was foreseen that international relations and policies heretofore unknown must be adopted—that the United States should, in a word, be made an international, rather than a national, entity in the future history of mankind.

This new theory and proposed practice in government was known in the jargon of the times as *Imperialism*. Its supporters called it the Policy of Expansion. It found its center in the commercial cities of the seaboard, and had the American press for its chief means of propagation. There was something sensational and much that was spectacular in the utterances that were heard on every hand in the year 1898. In the first place, the traditions of the American Republic had to be put aside. Plainly, these traditions carried the doctrine of National independence. Washington and all the fathers of the Republic had taught this doctrine. They had declared the doctrine of no entangling alliances with foreign powers. They embodied the doctrine of a plain democracy and of an independent and separate nation in the Constitution and workings of the American Government.

The fathers had, moreover, been cautious and severe with respect to the very contingency which had now arisen. The whole political life of Washington was devoted to the principle of a *new, separate nationality*, based on principles diametrically opposed to those on which rest the governments of Europe. All of this had to be brushed aside by the new American imperialists. They had, in the first place, to obviate constitutional provisions by accepting the facts of conquest and adopting a system of colonial governments. In the next place, they had to attack the patriotic tradition of the fathers; and this they did unsparingly. Many leading American journals laughed to scorn such documents as Washington's Farewell Ad-

dress, and a few noted pulpiteers, some of them born in foreign lands, openly proposed that our old charters of liberty and independence should be hung away as mementoes of a bygone age!

This fermentation in public opinion, and this transformation of public thought and purpose, occurred mostly in the years 1898–99. But symptoms of the new faith and practice in legislation was tolerated by the people. The party in the minority felt it expedient to concur with the majority, lest opposition might be construed into a failure to support the Government in time of war. It was this motive which prevailed when the Bond Bill of 1898 was passed with only a plausible pretext for such an act.

In some respects, however, the prevailing

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

NATIVE FILIPINOS WITH ABORIGINAL WEAPONS.

had appeared as far back as the closing years of the Harrison administration. It stands to the historical credit of President Cleveland that he resisted it; and the imperialistic party, nursing its purpose, was obliged to wait until after the inauguration of McKinley before it could accomplish its design with the annexation of Hawaii. That event was, as we have seen, swiftly accomplished, by a method of congressional indirection and undue haste, in the summer of 1898 The war was then on, and almost anything ambition tended to produce better and more reasonable results. The question of constructing the proposed Nicaraguan Canal was revived, and was advocated with more energy than ever before. The opinion grew in the United States that the Government itself, rather than any private corporation, should prosecute the great enterprise. Many reasons were adduced to show the propriety of such a course. In the first place, the construction of the canal by way of Lake Nicaragua was now known to be practicable from

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PROPOSED NICARAGUA CANAL.

an engineering point of view. In the next place, it could not be doubted that the United States possessed the requisite capital. And in the third place, the two states principally concerned (Guatemala and Costa Rica) were at one with our government on the subject.

Moreover, the building of the canal under governmental patronage seemed to accord perfectly with the spirit and method of the dominant party in the United States. Such a work seemed to be a part and parcel of that "expansion" which infected the public mind to so great a degree at the conclusion of the Spanish-American war. The question got into Congress, and in the last days of the session of 1898–99, a bill to subsidize the canal to the extent of $20,000,000 was passed by the Senate, but was blocked in the House of Representatives by Speaker Reed, whose great—almost unlimited—exercise of power in that body enabled him to force the measure over to the Fifty-Sixth Congress.

The spirit of imperialism in the United States thus began to flourish and expand with the closing years of the century. Each return of the National holidays brought forth a new stream of inconsiderate and generally unpatriotic—certainly un-American—oratory in favor of a factitious National glory at the expense of public patriotism and of the political independence of the Nation. To such an extent had this spirit proceeded when the Peace Commissioners assembled at Paris, that the American representatives were borne or pressed forward to demand the total expulsion of the Spaniards from the Philippine Islands and the gathering in of that whole archipelago with its millions of half-savage inhabitants as a trophy of the battle—this, too, in the face of the fact that at the time when the war was formally concluded by the protocol of August 12, 1898, the American flag did not float over a single square foot of the Philippine territory.

The alleged reason for these insular acquisitions, that the United States needed such islands for the establishment of coaling-stations, particularly for the establishment of naval coaling-stations, appears to be little less than a piece of historical sarcasm; for by this argument the fleets were necessary in order to effect the conquests; the conquests were necessary in order to get the coaling-stations; and the coaling-stations were necessary for the fleets! On this poor circle of logical fallacy and historical unsoundness, the NEW IMPERIALISM of 1898 was made to to rest!

History had reserved for the Spanish-American war a startling and lamentable sequel. As soon as the treaty of peace was concluded, the colonial dominion of Spain crumbled away. Her power in the West Indies melted like a mist, and like the shadow of a mist in the Philippines. The Spanish garrisons and field soldiery were withdrawn from both oceans and sorrowfully transported to Spain.

This movement left the Americans in possession of the late insular territories of the Spanish kingdom; but the possession was indefinite. As for Porto Rico, the transfer to the United States was immediate, absolute, and final. A government was at once organized, and the office of military governor was conferred on General John R. Brooke. In Cuba, the Spanish withdrawal was complete, but the American occupancy took for the time being the form of a protectorate, which was declared to be temporary until such time as a government might be organized by the Cubans themselves.

In the winter of 1898–99, some feeble movements were made for the institution of a Cuban republic, but at the same time, other forces began to work to create in the island a sentiment which might subsequently be represented as a cry for annexation to the United States. This kind of movement had already succeeded in the case of Hawaii. The Hawaiians had never called for annexation. Only a handful of natives, in sympathy with the government of President Dole, and his American coadjutors, had sought to secure the islands under the unsupported pretext that the Hawaiians wished to be incorporated with our Republic.

This policy, having succeeded in one case, was immediately adopted as an efficient

method of getting Cuba. It was noted under the American administration at Havana, that the Cuban patriots and military leaders were gradually influenced either to resign from their offices or to give forth premonitory expressions of favor to the annexation program. General Calixto Garcia died in Washington City, and General Gomez resigned from the headship of Cuban affairs. In fact, the real, but by no means the professed, tendency in this period of chaos was to bring about a condition of affairs out of which an expression from the Cubans could be obtained favorable to the absorption of the island by the American Republic.

Still more serious and complicated was the condition of affairs which supervened in the Philippines. In that far region there was a tremendous native population, numbering about eight millions, scattered over insular districts in different parts of the archipelago. The town of Manila was held by the Americans; for that had been conceded since the date of the protocol with Spain. The military occupation at Manila, however, was exceedingly distasteful to the Filipinos, who greatly desired independence. Long before this, they had found a capable leader in their chieftain, Emilio Aguinaldo, around whom they rallied in the winter of 1898–99 in an attempt to institute a native government. They took Malolos for their capital and instituted a native congress.

It was ostensibly to break and destroy the Spanish dominion over the Filipinos that the Americans had invaded the islands. The invasion by the American army brought that army into alliance with Aguinaldo, who had already more than once led in a rebellion against Spain. The islanders believed that the success of the American invasion would be their success. When the Spanish war was concluded, Aguinaldo proceeded to create a political organization. He and his co-workers sent as their representative to Washington City their popular fellow-insurgent, Felipe Agoncillo, who sought to obtain recognition as the representative of a Philippine republic. But his seeking was in vain; for the temper and purpose of the administration to take possession of the whole Philippine archipelago and to hold it as a colonial

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN R. BROOKE.

dependency were now revealed, and Agoncillo was unceremoniously turned away.

When this rejection of the native ambassador was known in the Philippines, Aguinaldo and his forces hemmed in the town of Manila, entrenched themselves according to

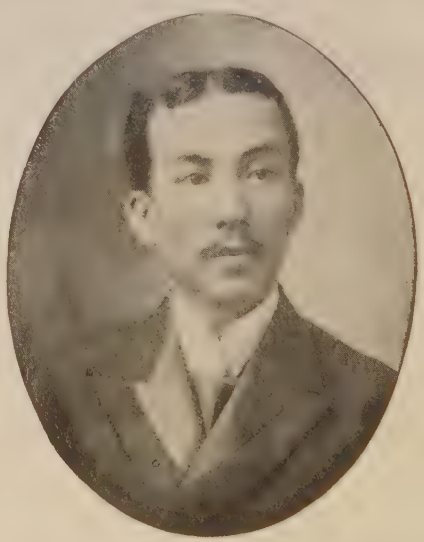
EMILIO AGUINALDO.

their rude skill, and began to press the American lines. Meanwhile orders had been sent from the war department at Washington to General Elwell S. Otis, in command of the United States troops at Manila, to dispatch a force to Iloilo, capital of the island of Panay, which had been besieged by the natives because the Spanish garrison had not been withdrawn. On the day before Christmas, however, the Spanish commandant withdrew, and Iloilo was taken by the Filipinos before the American contingent could arrive.

Three days afterwards, the President of the United States transmitted to General Otis a paper of policies for him to follow. On the 7th of January, Aguinaldo issued a counter proclamation protesting against the American occupation, and citing the well-known fact that the Americans had promised to secure independence for the native people. The leader called upon his countrymen to continue the struggle for emancipation. On the 10th of the month, a conference was held by the American authorities, and another by Aguinaldo and his followers, to determine what policy each would henceforth pursue.

The result was actual hostilities. On the 4th of February, 1899, the Filipinos made a night attack on the American lines near Manila, but were repulsed with unknown losses. With the coming of daylight, Admiral Dewey opened from the fleet upon the Filipino position, and the battle was renewed with tremendous losses to the insurgents until, according to current rumor, 2,000 of their number were killed, and an equal number wounded. Report said that the Americans had taken 4,000 prisoners. The Americans in the engagement lost 49 killed and 148 wounded. In any event, the Filipinos were defeated, and on the 7th of the month, they retreated from the vicinity of Manila, in the direction of Malolos. The Americans advanced and established their lines nine miles beyond the city.

A detachment of Americans under General Miller which had been sent against Iloilo



FELIPE AGONCILLO.

came upon that place on the 11th of February, and captured it from the natives. On the day before this affair, the town of Caloocan, near Manila, was bombarded and captured

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Railroads
Submarine Cables
Size of type indicates relative importance of places
BATAN AND BABUYAN ISLANDS
SAME SCALE AS LARGE MAP
FORMOSA
(To Japan)
Bachi Channel
BATAN ISLANDS
IBAYAT
BATAN
IBUGOS
SABTAN
Balingtang Channel
BALINGTANG IS.
BABUYAN
CALAYAN
BABUYAN ISLANDS
DALUPIRI
BIJUTANG
BARI
FUGA
CAMIGUIN
C. Bojeador
C. Engano
PALAUI I.
CAGAYAN
LUZON
MANILA
SCALE OF MILES
Tondo
Sampaloc
San Nicolas
Guiabo
San Miguel
INTRA MUROS
S. Felipe Neri
Paco
Sta. Ana
Ermita
Malate
Pasay
Pasig River
Pandacan
Binondo
San Cruz
Estero de Sta. Mesa
MANILA BAY
TO GUAM HAWAII AND SAN FRANCISCO
TO HONGKONG
PACIFIC OCEAN
SEA
MINDORO
MARINDUQUE
Pt. Bondog
Gulf
Mts.
Mt. Halcon
Mt. Malindang
Mt. Iglit
Mt. Data
Mt. Polis
Mt. Pulog
Mt. Natib
Mt. Mariveles
Mt. Banahao
Mt. Labo
Mt. Isarog
Mt. Mayon
Mt. Bulusan
Mt. Apo
Mt. Canlaon
Mt. Dulangan
Mt. Tagubon
Mt. Tagapo
Mt. Matutum
Mt. Parker
Mt. Sinaka
Mt. Tumatangis
Mt. Tumatangis
Mt. Tumatangis

SAMAR
LEYTE
PANAY
CEBU
NEGROS
BOHOL
MINDANAO
MISAMIS
DAVAO
COTABATO
SULU (JOLO)
PALAWAN
CUYOS IS.
CAGAYANES IS.
TUBBATAHA IS.
CALAMIANES ISLANDS
VISAYAS
SULU SEA
CELEBES SEA
Puerto Princesa
Balabac Strait
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO
Sandakan
Zamboanga
BASILAN
Isabela de Basilan
Jolo
PANGUTARAN
SAMALES IS.
TAWI TAWI IS.
SULU (JOLO) ARCHIPELAGO
Illana Bay
Gulf of Davao
Mt. Apo
Surigao Sea
Hammond's 8 x 11 Map of Philippine Islands
Copyright, 1905, by C.S. Hammond & Co., N. Y.
A 118 B
C Longitude 122 East from D Greenwich 124 E 126 F

by the Americans. And on the same day of the capture of Iloilo, the insurgents north of Manila were assaulted in their position and driven into the interior. In this engagement, the American loss was 4 killed and 32 wounded.

After this, desultory fighting continued almost daily, until the 25th day of March, when a division of the Americans led by General MacArthur, advancing in the direction of Malolos, which was the capital town of Aguinaldo, was confronted by the Filipino army, a few miles distant at a place called Singulon. Here a battle was fought in which the Americans lost over 30 killed, while the Filipino list of dead and wounded extended to hundreds. The American advance was then continued to the capital, which was taken on the 31st of March, and Aguinaldo and his forces receded down the railroad into the interior, tearing up the rails as they retreated. The Filipino Congress and the government officials fled from Malolos with Aguinaldo's army, and the government building was fired. That structure and a great part of the town were consumed to ashes.—Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of April, 1899.

It could but be that the example of Chicago and the world-wide fame of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 would bring forth fruits meet for praise. So the event revealed itself in our country. Expositions of Arts and Industries rose to a higher and still higher plane. Several displays of National importance followed in divers parts of the republic, in the five-year interval between 1893 and 1898. First, in the city of San Francisco was held a Midwinter World's Fair from January to June of 1894. Many of the foreign exhibits displayed at the Chicago Exposition were transferred bodily to this exposition on the Pacific Coast. The Fair was very successful both from an artistic and a commercial point of view. On September 15th of the following year, the Cotton States and International Exposition was formally opened at Atlanta, Ga. This also proved to be an extensive and successful enterprise, more important indeed than the Midwinter Fair of San Francisco. Hereupon the citizens of Nashville, Tenn., decided to commemorate the centennial of Statehood which was coming on apace, by the holding of an exposition in their capital city. The Tennessee Centennial Exposition was accordingly opened in May, 1897, in the city of Nashville, and continued for the space of six months with many interesting features. Then in the summer of 1898, followed, in the city of Omaha, Neb., an exhibition of the products, arts, industries, and general civilization of the States west of the Mississippi. These States had already become a vast democratic empire. In them all were the elements of an amazing progress and the seed-germs of a rare and expanding culture.

The development of the American Republic by carrying civilization first one thousand and then two thousand miles from the Atlantic seaboard had by stress of distance and diversity of industrial interests changed somewhat the sentiments and fraternal spirit of the two sections of the Union. The central West had continued to be completely American, while the impact of foreign populations upon the great cities of the East had tended to give them somewhat the cast of Europe. The importance of the Omaha Exposition lay in the fact that it tended to preserve and emphasize the homogeneity of the people as a whole—a fact already demonstrated at Chicago five years previously.

For it was into the West that the Eastern States of the Union had sent aforetime the best streams of their population. The new Western commonwealths were born out of the loins of the older commonwealths in the East, as also out of the older in the South. Kansas and Nebraska, in particular, had been colonized by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and in the final stage of their development were essentially detached territories of Massachusetts. But the great States of the Western part of the Union had been overlooked in the commercial and industrial processes and ambitions of the Eastern cities, while in the political evolution at the capital of the nation, the Senators and Representatives of the trans-Mississippi

States had in political controversy been disparaged and depreciated.

As if to show the fundamental identity of interests in the East and the West, the question of holding a great exposition in Omaha was first agitated. The idea took practical shape in the winter of 1895. An executive committee of six representatives was formed, and a preliminary subscription of nearly half a million dollars was made in a short period of time. Grounds were secured in a part of the chosen city, and on the 22d of April, 1897, the corner-stone of the first building was laid.

The work of construction extended from this date until the opening of the exposition on June 1st, 1898. Meanwhile the Spanish-American war broke out; public attention was diverted from things civil and things industrial to things military. The condition of affairs in the early summer of 1898 might well have discouraged the management of the Exposition, or to have altogether postponed the enterprise. But the enterprise would by no means be arrested; on the contrary it went forward to a complete and indeed glorious fulfillment.

The grounds included in the building area at Omaha had an extent of two hundred acres. Lines of communication were multiplied to the center of the city, which might be reached in a few minutes' travel. The situation was picturesque, and the landscape was artistically divided so that the principal buildings should be grouped around a Grand Court or central space. A Grand Canal was constructed, crossed at intervals with elegant bridges. Promenades, flanked with rows of columns and covered above with roofs from which vines depended, furnished an imitation of what has been found in the ruins of Pompeii. At the ends of the avenues were arches of beautiful structure, one of which, designed to be permanent, was called the Arch of the States, representing in as many courses of stone the twenty-four States and Territories concerned in the Exposition. The grounds were improved and ornamented in the manner already memorable from the work done

Courtesy of the Henderson Lithographing Co., Cincinnati, O.

TENNESSEE CENTENNIAL INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—Bird's-eye View of Buildings and Grounds.

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI EXPOSITION—GRAND COURT LOOKING TO THE WEST.—From a Photograph.

in Jackson Park for the Columbian display of 1893.

The Exposition began with imposing ceremonies on the 1st of June, and extended over a period of four months. From the beginning, the enterprise was successful in the highest degree. The visitors who thronged the grounds during the summer, many of whom were from the Eastern parts of the Union and from foreign lands, could but be impressed with the striking revelations of the progress made by the enlightened communities of the Western States. In fact, the exhibition as a whole, following the types and methods already established by the experience of nations since the holding of the first display of the kind in 1851, compared favorably with the great international displays at Paris, London, Vienna, and Chicago. The city of Omaha, by the entertainment of the immense throngs entering her gates, won for herself the unstinted applause of many peoples; her name became historically recorded as one of those municipalities which have contributed by such enterprises to the progress and enlightenment of the human race.

OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI EXPOSITION AT OMAHA.

An important industrial and economic fact in the recent history of the United States was the discovery of the Klondike gold mines in the Yukon district of British Columbia. The region of the finds lies just over the eastern boundary of Alaska. The fields of production belong to the valley of the Yukon from about the point at which that river cuts the international boundary, up the valley in a southeasterly direction, to the Chilkoot Pass, and almost as far as Teslin Lake. The region in question is just below the Arctic circle, and is almost inaccessible to the invasion of the civilized life.

The knowledge that gold exists in large quantities in the placer deposits of this part of the Yukon led, as in the case of California and Australia, to the inrushing of men and

races. The proximity of Alaska to the new fields seemed to invite the adventure of great numbers of American miners and prospectors. These were held at bay only by the enormous distance of the mines from the open sea, and by the rigors of nature which were sufficiently extreme to appall the stoutest heart. The principal excitement occurred in 1897, when the northwestern parts of the United States were greatly agitated, and thousands of men took up their ill-advised march for the Klondike.

Those who could reach the scene were rewarded, some of them richly, with findings of free gold in the placer sands. The supreme obstacle to success lay in the fact that the country is covered with thick layers of ice and snow. These have to be melted away or scattered with explosives before the miners are able to get down to the frozen sand and gravel in which the particles of gold are distributed. The facts would seem to indicate that the Klondike deposits are among the richest in the world, but are at the same time almost inaccessible. The gold is of unknown extent and distribution, but is so encased under ten or fifteen feet of ice-layers that human beings can hardly work their way to the coveted gravel. The result of the discovery was far less than the anticipation. Enthusiasts did not hesitate to predict that a yield of a hundred millions of dollars or more would presently be obtained from the Yukon mines, but this estimate was ridiculously greater than the actual yield in 1898 and 1899 would justify.

ARCH OF TRIUMPH IN MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK.

Erected in Honor of Admiral George Dewey, and to the Glory of the American Navy, September, 1899.

This chapter may be fittingly concluded with a brief notice of the progress of affairs

in the Philippine Islands. There the war of the United States with Spain transformed itself into a war with the Filipinos. In May of 1899, the wet season, which extends from May until October, set in, and military operations on the American side were virtually suspended. A period of uncertainties and disagreements among the land and naval officers ensued, and Admiral George Dewey asked to be relieved of the command of the Asiatic squadron. Commodore Watson was accordingly sent to take his place, and Dewey returned to the United States.

The Admiral was received with great enthusiasm. The city of New York, by its authorities, prepared for him the most brilliant reception ever extended to an American citizen. He was received on board of his flagship, the *Olympia*, by Mayor Van Wyck and the official committee, and on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of September, was accorded a public ovation of unprecedented character. Perhaps a million people, besides the citizens of New York, joined in the triumphal pageant which was enacted in the streets of the city. The Admiral was placed at the head of the great procession, military and civil, and was greeted with shouts by the thousands who thronged the streets. In Madison Square a Dewey Arch with approaches of Victory columns had been erected, with a grand reviewing stand from which the Admiral and a great host of invited guests reviewed the procession. Afterwards, the Admiral departed for Washington City to consult with the Administration as to the best means of securing peace in the Philippines.

CHAPTER CLXI.—GREAT BRITAIN.

SO far as party polemics were concerned, the year 1889 in England was one of political stagnation; but the trend of events now began clearly to reveal new issues destined to recast the whole political machine. These new issues were caused by the interferences of organized labor and consolidated capital. With the revival of trade from its long inertness, the laborers, naturally, indulged in expectations of higher wages. These expectations became demands; the vast system of employees determined to insist that justice be done them. Their exactions were resisted by the employers. Then the wage-earners struck.

The first of the great strikes was that of the dock-laborers, in August. They asked for an increase of pay from five pence to six pence an hour and for the abolition of the contract system. Allied laborers—porters, stevedores, carmen, watermen, and the like—joined forces with the original strikers. Popular sympathy was with them,—partly on account of the disfavor with which the Dock Company was regarded by the public. Mass-meetings were held in Hyde Park and elsewhere; subscriptions for the support of the strikers poured in. London was amazed; one hundred thousand men had gone out.

It was realized that here was a condition necessitating profound attention. Economists and humanitarians alike sought for means whereby to terminate the crisis; the sentiment of the nation ordered an equitable adjustment of the difficulty. The indiscretions of the more violent strikers weakened the general approval, yet the conscience of the people was at last aroused, and it remained aroused. As a result, a Commission was formed to investigate and settle the matters in dispute. The members of the Commission of Conciliation were the Lord Mayor of London, Cardinal Manning, and the Bishop of London. The amicable efforts of these men were successful, and in November the strikers returned to work, victorious.

This great strike was typical of all the lesser, sporadic ones, which occurred throughout the kingdom among bakers, tailors,

tramway and omnibus men, as well as among the more important departments of labor. In most instances the strikers were fairly successful, though the efforts of the gas-stokers in London and Manchester failed. The tendency of the strikes was to attract attention to the condition of the poor, and on this account a new impetus was given to the cause of social reform. In London, poor and obscure. Among those who died of it were Mr. Bright, the greatest orator of the age, the poet Browning, Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, the most learned of contemporary prelates, and Wilkie Collins, the novelist.

In Ireland the sufferings of the poor were rather less than for some time immediately preceding. The violence that had recently

THE VICTORIA DOCKS, LONDON—SCENE OF THE LABOR STRIKES.

especially, much was done; the law against owners of unsanitary tenements was enforced; large donations aided in the establishment of institutions for relieving the physically and mentally barren lives of the toilers; Sir Edward Guinness gave a quarter of a million pounds sterling to be used in the erection of dwellings for the poor in London and Dublin.

These charitable endeavors were also made needful through the ravages of a new disease, the influenza, which in this year swept like a pestilence over all the country. Nor was the disease limited in its attacks to the been the expression of political animosity began to disappear, by reason of the better direction taken in the legislation concerning the relations between landlords and tenants, and by reason of the changing temper of the people. Agrarian outrages were discontinued to a great extent, and instances of boycotting grew fewer. The harvests of the year before had been insufficient, but now the products were plentiful; and this abundance, in conjunction with increased prices, aided in restoring comparative tranquillity to the island.

At the opening of 1890, then, we find Ireland almost resting for a moment. England, on the contrary, was peculiarly distraught, and a like uneasiness was apparent in Wales and Scotland, despite the fact that Scottish progress was splendidly illustrated in this year by the completion of the huge cantilever bridge over the Forth, near Edinburgh. The revival of industrial activity that began in 1889 soon ceased, to be succeeded by commercial apathy. All conditions conspired to cause disaster. The politicians were cautious; indeed, they did not know how to avoid the evils of the hour, and no remedial legislation was attempted. Among the laborers socialistic agitations were persistent; the stock exchange securities fell; financial legislation in the United States, and stormy weather at harvesting-time, served to increase the discouragement and to prevent enterprise. The alarm of the moment reached its climax when the old house of Baring Brothers was threatened with failure. The age and resources of this house had given to it such public prestige that the rumor of its difficulties appalled the financial world, and the general dismay was hardly alleviated when the Bank of England came to the rescue of the Barings. Consols fell nearly to ninety-three, and it was only by the bank's importation of large sums in gold from France and Russia that a panic was averted.

JOHN BURNS, M.P.
Labor Leader Prominent in the Great Strikes of 1889.

The weather continued to aid in making the period unusual and troublous; for the winter was the coldest known in many years, so that the sufferings of the poor were thereby much intensified. Thus there was a particular timeliness to the plea put forth by General Booth, of the Salvation Army, for the subscription of a million pounds to be used in relieving the submerged tenth in Darkest England, although his plan of work met with harsh criticism.

The labor question became even graver. At the Trade Union Congress, held at Liverpool, in September, the party of compulsion overcame the old Unionists. The significant spirit of this was displayed in the variety and extent of the strikes during the year. The dock-men in Liverpool, Cardiff, and Glasgow went out, though without much success. In the mining districts no fewer than two hundred thousand

men struck, and when the questions in dispute were compromised, it was estimated that the north of England had lost three hundred thousand pounds sterling. In fact, the spirit of the year was such that strikes occurred in almost all departments of labor. The employees in the post-office, the policemen, coroners' juries, soldiers, and sailors were numbered among the strikers. At the close of the year the railway men in Scotland stopped work, and traffic was at a standstill for six weeks, when the strike failed.

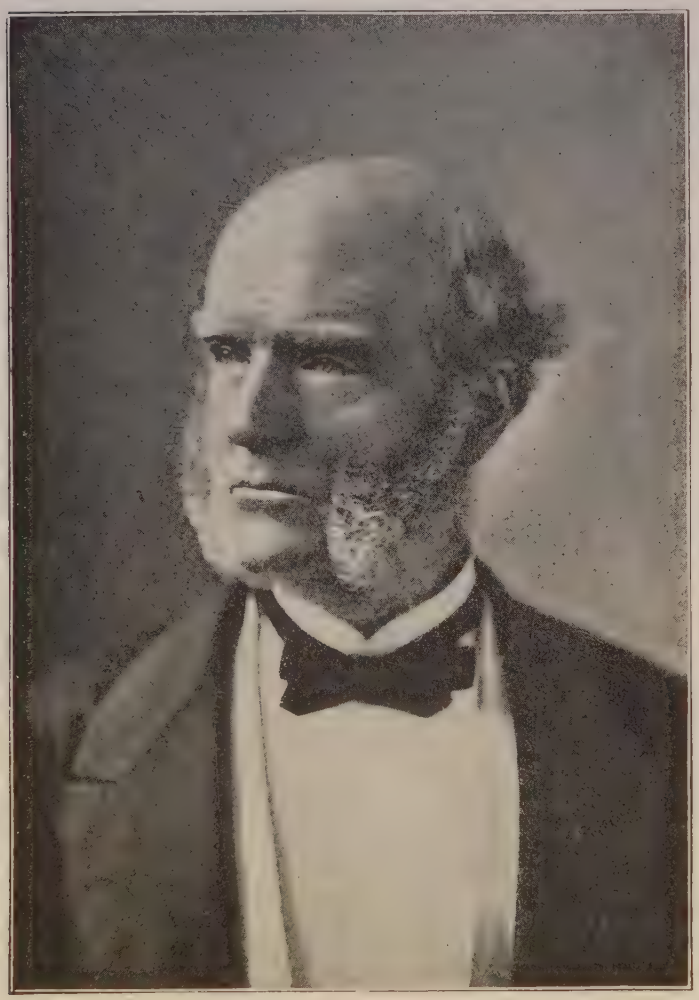
The general gloom was heightened by the many losses at sea, the chief of which was the sinking of the British torpedo cruiser, *Serpent*. In the foundering of this vessel off the coast of Spain, near Corunna, November 10, only three out of two hundred and seventy-six escaped. It is worthy of note that the dead bodies washed ashore were buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery by the Spanish priests, notwithstanding the fact that the corpses were those of Protestants.

Meantime, in Ireland, extensive disquiet had been caused by anticipations of famine. Happily, not only were these fears not realized, but they were productive of positive good, inasmuch as the Government, in order

WILKIE COLLINS.

CANTILEVER BRIDGE OVER THE FRITH OF FORTH.

to guard the people from the expected horrors of want, advanced four hundred thousand pounds to an Irish company so that railways might be constructed in the rural districts. As a result, the poor were given sufficient employment and the country was permanently benefited.



THOMAS HUGHES.

In Parliament, Irish affairs were less satisfactory. In February the Commission appointed to investigate the Times-Pigott forgeries reported, exonerating Parnell as to the personal charges, but condemning him and his companions for combining to boycott. Much and bitter debate arose about the report. In September, Tom P. Dillon and O'Brien, Parnellite members of Parliament, were arrested, charged with conspiracy and with advising tenants not to pay rents. The arrested men, having secured bail, chose not to wait the issue of a trial, but fled to America. The Irish camp itself was fast becoming distraught with opposing factions when the antagonistic elements were roused to final bitterness by the decision in the O'Shea divorce case, whereby Parnell, named as the co-respondent, was found guilty as charged and taxed with all the costs. The day after the verdict a great meeting of the National League, in Dublin, unanimously voted that Parnell should retain the leadership, and the chief himself publicly announced his intention of remaining at the head of the party. The sentiment as to his personal conduct was, however, such that the English Home Rule party separated from him, while the Irish bishops somewhat later issued a manifesto against him, and a Conference of the Irish members of Parliament, held December 4, resulted in the election of Justin McCarthy in Parnell's stead. Forthwith a vehement campaign between the two factions was conducted in Ireland, in which Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites showed a superabundance of intrigue and belligerency, both verbal and physical, the most important results attained being a serious injury to the cause of Home Rule by displaying Irish turbulency and lack of restraint in the management of domestic affairs.

In ecclesiastical circles much interest attached to the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, who had been prosecuted for ritualistic

practices. The ruling, made in November, after two years of trial, was a distinct victory for the ritualistic prelate, and a severe blow to the Low Church party waging war against him, which promptly appealed to the Privy Council, where, in the following year, the judgment of the Archbishop was confirmed.

Earlier in the year the return of Henry M. Stanley, who landed at Dover, April 26, after his successful journey from the Congo to the Albert Nyanza, and thence to the east coast of Africa, was the occasion for great rejoicings among all classes, a rejoicing increased by his romantic marriage with Miss Tennant in Westminster Abbey, and only shadowed by the painful charges and countercharges as to the conduct of his rear column.

The most generally lamented deaths of the year were those of Cardinal Newman, August 11; of the Archbishop of York, William Thompson, D.D., December 25; and of Canon Liddon, the most eloquent divine of his generation, September 9.

The new year, 1891, brought no distinct signs of betterment. Trade continued stagnant; the general condition of health was bad—the grip raging. The cold weather that had marked the close of 1890 increased to such an extent, in the early months of 1891, that its severity was beyond anything in past years back to 1794. For more than a month the Thames, at Windsor, was frozen over, and the skating on Regent's Park Lake remained for forty-three days. The inclement weather intensified the sufferings of the poor, and incited the laborers to new efforts for better wages; but most of the strikes failed. A Royal Commission, with Lord Hartington as chairman, was appointed to investigate the difficulties in the relations between capital and labor; but its work, while marking an advance in the status of the subject, was of no direct benefit. Parliament attempted to remedy the existing state of affairs by legislation, and to that end the Factory Acts were amended; while an act to extend small holdings was introduced, and school fees were abolished.

The general discontent was strikingly shown in the platform promulgated by the National Liberal Federation. This promised home rule, disestablishment in Wales and Scotland, parish councils, small holdings and allotments, the House of Lords to be amended or ended, land law reform, taxation of ground rents, free sale of land, popular veto on liquor, international arbitration, and the proper housing of the working classes.

The ravages of sickness and death were especially evident in the political realm. The influenza was virulent in the House of Commons through the summer, and Gladstone was completely prostrated by it and the shock of his eldest son's death. Just after the Newcastle meeting, W. H. Smith, the leader of the Unionist party, and Parnell died on the same day. Balfour, who as Irish secretary had distinguished himself in quieting the internal condition of the island, was chosen as the new head of the Unionists. Parnell's marriage with Mrs. O'Shea had finally divided the Irish forces, and his death even could not close the gap his folly had opened. Balfour, however, by active measures, including personal visits to the island, was able so to manage affairs that the condition of the people was practically ameliorated, despite the frays of the leaders. Especially, the measures of the Government for the purchase of their holdings by tenants marked a decided gain to the small agriculturists. Lord Granville, the leader of the Opposition Peers, died; also Lord Lytton, diplomatist, Indian viceroy, and man of letters. Among the most notable deaths outside of political circles were those of Kinglake, the historian of the Crimean War; Bradlaugh, the free-thinker; Professor Moseley, the biologist; Dr. Magee, the new Archbishop of York, whom Dr. Maclagan was appointed to succeed; and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the Russian philosopher, and founder of modern Theosophy.

The general consternation that was spread abroad through the country did not pass society by; for all aristocracy was shocked and alarmed by the Gordon-Cumming scandal, in which the Prince of Wales was involved. The matter transpired by reason of a slander suit brought by Sir William Gordon-Cum-

ming against those who had accused him of cheating at cards, and in the trial the Prince of Wales appeared as a witness. The plaintiff was defeated; but the evidence showed that gambling at baccarat had been the diversion of the prince and his party while visiting at Tranbycroft, and a storm of criticism was provoked. Not the least striking part of the whole affair was Sir William's marriage of an American girl immediately after the verdict of the court against him. The distress caused to society by the noising abroad of such unwholesome secrets was, however, somewhat assuaged by a visit in the summer from the German Emperor, and one soon afterward from the Prince of Naples, heir to the Italian throne.

HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY.

The opening months of the new year saw little abatement in the anxiety and trouble of the nation. Typhoid fever raged in January, and in the second week of that month Duke Albert Victor of Clarence and Avondale, eldest son of the Prince of Wales, and, after his father, heir to the throne, died of the disease at Sandringham. The whole nation really mourned the death of the youth who was only twenty-eight years of age. The sorrow was emphasized by its coming on the heels of the rejoicing that had arisen on the announcement of his engagement to the daughter of the Duke of Teck and Princess Mary of Cambridge.

The gloom was yet apparent when formal court festivities celebrated the betrothal of Princess Marie of Edinburgh to the Crown Prince Ferdinand of Roumania, and the visit of the successful suitor, accompanied by his uncle, King Charles of Roumania, to Queen Victoria.

In Parliament, the approaching dissolution was in the air. Gladstone remained absent for his health's sake. The death of the Duke of Devonshire removed the Marquis of Hartington to the House of Lords, and made necessary the appointment of a new leader in his stead for the Liberal Unionist party in the Commons. To this position Mr. Chamberlain succeeded. As to the various measures that engaged the attention of the session, the most important and effective was the Irish Land Purchase Act, which was passed after having been discussed in a number of preceding sessions. This law was designed to benefit the Irish tenants, and to that end provided that the Government should advance money to tenants desiring to purchase their holdings. This money would be paid to the Government by the tenant in a series of payments, each so small that it would not exceed the annual rent charge. In addition, the title to the property would

pass at once to the purchaser, burdened only by the Government's mortgage.

Parliament was dissolved June 28, and the war of the electors began. Ten days before the dissolution the Protestants of Ulster sent twelve thousand representatives to Belfast to utter a formal protest against Home Rule, whether Gladstonian or Fenian. This action on the part of the Ulsterman played an important *rôle* in the campaign, Lord Salisbury, being without a special constituency to address, took the unprecedented step of issuing a manifesto to the electors of the United Kingdom. In this appeal he urged upon the voters that they should not abandon the Loyalists of Ireland, and particularly the Protestants of Ulster. In another direction, Balfour pointed out the more tranquil condition of affairs of Ireland, and insisted that the Gladstonian method of settlement meant real unsettlement. The one desire in Wales was for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, to which Gladstone stood pledged; so that the Welsh vote was counted for the Separatists, as was the new labor vote, owing to the fact that the Separatist leaders promised direct legislation in behalf of the working classes. The strength of the various forces thus united was such that, after a fight of three weeks, the polls revealed a majority of forty for the Separatists.

The session opened August 4, Mr. Peel being reëlected speaker, and then Mr. Asquith, whose reputation in the Commons had been steadily growing for three years, moved "no confidence" to the Address. In the vote that followed, the Gladstonian party had a majority of forty against the Government, whereupon Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet resigned, and Gladstone became Prime Minister for the fourth time in his life, he then being within four months of his eighty-third birthday. Sir William Harcourt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the leader of the House in Gladstone's absence; John Morley went into the Irish Office, and Lord Rosebery was made Foreign Secretary again, while Asquith's abilities were recognized by his appointment to the Home Office.

H. R. H. THE DUCHESS OF TECK.

Meantime the condition of the country in no wise improved. The prevalence of epidemic sickness was marked. The death-roll was headed by Tennyson, the leader of English literature, who died, on October 6, at his house at Aldworth, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Among the other more notable deaths were those of Professor Freeman, the historian; Cardinal Manning, the

most distinguished of Catholic prelates; and Spurgeon, the most popular of pulpit orators.

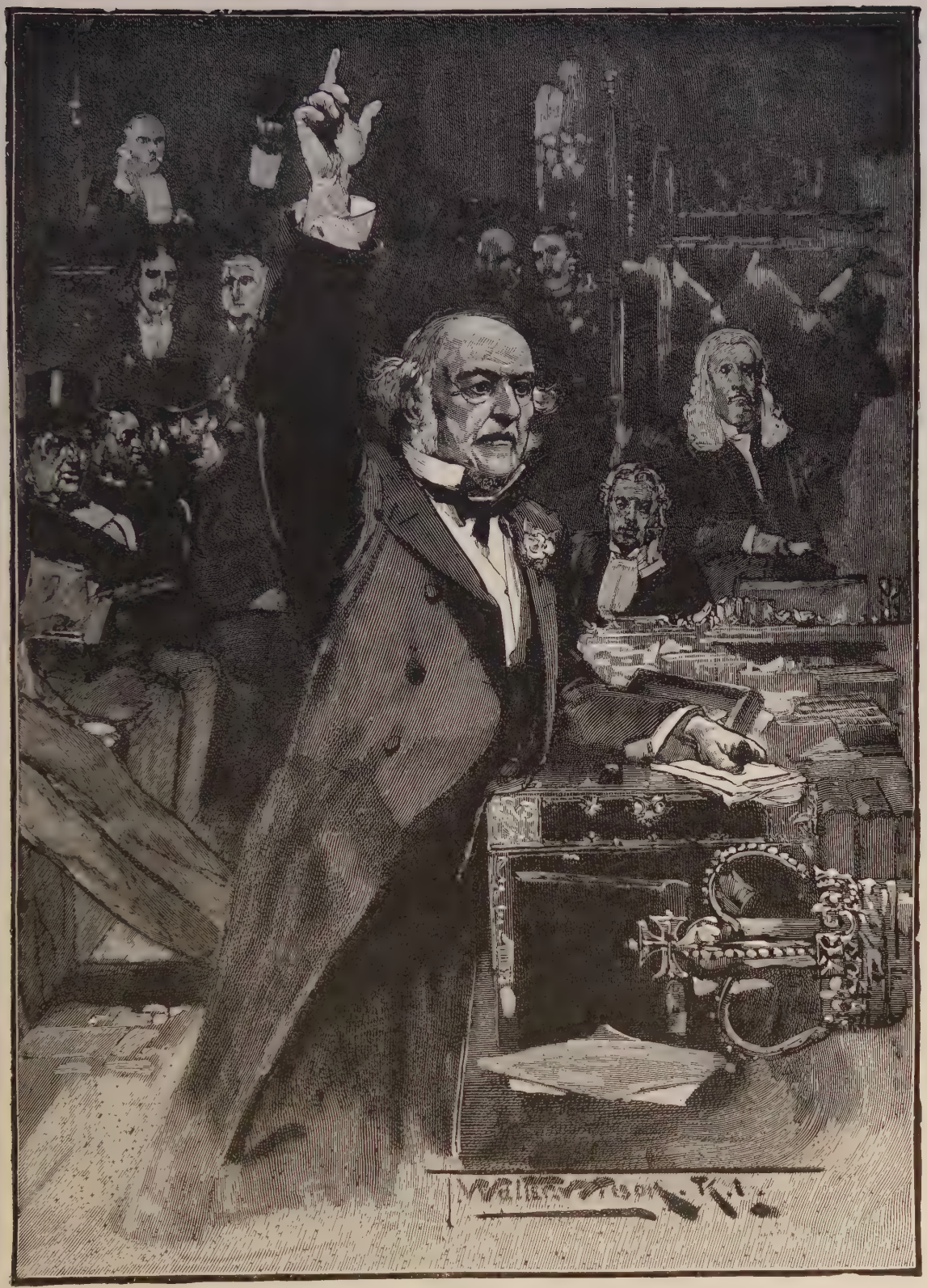
The dissatisfaction of the laboring class was plainly expressed by the number and sullen persistence of the strikes. The chief of these was that of the colliers in Durham,

JOHN MORLEY, M.P.

who remained out for twelve weeks, from March to June, only to fail.

It is only by an appreciation of the growing needs of diverse classes that we come to understand the change now apparent in the whole political system. For years the fights in Parliament had been between the two great parties. As early as 1885, however, smaller interests began to assert themselves. Little by little, these interests became important, and their advocates sought for their advancement before all else. To that end they worked for an alliance with others, by which mutual aid might be given. Thus the log-rolling system began. It grew surely until, in 1893, we find it dominating in Parliament. This evolution of the groups is demonstrated by an enumeration of the many factions definitely defined in this year. The Parliament was made up of so many different parties that exact statement is difficult; but the more important may be thus given: On the Government side — Nationalists, Parnellites, Anti-Parnellites, Official Liberals, Radicals, Welsh Radicals, Scotch Radicals, Liberal Socialists, and the Temperance group. In the Opposition ranks — Conservatives and Liberal Unionists. All of these were primarily devoted to their individual interests, and their frequent changes from Government to Opposition marked their freedom from the old party trammels. This same freedom made the task of the chief leaders one of great and increasing difficulty, and it explains much that would be otherwise inexplicable in the political history of the time.

On the thirteenth day of February, Gladstone introduced the promised Home Rule Bill, which was characterized by Lord Randolph Churchill as a great betrayal of the Unionist cause, since it ignored the claims of Ulster, guaranteed no definite protection for the free education of Protestant children, jeoparded the Imperial control of the Irish military, and practically provided for the confiscation of the landlords' estates. Glad-



HOME RULE BILL IN THE HOUSE, 1893—GLADSTONE'S PERORATION.

stone, however, ably defended his measures against all attacks.

The leading provision in the bill was for the establishment of an Irish Legislature, which should have authority in the determining of matters exclusively Irish, while in no way interfering with the general prerogatives of the Parliament. But the financial plan of the bill was found to be wholly unsatisfactory. Moreover, it was urged against the act that its provisions would give the Irish members of Parliament the balance of power in that body. In Ireland itself the bill provoked much bitter opposition, not only among the Protestants in Ulster, but also among many of the Catholics. Even the leaders of the Irish party were not strong in support of the measure. The bill was debated for eighty-two days in the Commons —one of the longest debates recorded of that body—then, finally, it was passed and sent on to the House of Lords, only to be rejected by the peers in a vote of four hundred and nineteen to forty-one. Throughout the whole of the contest the greatest bitterness prevailed, a bitterness that was sometimes so intense as to become hate. Twice the life of Gladstone was attempted, once in London, July 26, and once while he was journeying from London to Chester, May 18. On the other side the public utterances against the Lords when they refused to yield to the will of the Commons were rancorous, so that at one time the world would hardly have been astonished at a revolution in the island.

The evils of political strife were not mitigated by domestic prosperity. On the contrary, the general discontent was heightened by the bad state of trade, which resulted in constant strikes. A strike of the cotton-workers in Lancashire was compromised. A dock strike in Hull began the first week in April, and continued until the middle of May, accompanied by such violence that troops were called in to maintain order. Despite every endeavor of the strikers, the company secured non-union men, and, in the end, won a complete, if expensive, victory. In August and September there was a vast strike among the coal-miners in the central part of England and in Monmouthshire and Wales, with accompaniments of riot in Yorkshire and the Principality, restrained only by the presence of troops. In the Midland counties alone the strikers numbered five hundred thousand. At the end of August sixty thousand in South Wales resumed work, and soon after the strike was practically at an end. The terrific loss to the nation from a strike of such extent can best be estimated when it is borne in mind that the total number of operatives in various allied industries who were made idle during the term of the strike was more than one and a half millions. Yet, despite the involved loss, the strike was of profound value since it brought about a new relation between labor and capital and the State. That this relation was informal does not lessen its significance. The strike was settled by following a suggestion made by Gladstone. His proposal was that a joint conference should discuss the difficulty, the conference to sit under Lord Rosebery as chairman. The meeting was held in the Home Office, and there the courtesy and skill of the chairman gained the victory over all prejudice. He had no vote to cast; he displayed equal interest in both sides; suspicion was disarmed; reason prevailed; in a few hours the differences of months were reconciled, and the strike, that in its aggregate loss cost the country three and a half million pounds sterling, was ended.

In this same disastrous year occurred the worst calamity in the history of the navy. June 22, while the fleet was executing maneuvers near Tripoli, the flagship *Victoria* was run into and sunk by the *Camperdown*. Twenty-two officers and three hundred and thirty-six men perished with the ship. The horror of the casualty was made greater by the fact that the event was due wholly to the stupendous error of the Vice-Admiral, Sir George Tryon, who met his death with the rest as the result of the obedience his officers rendered to his mad commands.

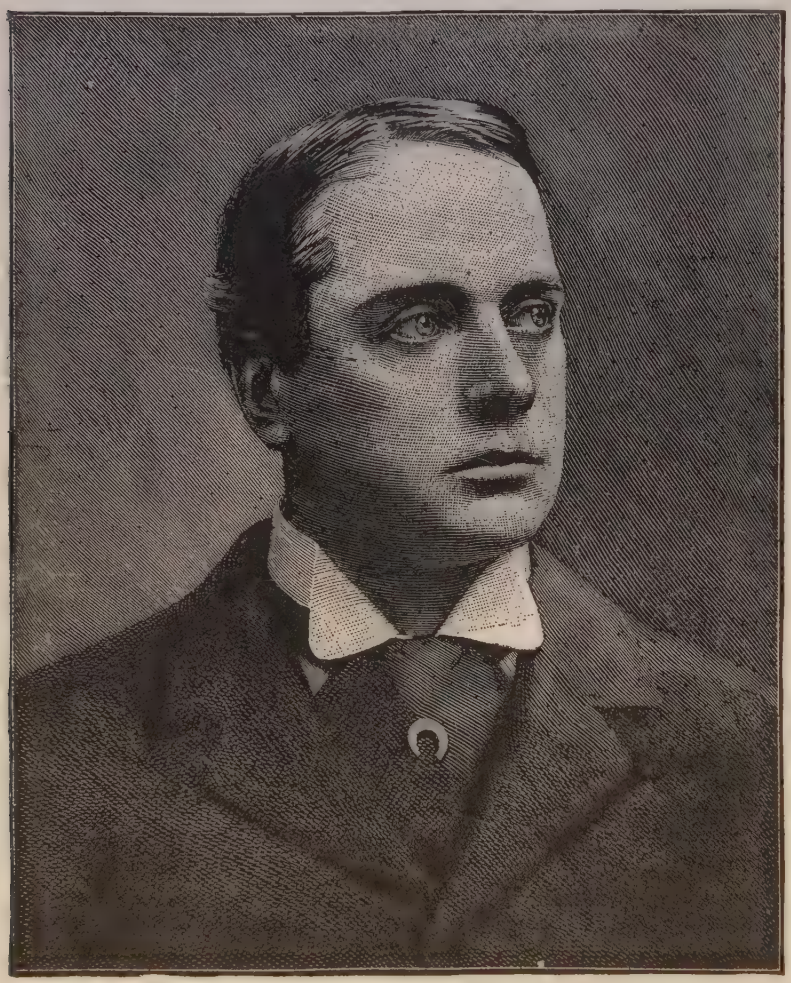
We turn with satisfaction from events so unhappy to others of pleasant nature. The Queen opened the Imperial Institute on May 10, and September witnessed a meeting in

London of journalists from all parts of the world. More interesting to Americans was the unveiling, in November, of two stained-glass windows in Westminster Abbey, memorials of James Russell Lowell. In the direction of commercial improvement the most imposing event was the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal, which had been in process of construction for eight years.

Especially, Great Britain was successful in the operations of the Foreign Office. When the British East Africa Company formally withdrew from Uganda, what was virtually a British protectorate succeeded to the control. In Afghanistan a movement of advance was made successfully toward the northwest Indian frontier, a point of distinct advantage, since it commanded the easiest routes from Central Asia to India. The General British policy in Egypt was shown by the course of treatment adopted in reference to Abbas II. The youthful Khedive was so presumptuous as to dismiss his Cabinet of English sympathizers without consulting Lord Cromer, the British Consul-General. Lord Rosebery thereupon sent an ultimatum to the Egyptian monarch, to the effect that the consul-general's advice as to the formation of a new Cabinet must be followed, and that the temporary counselors selected by the Khedive himself must be dismissed within twenty-four hours. The King yielded, but the native population was much agitated, and the English troops were re-enforced, although the

THE SINKING OF THE VICTORIA BY THE CAMPERDOWN.

nineteen thousand native soldiers remained loyal to their English officers. Much criticism was current at the time as to the grasping tendency of the British occupation of Egypt, yet the condition of the country was so much improved, the advance in commerce so marked, the finances so excellent, that those most interested in Egyptian affairs approved, rather than condemned, the British control.



ARCHIBALD PHILIP PRIMROSE, EARL OF ROSEBERY.

By far the most important event in the Parliamentary sessions of 1894 was the passage of the Parish Councils Bill. This law forever ended the old rule of parson and squire, and gave instead a real local self-government. According to this act, every man and every woman of full age, having resided in the parish for twelve months, are qualified to vote in the election of the parish council and are eligible to election as members of that council, or members of the district council that is elected by the parish council. In these parish councils all matters of local government are decided, and the chairman of the district council is *ex-officio* a magistrate, and sits with the county board of justices of the peace.

This radical victory against conservatism is the more noticeable because the same year witnessed the defeat, for the fourteenth time, of a measure to legalize the marriage of a widower with the sister of his deceased wife.

The strain of years and party wranglings proved too much for Gladstone's strength, and he was forced repeatedly to absent himself from the sessions of the House, leaving the leadership at such times to Sir William Harcourt. It was, then, no surprise when, on March 3, he resigned. That Lord Rosebery was chosen as Gladstone's successor provoked more astonishment. This remarkable young man had achieved a success so marked in his political career that his fitness for the position could hardly be questioned, yet his comparative youth rendered his elevation conspicuous, while his own announced ambition to become Premier gave to this statesman a certain prophetic dignity in the public

eye. This effect was intensified by the fact that he had declared his intention not only of becoming Prime Minister, but also of marrying an heiress, and winning the Derby race; and he did marry an heiress, and he did win the Derby; indeed, as to the Derby, he won it twice, and won it while he was Premier, a performance quite unique in English history, but very English!

Another and more serious matter allied to politics was the International Bimetallic Conference, which met in London in March. During its sessions, Sir David Barbour, formerly Secretary of Finance in India, declared that the attempt to introduce a gold standard in India had disturbed trade, had increased the debt, had added to the expenditures, and had necessitated a more burdensome taxation. Like evidence in other directions was presented, yet the Conference failed to obtain any directly successful results.

Throughout the country the commercial depression continued. The effect of the persistent dullness in industrial concerns was plainly shown in the Budget, which displayed the necessity for economy. The effect of constant hard times was shown, too, even more powerfully, in the action taken by the Trades Union Congress, at Norwich, in September. There the Socialists were in the majority, and the revolt against existing conditions led to formal insistence on the most advanced doctrines of State control and collectiveness.

The most marked gain for this year was in the matter of health. The nation, as a whole, suffered less from epidemics than at any time before since the appearance of the influenza, while the death record was singularly free from great names. The most mourned loss of the year was that of Robert Louis Stevenson, the purest contemporary exponent of the romantic school in fiction, who died of consumption, in the island of Samoa, December 3.

The last session of the Parliament elected in July, 1892, began February 5, 1895, and in that session Wellesley Peel, who had been speaker of the House of Commons for eleven years, resigned in April on account of bad health, and William Court Gully was chosen to succeed to the office.

The term was distinguished by the introduction, under the auspices of Mr. Asquith, of the long-urged bill for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, a measure for which practically all Wales had been contending for years, and a measure well justified by the fact that the four thousand Nonconformist congregations in the principality include about four-fifths of the entire population.

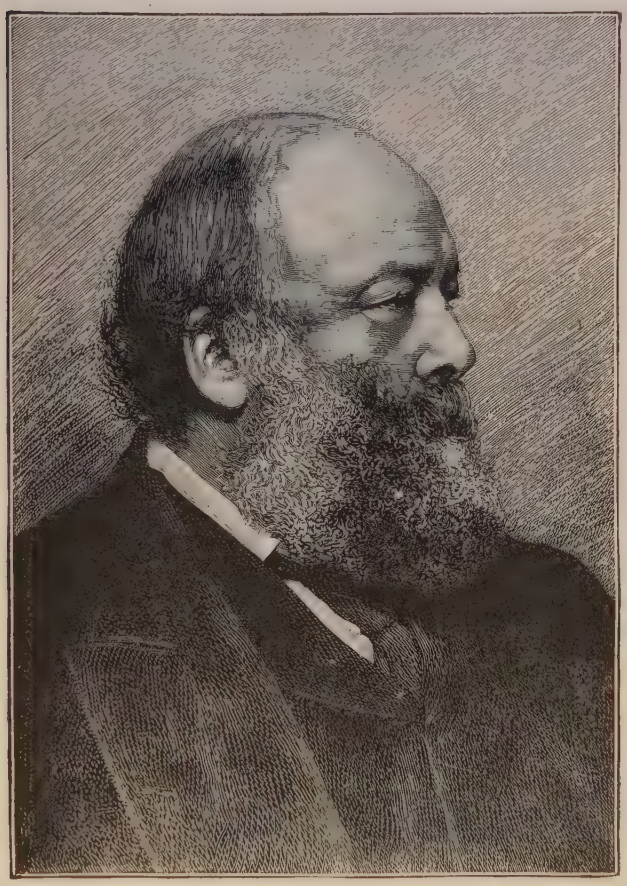
But the various and opposing interests conspired to defeat all legislation. The cohesion

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

of the groups became weakened through the failures of one after another to obtain a considerable victory, until, at last, a Government amendment to a bill for the reduction of the salary of the Secretary of War was defeated by a majority of seven. The Ministry promptly resigned, leaving the dissolution of Parliament to a new Ministry, whereupon Lord Salisbury was requested by the Queen to form a Cabinet. This Unionist Ministry was constituted June 25, with the Marquis of Salisbury as Prime Minister, the Duke of Devonshire as Lord President of the Council, Arthur James Balfour as First Lord of the Treasury, Joseph Chamberlain as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Michael Hicks-

Beach as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and George Joachim Goschen as First Lord of the Admiralty. Outside of the Cabinet the most important appointment was that of George N. Curzon, who was made Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

In the campaign that now ensued, the National Liberal Federation put forth a platform declaring in favor of Home Rule, Welsh dis-



ROBERT ARTHUR CECIL, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

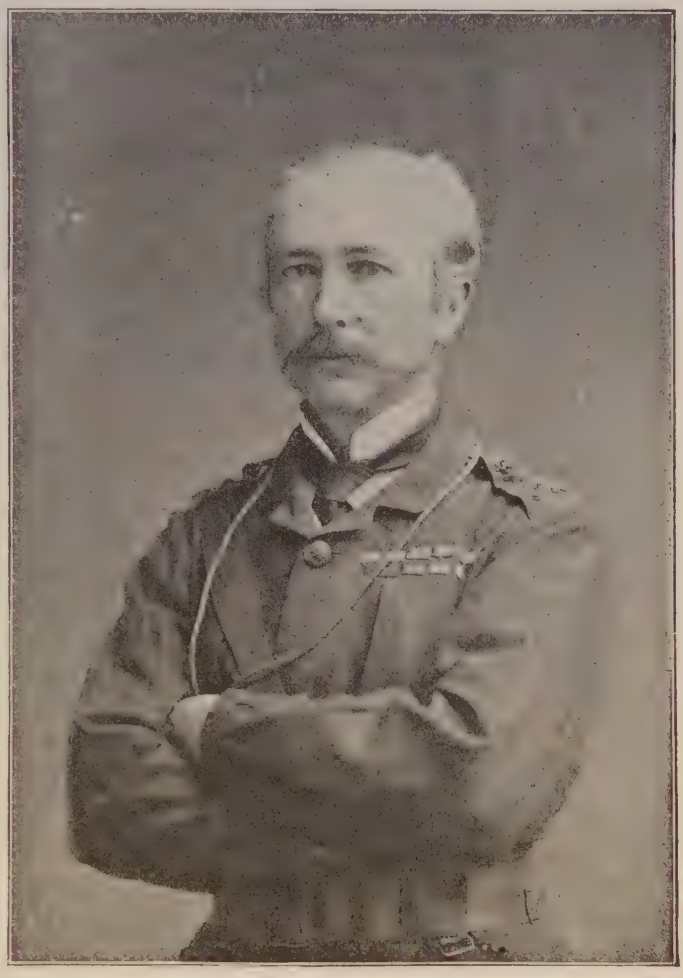
establishment, the Irish Land Bill, a suffrage principle of "one man one vote," the liquor veto by local option, and many more reforms, including the submission of the House of Lords to the will of the Commons. The National Reform Union favored the "one man one vote" principle, the payment of members of Parliament, local legislation by local bodies alone, a simpler method of Parliamentary procedure, the abolition of the Lords' legislative powers, Home Rule, land-law reform, local option, the suppression of grants and pensions, international arbitration, taxation on land values, graduation of taxes according to ability to pay, recognition of the claims of the aged, the sick, and otherwise distressed, and the admission of the claims of labor to limitation of hours, to the right of combination, to compensation for injuries, and to direct representation in Parliament. The Irish Nationalists renewed their allegiance to the Liberal party on the basis of the Liberal leaders' public pledges to place Home Rule at the front of the program. The Social Democratic Federation declared in support of an eight-hour law, the free maintenance of children, a minimum wage of thirty shillings weekly, wholesome dwellings, the ownership of railways, factories, mines, and land by the whole people, a single chamber of paid deputies, to be elected by universal suffrage, and the popular initiative and referendum.

The Unionists won in the battle over all the forces of their combined adversaries, the result of the elections showing four hundred and eleven Conservatives against two hundred and fifty-nine Home Rulers, making a Ministerial majority of one hundred and fifty-two.

This change in the political sentiment of the country was accompanied by a change of no less importance in the military government. The Duke of Cambridge, Field Marshal commanding the British army, was retired despite his inclination to the contrary, and Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley succeeded to the chief place. This event was the more extraordinary in view of the fact that it was a victory for the Radical spirit of the times, although it occurred immediately after a great Conservative triumph. The reason for this apparent anomaly was that the opposition to the Duke of Cambridge, while it had been primarily confined to Radical

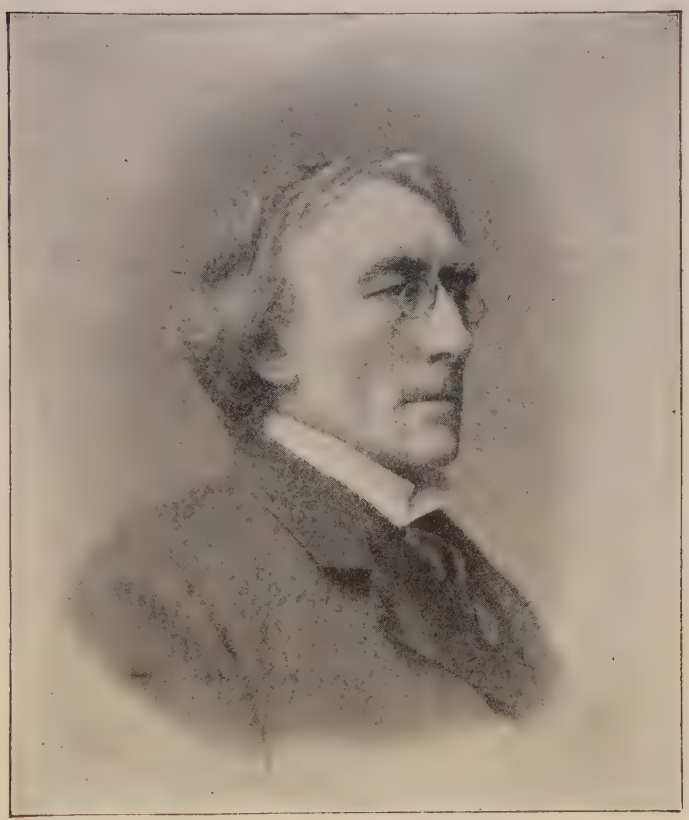
thought, had extended so far that his retirement was desired by most of those who were not utterly blinded by class prejudice. Not only was the incompetency of the duke becoming more generally recognized—more than that, the need of having the best leader possible at the head of the nation's defenses was made patent to all observers by the number of foreign complications in which Great Britain was concerned. War at any moment was a possibility; often, indeed, it seemed a probability. That the dangers of the situation were appreciated was shown in the movement toward naval increase made by the Parliament of 1894, notwithstanding the desirability of economy on account of the financial stringency. It was shown again by the action taken in reference to the Duke of Cambridge. This chief had always been exposed to Radical attacks, from the moment of his appointment in 1856 as the exponent of the royal prerogative, it being urged that he had failed to distinguish himself in the Crimean War; that, although he was wealthy, he received official payment to the extent of twelve thousand pounds annually, besides many emoluments; and that he was consistently opposed to all reforms in the service. It was this last charge against him that worked his downfall. The general sentiment of the country, in both civil and military circles, was in favor of remodeling the service. The final evidence of this truth is found in the fact that Wolseley, who assumed command November 1, was the champion of reform.

One of the petty wars that served at this time to draw the general attention to army affairs was on the northwestern frontier of India, in March. The origin of the trouble in Chitral was in the effort of a pretender to the throne of Kashmir to intercept Dr. Robertson, who had been sent to investigate the matter of the succession, and to recognize the rightful successor. Small as the difficulty was, it required the transportation of fourteen thousand troops across two hundred miles of wild country, and it exhibited military valor most effectively, since Dr. Robertson and six hundred men though surrounded and besieged in a small fort by thousands of the native warriors, yet defended themselves against all assaults for more than a month, when reenforcements relieved them from their peril.



FIELD MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT WOLSELEY.

This year was marked in the political world by the death of Lord Randolph Churchill, who, although his closing days had been of mental torpor, had been for years a conspicuous figure in State matters. As a leader in Tory politics, he had been often a grievous thorn in the side of Gladstone. Once even, in December, 1886, his resignation from the chancellorship of the Exchequer nearly brought about the resignation of Salisbury from the premiership.



SIR HENRY IRVING.

In the literary and dramatic worlds there was much satisfaction at the honors of knighthood bestowed upon Walter Besant and Henry Irving. An event of much greater importance was the appointment of a poet laureate. Late in 1895, Alfred Austin was chosen to fill the place left vacant by the death of Tennyson in 1892. The selection was regarded with surprise, as the works of Austin were comparatively little known. He was born in Headingly, near Leeds, May 30, 1835, and had devoted himself to writing, although embracing the law as a profession.

In the scientific world, the chief event was the formal announcement of the discovery of a gas hitherto unknown—argon. At a meeting of the Royal Society, on January 31, an account was given of the work of Professor Ramsay and Lord Rayleigh, which had resulted, near the end of 1894, in learning the existence, the nature, and the properties of argon. The gas is a constituent of the atmosphere, forming about one per cent. of the atmospheric nitrogen, giving perhaps two ounces of pressure in the fifteen pounds to the square inch. It is a colorless gas, with a density of nearly 19.9, using hydrogen as the unit of comparison, and it is remarkably inert. Professor Ramsay was the real discoverer of argon; but Lord Rayleigh deserves the sole credit for another discovery, that of helium, one of the lightest of known substances, hitherto supposed to be the sun's peculiar possession, its presence in the spectrum being shown by a yellow line. Lord Rayleigh found, quite by accident, that it is a constituent of the earth's crust.

The same general sentiment in favor of increased abilities in case of war, to which we have referred as marking the policy of Great Britain in 1895, found its culmination in 1896. It was generally believed that the nation was menaced by more alarming conditions abroad than at any other time in recent years. The English colonies, belting the world in the most far-extended confederation that history knows, are, nevertheless, the necessary cause of constant and profound anxiety, since their advance is always the loss of territory by

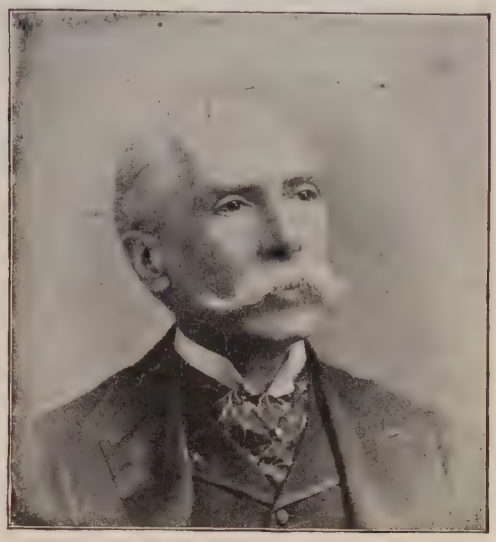
some State unwillingly yielding its possession, and always threatening the frontiers, while the greater Powers look askance at the British occupation, however beneficent the final result may be.

At the opening of 1896, Great Britain prudently yielded to Brazil in the dispute between the two countries as to the ownership of the island of Trinidad. The tone of the Parliament meeting in February was friendly to the United States in reference to the Republic's interference in the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. This avoidance, when avoidance was possible, was rendered almost inevitable by the existence of dangers that offered little opportunity for escape. The raid into the Transvaal Republic, which was thought to be instigated by Cecil Rhodes, the British Governor of the Cape Colony, teemed with perils, not the least imposing of which was the possibility of speedy war with Germany, on account of the Kaiser's frank sympathy with the Boers of the Transvaal in their anger against the British trespassers on their soil. To these distractions were added the Matabele uprising and the Dongola expedition, both demanding money and men. It is, then, without astonishment that we find the Government turning toward its navy; for in its navy the chief strength of the British nation must rest, as it has rested in the past.

Early in March, Goschen introduced the Government's measure for naval defense, and this measure provided that during the coming year there should be devoted to this purpose a sum of almost twenty-two millions of pounds, of which more than four millions would fall due at once.

The most important measure of this session was one looking toward an increase in the amount of public money for Church schools, without giving a corresponding increase in control to the taxpayers. The Roman Catholics had joined with the Anglicans in opposition to the Nonconformists in pleading for sectarian Government schools. As a result, this bill appeared, it being a temporary expedient, a reäctionary mixture of religion and politics. It provided that the county council, not the nation, is to be the regulating authority, and that the board schools, formerly non-sectarian, must admit sectarian teaching, within the regular school-hours, upon the demand therefor of a reasonable number of parents.

The most interesting change in the *personnel* of Parliament was the resignation of Justin McCarthy from the leadership of the Anti-Parnellite wing of the Irish Nationalists,



ALFRED AUSTIN.

in February, on account of failing health. John Dillon was chosen to succeed him.

Educational conservatism was shown yet again at Oxford, where a demand that women be admitted to receive the degree of B. A. was defeated, in the sitting of March, by a vote of two hundred and fifteen to one hundred and forty.

The same month witnessed the decision of a case that had won the attention of the whole world, that of Kitson against Playfair. A verdict of two thousand pounds damages for the plaintiff established the principle that a physician has no right, save in most extreme cases and for great ends of special protection, to reveal his client's secrets, and that in these most exceptional instances he must prove his justification, his revelation being altogether at his own risk.

There were a number of illustrious deaths

during the year. Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg, the husband of the Princess Beatrice of England, died of malarial fever, January 20, while on board the cruiser *Blonde*, on the journey from the Cape Coast to Madeira. When the Ashanti expedition against King Prempeh, who afterwards submitted to a British protectorate, was sent out, the Prince asked permission to accompany it, and it was from the unhealthful exhalations of the African coast that he received his mortal illness.

CECIL RHODES,
Prime Minister of Cape Colony.

The most regretted deaths in the fields of arts and letters were those of Lord Leighton, the painter, president of the Royal Academy, who died January 25, Sir J. E. Millais succeeding him in the presidency; and that of Thomas Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown's School-days" and "Tom Brown at Oxford."

The episode of the invasion of the Transvaal Republic by British adventurers acting, as was believed, under the instigation of Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was perhaps the most unsuccessful and humiliating experience which befell any British enterprise in foreign lands since the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon. All the circumstances of the Jameson raid seemed to add shame to the unsuccess of the business. President Krüger was easily able to overwhelm the aggressors, and to make hostages of the leaders. These became a kind of state prisoners. All four of the principals were included among those who were brought to book for their audacity. The open expressions of sympathy extended by the German Kaiser to President Krüger in repelling the raiders raised the incident to the plane of an international complication. The course taken by Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson was so flagrant that it could hardly be endorsed by the authorities of Cape Colony, to say nothing of the home government of Great Britain.

For a while at the beginning of 1896, the Transvaal raiders were held by Krüger's orders, and the four principals were at first condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted to a fine of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars each and banishment from the Transvaal. The other leaders were

fined ten thousand dollars each. At length all of the prisoners were released; but the fines were not remitted, and the sentence of banishment remained in force. Even the brother of Cecil Rhodes was banished from the country. It was a spectacle to witness the severe, uncompromising attitude of President Krüger in administering justice to those who had so causelessly invaded the territories of the Republic. He could not be unaware that the sympathies of the European nations and those of the western hemisphere were with him in his work of upholding the little nationality over which he presided.

PRESIDENT PAUL KRÜGER RECEIVING VISITORS AT THE PRESIDENCY, PRETORIA.

In the parliamentary history of this period, the same conflict which was witnessed in our country, in France, and in the German Empire, occurred between the minority in the House of Commons and the majority represented by the ministry, on the question of unlimited debate. Until within the last quarter of a century, the great deliberative bodies in the civilized nations have by their own virtue and patriotism preserved the equipoise of right between the dominant party and the under party in the state. Parliamentarians of the majority were able to carry forward the measures of government without serious impediment, and members of the minority were able freely to discuss and oppose all important measures of pending legislation. But in more recent times, the disposition of the majority to override the opposition, and to carry measures of party expediency, however immoral they may be, has been witnessed as a leading fact in parliamentary history. On the other hand, the disposition of a recalcitrant and stubborn minority merely to obstruct the processes of legislation has become intensified to such a degree that nearly all the leading legislative bodies have been scandalized with ever-recurring deadlocks and animosities, having no

other principle than party advantage as their primary motive.

In the parliamentary session of 1896, an effort was made by the government of Lord Salisbury to enlarge and confirm the principle of closure, thus restricting the freedom of debate under the excuse that necessary legislation could not otherwise be attained. Two measures were at this time pending in the House of Commons, both of which encountered the most serious opposition of the minority. One of these was known as the Education Bill, and the other as the Rating Bill. The latter, being a proposition to change the tax schedule of the kingdom, roused up a fierce opposition, and at one time a continuous sitting of the House was held for the space of twenty-two and a half hours.

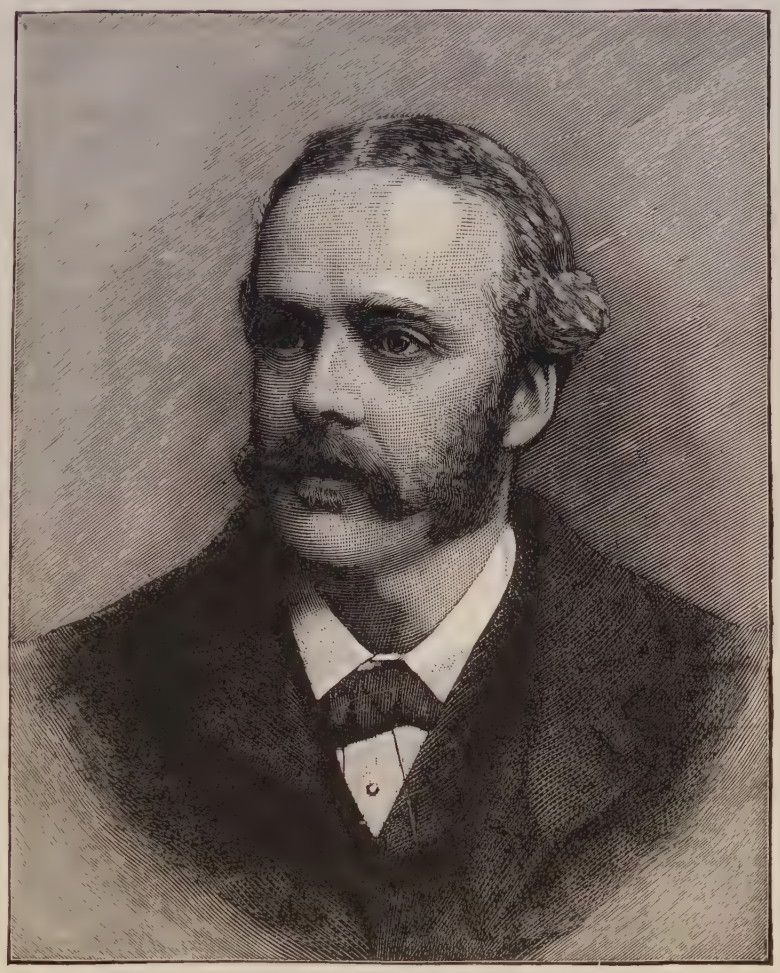
In this contest, Honorable A. J. Balfour sought to dragoon the house into support of the Rating Bill, while John Dillon, Lloyd George, and some other Radical members, contended for the postponement, until they were brought to the bar and suspended for their contumacy. The powerful majority with which the ministry was supported seemed to encourage the violation of precedents, and a form of tyranny not often witnessed in the British Parliament was exhibited. The debate on the Education Bill, in which the Nonconformists in general ranged themselves against the government, was almost equally acrimonious, and the measure could only be carried through to the second reading by the brute force of the majority.

Great Britain at this time was suffering not a little from the same industrial and commercial depression which had for several years wrought such havoc in the United States. Indeed, the same state of lethargy prevailed more or less throughout all civilized nations. One of the features of the epoch was the constant proclamation of a prosperity which was ever promised but did not appear. The summer of 1896 was noted in London by one of the hectic returns of commercial activity. It was called a revival. The spirit of speculation had asserted itself, and many new enterprises, most of them raised on small financial foundations, were promoted. It was at this time that the bicycle industry was firmly established in London, and bicycle stocks were freely offered in speculation on the exchange. The use of horseless carriages began about the same time, and other artificial additions to the established industries gave warrant for the speculative tendencies which marked the year.

With the progress of legislation a remarkable decline was now witnessed in the force of the ministerial party. The majority which the government had been able to command, amounting to 267 on the Education Bill, waned in the summer of 1896, and within a twelvemonth sank so low that the bill referred to had actually to be abandoned. During the discussion of the measure, the Church party, in alliance with the Conservatives, had shown that its support of the proposed measure was wholly interested. It was seen that every church faction was striving to secure its own advantage from the passage of the bill—an advantage which was to consist of a fund drawn from the general public, but to be distributed to the educational support of the church schools in the way of a favor to a special interest. On the other side, the Nonconformists and the secular party in general formed a solid and growing phalanx before which the government was obliged to recede.

Like action had to be taken with the measure known as the Employers' Liabilities Bill. This measure also was brought into Parliament with what seemed to be an overwhelming support, but the support melted away, and the bill was abandoned. This discomfiture of the government was popularly accredited to the unemphatic and indecisive leadership of Mr. Balfour, and the case was complicated by the possible return of Joseph Chamberlain to the Liberal ranks. The defection of the latter from Mr. Gladstone, as will be remembered, was a critical circumstance in the contention for Home Rule. Chamberlain had become a leader of the anti-Gladstone minority by whose opposition the last great measure of the Liberals was brought to naught.

The late complication between Great Britain and the United States relative to Venezuela reached an important and significant stage in the summer of 1896. The necessity of arbitration as it related to that dispute carried further than had been anticipated by either nation. The correspondence between Lord Salisbury and the American Secretary of State led along to the suggestion of a more general arrangement between the two countries for the settlement by international conference and concession of *all* questions that might arise likely to disturb the relations of the United States and England.



ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

At this juncture, namely on the 18th of August, 1896, Lord Russell of Killowen, better known as Sir Charles Russell, who had been attorney-general under Gladstone, delivered before the American Bar Association at Saratoga, N. Y., a significant address, taking for his subject, "International Arbitration." It was this address which thrust before the American people in a larger sense than ever before, the great question of universal arbitration between the two leading divisions of the English-speaking race.

Near the conclusion of his oration, Sir Charles, summarizing the tremendous theme under discussion, said: "We boast of our advance and often look back with pitying contempt on the ways and manners of generations gone by. Are we ourselves without reproach? Has our civilization borne the true marks? Must it not be said, as has been said of Religion itself, that countless crimes have been committed in its name? Probably it was inevitable that the weaker races should, in the end, succumb, but have we always treated them with consideration and with justice? Has not civilization too often been presented to them at the point of the bayonet, and the Bible by the hand of the Filibuster? And apart from races we deem barbarous, is not the passion for dominion and wealth and power accountable for the worst chapters of cruelty and oppression

written in the World's History? Few peoples—perhaps none—are free from this reproach. What indeed is true Civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury; nay, not even a great Literature and Education widespread — good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men.

. . . . . .

"Mr. President, I began by speaking of the two great divisions—American and British—of that English-speaking world which you and I represent to-day, and with one more reference to them I end.

"Who can doubt the influence they possess for insuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind? But if this influence is to be fully felt, they must work together in cordial friendship, each people in its own sphere of action. If they have great power, they have also great responsibility. No cause they espouse can fail; no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is, in large part, theirs. They have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them.

"Let us pray that this shall never be. Let us pray that they, always self-respecting, each in honor upholding its own Flag, safeguarding its own Heritage of right and respecting the rights of others, each in its own way fulfilling its high national destiny, shall yet work in harmony for the Progress and the Peace of the World."

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL.

The movement for international arbitration as outlined in Sir Charles Russell's speech began in sentiment, but it came near ending in something much more substantial. It was proposed at length to establish for Great Britain and the United States a sort of international Supreme Court, to which all serious questions of dispute between the two nations should be referred. There should be two justices for each nation, and an arbiter making the fifth, and the decision of the tribunal should be final. The work

of the Court should begin with the actual dispute relative to the Venezuelan boundary, but the Court should be permanent, and by it all future questions should be decided.

On the line of these proposals, an arbitration treaty was drawn, and for a while it seemed that the movement was destined to be successful. In the United States, however, there was presently a reäction, based on the belief that the project had been so contrived as to leave a large margin of advantage on the side of Great Britain. This opinion gained ground, and was reflected into Congress to such an extent that when the arbitration treaty came before the Senate it was rejected by that body, and the movement was practically defeated. The sentiment on which it was based, however, had meanwhile diffused itself widely among the people of Great Britain and of the Eastern States of the American Republic. It was out of this new opinion and desire that the widespread notion of an Anglo-American alliance sprang in the years 1897–98, resulting, as we have seen on a former page, in the rise of imperialistic tendencies in the United States.[1]

At no former period had the foreign relations of Great Britain been so widely extended as at the present. Indeed, in the whole previous history of mankind there had not been witnessed so wide a sweep of internationality as that displayed by the British empire in the closing years of the century. Nor was the spectacle of British dominion at this time wanting in majesty and grandeur. From the political centre in the narrow home islands, the sway of the Hanoverian sceptre had reached out to the remotest bounds of earth. The ability of Great Britain to colonize and to govern had never been equalled in the case of any other nation. In her own phraseology, she had become the civilizer of the world, the establisher of the Pax Britannica in every continent.

Deep down in the bottom of the policy of Great Britain was the principle of universal commercialism. It was the demand of commerce, and not the motive of civilizing the barbarous or half-savage nations of the East, that had made the British empire to be what it had become. The needs of the home island required more and more; the demand for more was, when translated into language, more ships, more trade, more subordinate nations with which to trade, new wants, new manufactures, new fleets, new emporia, greater absolutism, and the confirmation of the commercial dominion of the British empire. To this had to be added more casuistry in the invention of excuses for the unending aggression of Great Britain on all the weaker powers of the world.

In the closing decennium of the century, Africa was the favorite field of British adventure and enterprise. Southern and Eastern Africa were the particular fields in which British invasion and conquest found the amplest opportunity. Vainly did the other European nations enter into competition with the Queen of the Seas. Such was the enormous wealth which Great Britain had accumulated, such was the financial power which reached out from London over the world, such was the skill of British statesmanship in discovering the strategic points in the East, and such the habitual aptitude of English adventure to rush into every vacuum that might be discovered in whatever continent or island,—that the whole world felt the impact and gave way before British progress.

It was the peculiarity of the situation in the afterpart of 1896 that a great stretch of the British frontier in Africa was disturbed with intrigue, insurrection, and war. All summer long the eastern coast of Africa, extending all the way from Cairo to Cape Colony, was in a state of unrest. That coast was referred to in the international jargon of the day as the "storm-band of Africa." For several months, the British advance in the direction of Dongola had been impeded by the low stage of the Nile. At length with the rise in that river, and with the construction of short railways, the progress of the British forces was renewed. Dongola was regarded as a stage in the route to Khartoum. This movement had an influence in the settlement of the difficulty between the Abyssinians and the Italians.

[1] See pages 135–138.

Meanwhile, a serious outbreak occurred in Zanzibar, and to this was added a period of anarchy in Madagascar. Further south in Matabeleland, the insurrection was reported to be suppressed, and this was effected in a manner to show how easy it is, when the desire exists, for civilized nations to deal with barbarians. It was found that the insurrection of the Matabele nation had been occasioned almost wholly by the starvation of the people. This in turn had been caused by the spread of a rinderpest among the cattle of the country. British enterprise had brought in its train the usual concomitants of disease and famine. At length, Colonel Rhodes, the brother of Cecil Rhodes, went unarmed with a few companions into the Matabele country, and in an interview with Chief Secombo succeeded in bringing about an understanding. The chief complained justly of the rapacity of a British official who had been sent to govern them; also of the police to which they had been subjected. Colonel Rhodes yielded to these representations, and the Chief for his part laid a gun and an assegai at the feet of the ambassador in token of the surrender of himself and his tribe.[1]

RECLAIMING EGYPT—ONE ASPECT OF THE BRITISH ADVANCE ALONG THE NILE.

[1] Not a little responsibility was entailed on the British authorities by the settlement between Colonel Rhodes and Chief Secombo. The compact involved the preservation of the Matabele tribes from starvation. Soon after peace was made, Lord Grey produced a report on the condition of affairs in Rhodesia, in which he spoke of the effort then making to induce the people of Matabeleland to adopt a regular system of industry.

Meanwhile, the Boers of the Transvaal Republic proceeded to strengthen themselves as if against the further aggression of the British in South Africa. It was easy for President Krüger and his administration to procure from France and Germany all the supplies and war material that were desired. Krüger was thus enabled to maintain an attitude of defiance, if not of positive hostility, toward his enemies. Great Britain in the interval found enough to do to hold her own through the long line of territory extending from Cape Town to the Red Sea.

In the domestic affairs of the empire, several facts may be noted as belonging to the year 1896. One matter of interest related to the important question of compulsory vaccination against smallpox. Ever and anon since the discovery of the prophylactic usefulness of the vaccine disease, sundry agitations had been raised against it by persons who either would not or could not understand the salutary character of Jenner's discovery. No other fact in the administration of human life has been more distinctly demonstrated than has been the avoidance of smallpox by means of vaccination. Indeed, the dreaded scourge has been virtually extinguished in every civilized nation where due attention has been given, under civil and social law, to the protective agency of the vaccine antidote.

It is true, however, that in many cases most serious results have followed from the misuse of vaccination. To employ this means of protection without due attention to the character of the vaccine used, is to expose the person vaccinated to dreadful diseases, a few of which are worse than smallpox itself. The fact of the danger referred to and the frequent dissemination of disease by vicious vaccination has enabled anti-vaccinationists to extend their views and to establish a propaganda against the vaccine method itself.

In the early part of 1896, a committee of fifteen was appointed by Parliament to report on the working of the vaccination laws of Great Britain. The report of this committee, while it strongly supported vaccination as a preventive of smallpox and recommended the maintenance of the existing statutes, refused to endorse so much of the law as related to the imprisonment of parents who for conscientious reasons should refuse to have their children vaccinated. The report contained this clause: "When the law imposes a duty on parents, the performance of which they honestly, however erroneously, regard as seriously prejudicial to their children, the very attempt to compel obedience may defeat the object of the legislation." Thus much the royal commission conceded to the prejudice or misinformation of the anti-vaccinationists in society.

The gain of the anti-vaccinationists in this controversy by no means satisfied them, and the agitation was presently renewed with great vigor. The new law was liberally construed, and it was found that the concession to the conscientious scruples of parents was likely to take a wide range. Scruples were plentiful, and the act recently passed became in some parts almost an abolition of the vaccination laws. Nor might the danger to society from this relaxation of prudence readily appear; for in the meantime so great advances had been made in hygienic and sanitary science that the evils and horrors formerly to be apprehended from smallpox epidemics were less to be feared. Optimists were able to declare that the improvement in the condition of the world had remanded smallpox to the category of extinct diseases.

Another domestic matter of considerable importance related to the increase of lunacy in the United Kingdom. A report was made by the commissioners of lunacy which showed an alarming, even unprecedented, increase in insanity. The report, under date of January 1, 1896, showed a total of lunatics in England and Wales of 96,446, being an increase of 2,365 within a single year. The statistics also showed that within twenty years the lunatics reported had increased fifty-three per cent. It was contended, however, by

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He showed that, owing to the ravages of the rinderpest, fully forty thousand of the natives had to be supplied with daily rations for a period of three months; and he pointed out the likelihood that the same method of gratuitous supply would have to be continued for the year to come.

experts who looked into the question that the apparent increase was largely attributable to the more complete system of registration, and to the fact that the friends of the insane, becoming more enlightened and more humane, were more willing than formerly to submit their afflicted kinspeople to the care of the public. But after allowance for this influence there still remained good reason for apprehensiveness on the score of the increasing number of people who, under the excitements and strain of civilization, lose their reason and become a public charge.

Still another fact to be noted in the social condition of Great Britain, was the attempted improvement in the workhouse system. Hitherto, the classes which had sought relief by entering the workhouses represented almost all the social conditions in the middle and under strata of the kingdom. It was observed that the most worthy poor sought to avoid the workhouses because of the heterogeneous and vicious elements gathered therein. In order to overcome this repugnance, the local government board issued a circular in the spring of 1896, directed to the guardians of the poor. In this circular, the effort was made to stimulate the current tendency to make the workhouse a more desirable refuge for respectable inmates.

Several provisions were accordingly suggested for the improvement of the system. One of these was the separation of the respectable from the vicious classes in the workhouses. The apartments were to be divided among men and women, on the score of sex and character. Inmates of good character might receive the visits of their friends on terms of greater freedom than hitherto. Inmates might visit outside the institutions and attend church on Sunday. No attempt was made to discriminate between the good and the bad on the score of food or uniform. Behind all these provisions and regulations, the great question still remained unsolved; for the real issue in every civilized state of Christendom is not the project of rendering the condition of the poor more tolerable (thereby making or tending to make the state of poverty permanent and unending), but rather some measure for the total abolition of poverty and the removal of all pauper institutions from modern society.

A general summary of the measures adopted by Parliament during the year showed that but a meagre work had been accomplished. The ministry was not able to exhibit a legislative output reässuring to government or people. This might easily be seen in the synopsis which the Prime Minister prepared as a part of her Majesty's speech enumerating the measures which had become statutory during the year. The Queen said: "I have given my consent with much pleasure to measures for completing the naval defences of my empire, for lightening the fiscal burdens which press upon the agricultural population, and for protecting the flocks and herds of these islands from the importation of disease. Important measures have also received my sanction for the settlement of trade disputes, for the prevention of explosions in mines, which have caused the loss of many valuable lives, for amending the Truck act, for the construction of light railways, for the amendment of the Irish land laws, and for facilitating the creation, by purchase, of a larger class of occupying freeholders in Ireland."

An interesting climax was reached in the Victorian reign in the autumn of 1896. On the 23d of September in that year, Queen Victoria passed the mark which distinguished her reign as the longest in English history. Henry III., who acceded to the throne at the age of nine years in 1216, reigned until his death in 1272, a period of fifty-six years and twenty-nine days. Edward III., who came to the throne in his fifteenth year in 1327, reigned for fifty years, four months, and twenty-six days. George III., whose reign dated from October 25, 1760, wore the crown until his death, January 29, 1820, a period of fifty-nine years, three months, and four days. It was this reign of her grandfather that Victoria distanced in September of 1896. The sixtieth year of her queenship was not completed until the following June.

To the English nation the event was not without its significance. On the whole, the

Victorian era had surpassed any like period in the history of the British Isles. The Queen had made for herself a royal record unequalled in the former annals of the empire. And the end was not yet. It could but be remarked that this unprecedented reign was the reign of a *woman*. It was remembered that the former reigns of the English queens had been conspicuous for their length and successful character. Meanwhile, the phraseology of the English people had become so long conformed to her Majesty's sex and character as almost to preclude from the public imagination the thought of a British king and his court. The loyalty of the nation to Victoria had ever been emphatic and persistent. The relations between her Majesty and her subjects had been as beautiful and salutary as may ever be expected to exist between ruler and subjects under a monarchical system of government.

QUEEN VICTORIA AS SHE APPEARED AT HER DIAMOND JUBILEE, 1897.

The passage of the date at which the Queen's reign surpassed that of any preceding sovereign of England was soon followed with her Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary on the throne. This occurred on the 28th of June, 1897.

The entire week, beginning Sunday, June 20, was devoted to the celebration, elaborate fêtes being given in all parts of the Imperial Dominions, though the most splendid, and those of the greatest interest, were in London, where the Queen left her customary seclusion to provoke and to receive the enthusiastic demonstrations of her subjects.

On Sunday of the holiday week the Queen and the royal family attended a private service in the morning at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, while other special services were held during the day for the Jubilee envoys, diplomats, judges, and princes at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the Lords at Westminster, and for the Commons at St. Margaret's Church. On Monday morning the Queen reached Paddington soon after twelve o'clock,

and her ride to Buckingham Palace was made the occasion of frantic cheers from the masses of men, women, and children who filled every available space along the route. On the forenoon of Tuesday there was a tremendous procession, the first section of it being "colonial," the second being emblematic of Great Britain's war strength, and the poor on Thursday, and the week closed with a naval review, the most brilliant in history, the seven lines of the fleet inspected by the Prince of Wales being manned by forty-five thousand men. Everywhere throughout the empire similar scenes of jubilation were witnessed, and the event left a long trail of light as it passed from view.

QUEEN'S CARRIAGE IN THE ROYAL PROCESSION PASSING THE PARLIAMENT HOUSES, 1897.

third being the royal procession proper. On this day the Queen visited the law courts, and afterward went to St. Paul's, where the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction. On Wednesday the Lords and the Commons marched in state to the palace to deliver their address to the Queen, an event of very rare occurrence. The Princess of Wales fed three hundred thousand of the

The event, though joyous in the home islands, had a foreign background of the most dolorous character. For coïncidently with the anniversary had come an almost unprecedented famine in India. Many circumstances of the British dominion in that country had tended to bring on a crisis of starvation and despair. Multiplied millions of the people in Hindustan pass their lives

on a level scarcely above the line of famine. Such a thing as industrial and economic prosperity could never be predicated of the inhabitants of India. Any disturbance therefore of what may be regarded as the normal condition of the East Indian population must inevitably lead to the distress of many millions of the people.

Such disturbances had been, since the era of Warren Hastings, almost constant attendants of the British dominion in the East. In the tenth decade of the century, several policies had been adopted by the home government well calculated to bring in an epoch of distress. One of these was the closing of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver. The currency in use among the masses of the Hindus, already inadequate, became more and more deficient, and prices were correspondingly depressed. Such a condition may be borne in a prosperous, sparsely peopled country, but not in an unprosperous, stagnant, and densely peopled region such as India. Besides, the crops in India were considerably deficient in 1896, and in some districts there was almost total failure to produce.

ALBERT EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES.

These conditions are chargeable with the horrible famine which prevailed in 1897. In this visitation, great regions of the country were reduced to the very extreme of suffering. One of the districts most afflicted was the province of Bombay. Nearly the whole of the region extending from Bansda and the frontier of Central India, reaching to Mysore on the south and Haidarabad on the east, was smitten with the famine. Far to the north in the Punjab, on the borders of Kashmir, another district of large extent was reduced to want and suffering. Still a third famine was in the Punjab on the south. From this province nearly the whole of Oudh as far eastward as Bengal was blackened with the ravages of death by starvation. On the borders of the Central provinces, reaching from Oudh to the Ganges, still another vast region was almost depopulated. Other portions of India quite as extensive as those already described were in part reduced to want.

The reports of the terrible suffering of the tens of millions of her subjects were at first disregarded by Great Britain, and for a considerable period no serious effort was made to relieve the distress. The famine increased to appalling dimensions. It became known throughout the world that districts inhabited by fully forty million people were prostrate under the incalculable horrors of starvation. By February of 1897 the alarm was taken by the sluggard government, and about two million persons were employed to give relief to the destitute. The spirit of the Hindus gave way before the prevailing conditions, and they huddled together in miserable groups as if awaiting their fate. Great Britain was at length aroused to extraordinary exertion. She was scourged by the public opinion of mankind to do as much as possible to alleviate the unspeakable griefs of her starving subjects.

VICTIMS OF THE HINDU FAMINE, 1897.—From a Photograph.

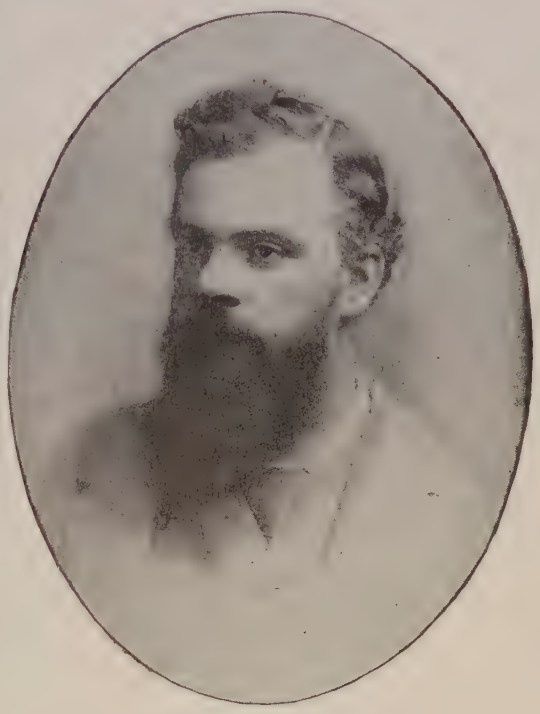
In America, the awful condition of affairs in India could but be contrasted with the splendors which were witnessed here and there in the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the sovereign's reign. They who were raised to knighthood and the peerage on the Queen's birthday might well hear above the call, "Arise, Sir Knight!" the distant moan of dying nations. Some of the leading American magazines published reports from India which sent a thrill of horror round the world. Julian Hawthorne, as the representative of the *Cosmopolitan*, forwarded from Bombay a narrative of the condition of affairs as witnessed by himself, and this, illustrated with photographs of the miseries to be witnessed in India, emphasized the reproach with which the British empire in Hindustan is justly regarded.

One of the incidents of British life, in the spring of 1897, forcibly illustrated the prevailing and indeed immemorial temper of the race and nation. A movement was set on foot for the admission of women to degrees at the University of Cambridge. The gradual educational progress in Great Britain had at length opened some of the higher institutions of learning to women, so far as the benefits of study and of the lectures were concerned.

This is peculiarly an English feature of life. The English race permits things to be done so long as no one avows that they are done. But when anyone declares that a thing new or unprecedented is done, the conservative British spirit at once rises and declares that the thing is *not* done, and that it *shall not be done.* A large part of English history must be interpreted by this paradoxical principle of permitting reform to come, denying that it has come, and proving by reason and precedent that it ought not to come—and shall not come for generations or centuries.

At the University of Cambridge, women had been for a considerable period tacitly admitted to the educational advantages of the institution, but no degrees were granted to women, even when they had completed prescribed courses of study and had passed satisfactory examinations therein. This illogical condition led at length to the agitation of the question of degrees for women graduates of Cambridge. Hereupon—though Cambridge has been for two and a half centuries the pronounced seat of radicalism and aggressive progress in the upper circles of British thought and purpose—an outcry was raised against the monstrous proposition to recognize, under the sanction of degrees, the educational attainments of women. Such question must needs be decided by the voice of the University itself. It was arranged that the proposed innovation should be submitted to vote, and this was accordingly done on the 21st of May. The undergraduates of Cambridge, as well as the post-graduate authorities, rose in revolt against the proposition. Two thousand four hundred voters appeared on the scene, and of these one thousand seven hundred and thirteen voted against the measure and only six hundred and sixty-two in its favor. The old system of admitting women to the educational advantages while denying them the honors of the University was thus perpetuated.

It was at this time that the incident of the Jameson raid was finally concluded.[1] The affair had become an international scandal—not of the greatest proportions, but a scandal nevertheless. It became an open secret that Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, and other public and semipublic characters connected with the Johannesburg plot, had involved themselves in a transaction which, had it been directed against a government of the



LORD ELGIN, VICEROY OF INDIA.

first or the second class, would have plunged Europe into war. The meanness of the raid, by reducing it to contempt rescued it from importance and heroism. Gradually, the affair, becoming known in England, pervaded somewhat the casuistical British conscience and led to an important, but ultimately ridiculous, parliamentary inquiry.

The investigation, which was conducted in the first half of 1897, was perhaps the most farcical of the many of its kind. The inquiry began seriously enough, but it soon degenerated under the influence of the accused, which ramified into every department of the public life of Great Britain, into an effort to obfuscate and conceal the facts. This effort was also discovered by the public,

[1] For the account of the Jameson raid, see page 170.

and half the world stood ready to inquire why the British Parliament, by its investigating committee, was subjecting itself to the sarcasm and contumelious reproach of the nations. It was observed that the commission of inquiry, whenever it was about to discover and reveal the very facts which it was appointed to find out and report, turned about with extraordinary facility to discharge its witnesses and to take up and to dwell upon the non-essentials of the subject. It became evident that the investigation had resolved itself into the question of how not to investigate the part of the South African officials in the Jameson Raid. The result was, notwithstanding the inconsequential report of the commission, that the public suspicion of governmental complicity and privity in the Johannesburg affair was deepened into a conviction which no factitious inquiry of Parliament itself was able to remove.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY—Old Court of Trinity College.—From a Photograph.

This investigation was nearly coïncident in time, and somewhat related in fact, with a personal event so remarkable as to require notice. For some time previous to the Jameson raid, a series of speculative enterprises had been promoted to a remarkable extent in South Africa. The gold mines in that region, notably the Kimberley mines, and the diamond mines, including some fields almost as rich as those of India, became the basis of real industries, and also of speculative organizations, which, on the whole, overtopped anything of the kind hitherto known. Companies were organized and stocks were issued to a fabulous extent. The region invited adventure and provoked new schemes, the history of some of which is like a tale out of the *Arabian Nights*. The opportunity was too great to pass neglected by men with whom the faculty of acquisition is as strong as with the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons. The officials of South Africa eagerly fell in with the speculative movement and became as frenzied as any in the speedy accumulation of fortune.

It was at this juncture that a remarkable character appeared in the arena and soon became the thunderer of the scene. Barney

Barnato rose to sudden preëminence among the South African speculators, and such was his astonishing success in promoting the schemes with which his name was henceforth associated, that a whole army of other speculators followed in his wake. They watched his movements, invested fabulous sums in the enterprises with which he was connected, and promoted the great promoter until he might well consider himself the emperor of the realm.

Barney Barnato was himself of an obscure and disreputable origin. His blood had in it the currents of Asia, Europe, America, and the islands of the seas. He was the son of a certain Isaacs, who was a dealer in old clothes in one of the eastern districts of London. Young Isaacs at the first thought to improve on his father's vocation by becoming a juggler. At length he took the name by which he was known, one half of which is Hibernian and the other Italian.

It was in his character of fakir that Barnato made his way to South Africa. His first degree above jugglery was taken when he became a diamond smuggler. In this profession, he acquired his first wealth while working in the Kimberley mine. But Barnato had undeveloped powers within him, and these reäcted strongly under the environment in which he found himself. He soon made smuggling respectable by organizing a company to carry it on. This indeed is the method by which fraud and the other polite arts of the under side of human life get for themselves high-sounding names and presently strut in the streets.

Barnato quickly developed into an expert, outclassing all the other experts in the work to which he devoted himself. He virtually created that class of stocks which now became known in the exchange of London, and the bourses of the continent, as "Africans." Sometimes they were called "Kaffirs." The London speculators began to deal in "Kaffirs." That which was at first a little rotary centre of excitement became the roaring maelstrom which in the jargon of the stock exchanges was called the "Kaffir Circus." Whether it were circus or empire, one thing could not be doubted, and that was that Barnato was the king. He became immensely wealthy. Speculation in "Africans" ran higher. There was a time when as was alleged and believed Barnato, could he have realized on the stocks in his possession and under his control, would have been worth $500,000,000. He came to be regarded as a prince, whose old wand of jugglery had transformed itself into a scep-

PUBLIC SQUARE OF JOHANNESBURG.

tre by the touch of which the very earth seemed to be converted into fabulous heaps of gold and precious stones.

After the movement became defined throughout the Western nations to substitute the single standard of gold for all the other standards of ultimate redemption, Barnato's schemes became top-heavy, and he, more wise than many others, perceived an inevitable catastrophe. But against this he

BARNEY BARNATO.

hedged with more than a gambler's skill. He made himself immensely and solidly rich. He became a factor in the public life of the British Empire. His name was spoken with awe in the metropolis, and it was openly predicted that he would presently reach the House of Lords. Then came embarrassment, complication, and the breakage of prices among his stocks. The schemes which he had fathered for the most part went the way of all their predecessors; but Barnato was still a multimillionaire who could not be thrown from his pedestal. At this juncture, however, it was observed that his mind had become a storm centre, and his erratic conduct gave token of insanity. In this condition, he made a voyage from the Cape in the early summer of 1897, intending to reach London. Before getting out of the tropics, however, he brought his strange career to a sudden and tragical end, by jumping overboard. On the 14th of June, in the year just named, leaving only his coat and hat on deck, he took advantage of the early morning quiet and without observation buried himself in the sea.

The period at which we have arrived in the history of Great Britain should be noted for the new and enlarged aspect which the empire presented. History could but take note of the fact of the completeness and vast outspreading dominion of British authority. Beginning with the nineteenth century we find the United Kingdom becoming the United Kingdom of Great Britain *and Ireland*. At the middle of the century, we note the confirmation of British ascendency in India. Meanwhile the Australian settlements began to enlarge, and to present the aspect of states. After the discovery of gold, the colonies were rapidly developed. New Zealand entered upon the extraordinary career which she is now pursuing. Canada expanded. The states composing the British dominion in the New World were enlarged and other states were added until the Pacific was reached. The African colonies of the Empire also flourished.

There was in all the British outposts of civilization a peculiar vigor and rational evolution of enterprise and of institutions growing out of the sterling and cautious experiences of the English race. That which was experiment with the other nations was with Great Britain demonstration and success. The peculiarity of her colonial governments was—and is—that the newer are always better than the older. It is literally true that the last foreign plantation resulting from British enterprise will always prove on examination to be the best under the whole shelter of the empire; and at the same time, the central government—the government at Westminster, organized as it were around the very stem of the monarchy—is the worst of all. That is, the central government has been least able to eliminate the mediæval principles and practices which it inherited from the former line of kings. On the other hand, the new outlying states have shed the old principles and precedents and have organized on the basis of experience and political fitness. From this point of view, we may understand how it is that, eliminating the monarchical fiction and con-

sidering only the other political functions of the state, the government of New Zealand may be regarded as the freest and most rational in the world.

Such is the present aspect of the empire; but the question is, how shall Great Britain continue to rule the widely separated states which she has created, or has rather permitted to create themselves? The answer to this inquiry will bring the solution of one of the most important problems of modern civilization. Philosophically it would appear that one of three possible lines of development may be followed, and these three methods may be easily indicated. The first is independence; that is, the independence of the colonial parts of the British dominion. Canada, for example, may become independent of the British crown. Australia may become independent. So of the East Indian government. In the second place, the colonies of Great Britain may detach themselves from the crown, and enter into political union with other states. This solution has more rationality in the case of Canada than in the case of any other colony. The proximity of that country to the United States and the feasibility of annexation have long been remarked, and the question has been frequently agitated. The third solution is what may be called imperial federation. This implies the development of a complete local government in each of the dependencies, and the representation for imperial purposes of each colony in Parliament.

NAPIER, NEW ZEALAND.

This principle and theory, it would seem, may be easily carried into effect, so far as the House of Commons is concerned. There is nothing insuperable, but everything befitting, in the proposition that the colonies should send their representatives to the House of Commons to participate in the legislation of the empire. It is only when the aristocratic element and the monar-

chical element in the British government are reached, that the difficulty of imperial federation is encountered. It may well be believed that a colonial aristocracy with its representatives in the House of Lords will never be created. To reach a result of this character would be a manifest reversal of the tendencies of civilization. The probable future, however, of the colonies of Great Britain, now grown into prominent and promising states in several quarters of the world, is most likely to be on the line of federation. The difficulties which beset this system will in all probability be obviated by the government in the peculiar manner which that government has long followed, of yielding a little here, and modifying a little there—of conceding when concession is necessary, and refusing to concede when refusal seems most expedient—until a measure of homogeneity shall be reached throughout the empire.

ABDUR-RAHMAN KHAN, AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN.

The year 1897, toward its close, saw the military force of Great Britain thrown out in two directions. At this juncture, it was alleged that the emissaries of the Sultan endeavored to stir up a Mohammedan insurrection in India—as if to requite the government and people of Great Britain for their interference in the affairs of Armenia. The fanatics reasoned that the sympathy of the English nation for the insurgent Armenians ought to be balanced with the sympathy of the Turks for the rebel Hindus!

In this work, the Turkish representatives in the East had the hearty coöperation of Abdur-Rahman Khan, the Ameer of Afghanistan. The northwestern districts of British India lie adjacent to the Ameer's dominions. On account of a previous disturbance, a British garrison had been established at Chitral which was within the Afghan border. Lord Rosebery sought when the former difficulty was settled to have the outpost at Chitral withdrawn; but not so Lord Salisbury. On the contrary, when the second difficulty arose, it was decided to take possession of the Malakand Pass. Indeed, this important gateway had already been occupied, but reinforcements to the number

of several thousand were sent forward to strengthen the strategic point against the threatening movements of the hostile Afghan tribesmen.

The interest of the western nations, however, was chiefly centered on the British progress in the direction of Khartoum in Egypt. In no other part of the world was Great Britain so much concerned at this time as in getting possession of the city in which Gordon fell, and in reducing the Dervishes, who, under the Khalifa Abdullah, the successor of El Mahdi, were in full tide of insurrection in the Soudan. Meanwhile the Anglo-Egyptian army had been thoroughly organized, disciplined, and equipped for the campaign, which was slowly waged, first to Abu Hamed, and then in the direction of Khartoum. The forces were under command of Sir Herbert Kitchener, whose name was now spoken with respect and confidence throughout the British dominions. The rebel army was commanded by Osman Digna, General of the Khalifa. A railroad was pushed forward from Wady Halfa to Abu Hamed, and when that point was reached, the navigation of the Nile lay open toward Khartoum. Step by step, the Anglo-Egyptian army made its way toward the upper Soudan, but the insurgent forces gave no sign of receding or giving up the contest.

It was in the last months of 1897, that the effort, made by the bimetallists of the leading nations to gain the coöperation of Great Britain in restoring silver to the position which it formerly held in Europe and America, came to naught. The circumstances of the event were disgraceful to the government of Great Britain, and disappointing to that part of the American people who still believed in securing bimetallism by international agreement. Representatives of the British government, qualified to speak by authority, had, in response to interrogatories from like representatives of the United States and France, given their assent to enter into negotiations with the American and French commissioners for the reöpening of the mints to silver coinage. Senator Wolcott of Colorado had meanwhile been appointed at the head of a commission to visit the European governments in the interest referred to. Associated with him were ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson and General Payne. There were superficial indications of a successful mission; but they who knew the temper and purpose of the great moneyed trusts of London were too shrewd to expect anything as the result of the movement.

After the English government had virtually promised coöperation, the great bankers of the metropolis, supported in the journalistic world by such doctrinaires as Sir Robert Giffen, compelled the British cabinet to change its position and to stand for monometallism. Two members of the ministry went over to a position contrary to that which they had previously occupied. Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary for India, changed front and marched the other way in a manner to excite the laughter of his opponents. The general result was that the Wolcott negotiations were futile. The embassy came to naught. The American commission returned at the close of the year without favor from either the bimetallists or the monometallists of the United States; the former had never believed that Great Britain would join in the work of rehabilitating silver, even though the money famine among nearly three hundred million of her subject races should continue; the latter had ridiculed the Wolcott embassy as futile in both principle and policy.

The manner in which the European nations, actuated by competition and jealousy, oppose and thwart each other was once more illustrated in the first months of 1898, in their contest for ascendency on the eastern confines of Asia. By this time, it had become apparent that the vast carcass of China was soon to be picked with the sharp beaks and talons of the western falcons. *Whose* beak should sink deepest into the huge Oriental prey, was the question of the hour. One great beak was that of the Russian eagle, but the British beak was thrust out for the prey. The bear and the lion glared at each other on the Chinese coast. Russia's policy of making her way down through Korea or China to the

open Pacific was resented and resisted by Great Britain with every obstacle which she could put in the way. As a part of this policy she sent a magnificent fleet under Admiral Seymour, who arrived in the Chinese waters in January of 1898. The squadron was concentrated at Chemulpo, near the coast of Korea. At the same time a smaller expedition was conducted into the same part of the world by Prince Henry of Prussia. German power was thus made in some sense to confront the British power as the latter confronted the advance of Russia from the land side toward the Pacific waters.

CAPITAL OF KOREA—THE OLD PALACE AT SEOUL.—From a Photograph.

The immediate occasion of this display of force was the culmination of an intrigue at the Korean capital. This intrigue began with the success of Great Britain, or rather with the success of a British financier in insinuating himself into Korea, and getting the appointment from the government of Minister of Customs. This was in all respects a transaction consonant with the British character. The Englishman in question was Mr. J. McLeavy Brown, who from being Director of the Customs got control of the Treasury, and invested the funds according to the personal interests of himself and friends.

At this, the Russian representative bore down on the Korean government and procured Brown's dismissal. The latter, however, would not be discharged from the agreeable and profitable duties which he was performing. A Russian was nominally appointed in his stead. Diplomatical controversy arose, and the discussion resulted in an agreement that *both* the foreigners should have charge of the Korean finances. Before this agreement was reached, however, the English fleet arrived on the scene, and Japan, taking sides with England, sent her contingent of ships to join Seymour's squadron. Russia thus found herself confronted with a force which prevented, for the time being, her further ascendency in Korea.

At the outbreak of the war between the United States and Spain, the sympathies and moral support of the principal European nations were quite distinctly expressed as

between the parties to the contest. Great Britain took advantage of the occasion to lend her powerful voice to the United States. Her attitude was unequivocal. Every reason existed for her policy in favoring the American Republic and the American people. It was to her interest to do so, and where the interest of Great Britain is there will her heart be also.

In the first place the enormous investments which British capitalists had made in America, and their eagerness to secure the recognition of the British standard of values, that is, the single gold standard of money; the concern of the English people to have the Americans become a part of the international system of the world, to have colonial dependencies and trading interests around all seas and shores like herself; the hope of bringing the Americans to some such filial relations as those existing between Canada and Australia, on the one hand, and the mother empire on the other,—all these forces conspired to bring the strenuous support of Great Britain to the United States at the outbreak of the war.

But the other nations of western Europe were not so. France and Germany and Italy all expressed a measure of sympathy for Spain. The bonded debt of the last-named country was held in large part by French capitalists, who could not afford to have the credit of the Spanish government impaired. The ethnic tie, by which the Latin races are united somewhat in the internationality of the age, bound Spain not a little to the French, the Portuguese, and the Italians. Germany seems to have been actuated by a certain animosity long cherished in that country toward the American Republic. There had been little in common between the German Empire and the United States, and that little has been diminished since the accession of Wilhelm II., whose mediæval pretensions have awaked a smile of derision among the liberty-loving peoples of the world. In the present instance, however, it was the surly spirit of dislike between Germany and Great Britain which led the former to take sides with Spain—for the British sympathy had gone the other way.

The feelings and preferences of the European nations with respect to the contestants in the American war with Spain were greatly exaggerated and misrepresented by the journalism of the two continents. How could any truth issue from such a source? Nor had there ever been in past times an epoch in which the falsehood, misrepresentation, and manufactured intelligence, floating in the channels of journalism, rendered the streams of information so turbid and the atmosphere so lurid with sensation and violence as in the closing years of the nineteenth century. The newspapers of both Europe and America seemed eager to precipitate universal war. Every rumor was fanned to a flame, and the flame was reported as a conflagration.

It was in this manner that the strained relations of England and France in the first half of 1898 were represented. It was declared and believed that England and France, taking sides the one with the United States and the other with Spain, would speedily come to battle. A cause and motive for war was discovered in the relations of France and England in Africa. In the western part of that continent there was a disputed boundary, the consideration of which was at the time in the hands of an Anglo-French commission.

In the eastern part of the continent there was an incident growing out of the dispute, which for the nonce was thought to threaten serious consequences. While the boundary commissioners were at work in the country west of Abyssinia and eastward from the French Congo, some of the French engineers struck out as if with a deliberate design to include a portion of territory with Fashoda, which they could only claim on the ground that a European nation in Africa is privileged to grab whatever it can find unoccupied.

The policy of Great Britain at this juncture was to control unequivocally the Nile region, from the delta of Egypt to the upper tributaries of the river, under or beyond the equator. The control was to be "unitary," that is, single, and this to the end that when Cecil Rhodes should make his way northward with

his railroad through more than nineteen hundred miles of territory to Cairo, he should encounter no such obstacle as a foreign possession. This rather facile French aggression in Fashoda aroused the ire of the lion, and he roared in his usual manner. Hereupon, the French drew back, and the incident ended with an outgiving to the effect that the French engineers who had attempted to spread France territorially toward Fashoda had been acting with their trial lines only in a private, and not in a public, capacity.

Thus at bottom the two governments were not seriously disturbed. It was one of the amusing incidents of the time, that at the very period when the newspapers and reviews, both European and American, were furnishing the public with the outlines of an imminent Franco-English war, nearly all the head representatives of the British monarchy were visiting in France and enjoying the hospitality of French society! The Queen at this time was at her favorite retreat of Cimiez in the south of France. The Prince of Wales was enjoying himself at Cannes. Lord Salisbury, who as Prime Minister was the visible head of the government, and as secretary of foreign affairs, was responsible for keeping the peace between Great Britain and the other nations, was sojourning at Beaulieu on the Riviera. This left only Mr. Balfour to take care of the home government at a period when, according to the organs of public information, Great Britain and France were on the eve of war.[1]

MAJOR MARCHAND AND THE FASHODA EXPEDITION.

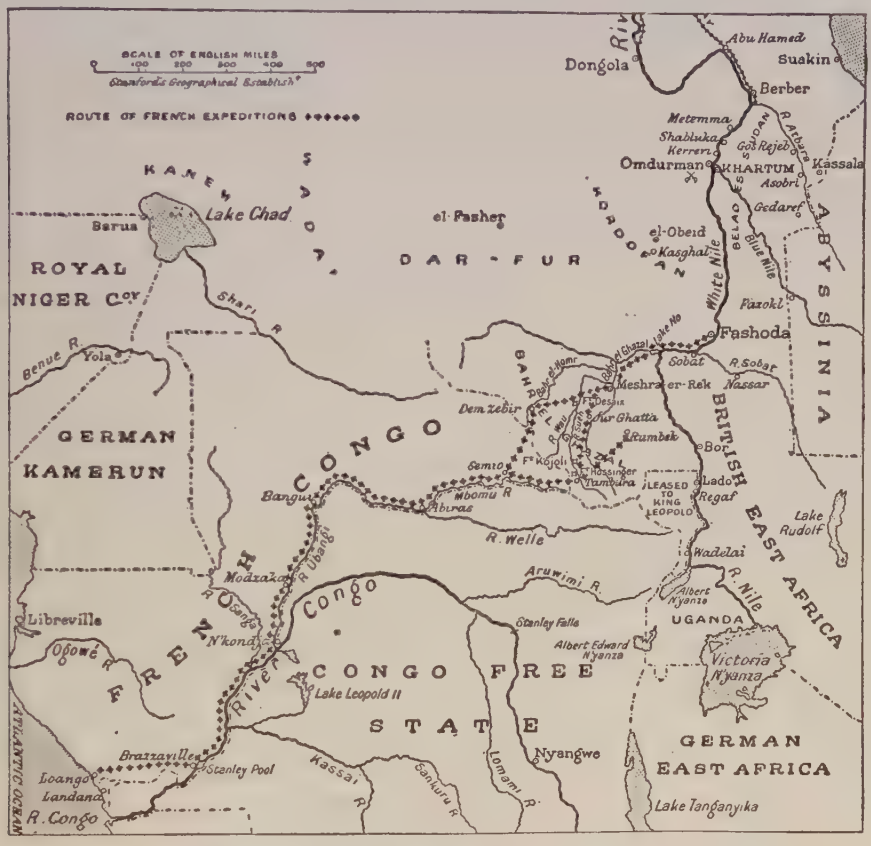
[1] It was at this juncture that certain European correspondents made a rush for the office of M. Hanotaux, the French minister of foreign affairs. They would know of him whether a war with England was sure to come. They wished to inform a waiting world how soon hostilities would begin, and what preparation France was making for the conflict. M. Hanotaux rather laconically replied:

"As for our foreign relations, I can affirm that they are good with everybody. We have the best relations with all the powers. In certain foreign papers we are represented as having less cordial relations with England. Queen Victoria is at Nice, the object of our most respectful solicitude; the Prince of Wales is at Cannes, and Lord Salisbury arrives in France on Monday. That is my sole reply, and I hope this triple stay will be as prolonged and as agreeable as possible."

This preservation of the *entente cordiale* between the two powers was due to the comparatively easy and wholly amicable settlement in a diplomatical way of the Anglo-French boundary dispute in western Africa. For some time the two nations had gone on without a definite establishment of the line of demarkation between their possessions in the Dark Continent. The boundary in dispute was principally that between French Dahomey and British Lagos. This line was reëxplored by four commissioners whose work was submitted to the Anglo-French commission appointed by the two governments to decide the issue. The dispute related to a region of territory lying between the fourth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude, and the fourth degree west and the fourteenth degree east of longitude from Greenwich.

There had been an adjustment of the boundary line in the region indicated by a commission of inquiry in 1890, but that settlement was now set aside, and a new line established, running west from Lake Chad approximately along the fourteenth degree of north latitude, encroaching somewhat on the French territory, turning southward through the countries of the Upper Niger, and again dividing the region between the longitude of Greenwich and the country of the Ivory coast. On the whole, the advantage of the reädjustment remained with Great Britain, but the settlement was acceptable to France, and the incident of the dispute was at an end.

About the same time, Great Britain made another territorial advance by her acquisition of an important district of country on the mainland of China adjacent to the island of



THE FRENCH EXPEDIT')N OF 1898—LINE OF PROGRESS TOWARD FASHODA.

Hong Kong. About two hundred square miles of terra firma were thus secured, having Mirs Bay on the one side and Deep Bay on the other. Great Britain thus gained a possession on the Chinese coast fully sufficient to form a basis for all her future operations in the vicinity of Hong Kong. She got the territory under a lease for ninety-nine years—but this is equivalent in her case to a perpetual cession; for when in human history did Great Britain relinquish a lease, or any other title to a strategic point? The object of the government in procuring the new district was to erect fortifications and to create a military and naval base against which no power could prevail.

HARBOR AND CITY OF HONG KONG.

Most important of all was the continued and conspicuous success of the British arms in Egypt. In that country, as we have already seen, the Anglo-Egyptian army, under command of General Sir Herbert Kitchener, advanced slowly but firmly from Wady Halfa, first to Abu Hamed, and afterward to Berber. The great army of fanatical Dervishes under command of the Khalifa opposed the progress of the British army, which numbered about twenty-five thousand men, mostly native Egyptians, whom the drillmasters and sergeants had converted from their degradation into the stature and discipline of British soldiers.

Gradually, General Kitchener made his way across the Nubian desert by the railway until he found himself in the immediate front of the Khalifa's army. Berber was at that time the terminus of the railway beginning at the first cataract of the Nile and including in its course the other cataracts. From Berber onward, the Nile might be used as the auxiliary of British progress. Khartoum is distant from Berber in a southwesterly direction, as the eagle flies, a hundred and ninety miles. The former town, having been the Khalifa's capital of Nubia, or the Soudan

(if we adopt the modern phraseology), was destroyed after the death of Gordon, in 1885, and the Khalifa reëstablished his capital more strategically on the left bank of the Nile opposite the confluence of the Blue Nile.

This new seat of power was named Omdurman, and it was against this that the Anglo-Egyptian army advanced in the early months of 1898. The movement was obscured by the distance of the scene, by the inaccessibility of the country, and (on our side of the Atlantic) by the absorption of public interest in the war which had just broken out between the United States and Spain. The slow but sure progress of General Kitchener up the river continued until the 8th of April, when he was confronted at Atbara by the army of Dervishes, the two divisions of which were commanded by Osman Digna and the Emir Mahmoud.

On September 2d, at Omdurman, a great battle ensued in which the Anglo-Egyptian army was completely victorious. The qualities of the new soldiery which British discipline had created out of the debased Egyptian materials came out in bold relief. The superiority of the equipment of General Kitchener's forces was manifested from the beginning of the battle. His machine guns were set in fatal operation against the Dervishes. About two thousand of the Khalifa's men were left dead on the field and in the retreat. The total estimated loss was hardly less than five thousand killed, with an unknown proportion of wounded. It is in the manner of the Dervishes, when they are defeated, to recede into the desert whither no history can follow them. The losses of the Egyptian army were only sixty killed, with between three hundred and four hundred wounded. The victory was so overwhelming as to end the war, at least for the current year, though Osman Digna, escaping from the scene, was able to gather the wrecks of the Khalifa's forces, and to save them from extermination.

GENERAL SIR HERBERT KITCHENER.

One certain result of the campaign was the opening of the way for the extension of

the Egyptian railway from Berber to Khartoum, and thence through Kordofan to the regions of the Upper Nile. It should not be forgotten that one of the primary motives in British policy was the construction of a through line of railway traversing the whole of Eastern Africa from Cairo to Cape Colony.

BATTLE OF OMDURMAN—FIGHT FOR THE KHALIFA'S STANDARD.

It is in the light of this purpose that the thinly disguised movement of Cecil Rhodes, using Jameson's raiders as the cat's-paw of the enterprise, must be understood. It was the hope of Rhodes, moving northward, to approximate and finally meet the corresponding movement of the British in the Soudan making their way to the south. Nor can it be doubted that this purpose of a railway, traversing the whole of the Dark Continent on the east, will be speedily consummated. What a spectacle to behold a modern railway train moving forward under its hood of smoke and whiff of cinders from the land of the Pharaohs through ancient Ethiopia, further and further, until the head waters of the Nile are passed, and until, descending through the region of the great Nyanzas and Kaffirland, it reaches its southernmost station at that Cape which was aforetime the Cape of Storms until Da Gama in the ever memorable year 1498 converted it into Good Hope!

It was the carrying forward of this railway policy that led, in 1897-98, to the rumor of impending hostilities between Great Britain and France. The country of the Upper Nile, just north of the convergence of those tributaries which issue from the immediate region of the equator, is an inviting part of Eastern Africa. To the east, lie Gallaland and Abyssinia; to the west, are Kordofan and Dar Nuba. Still further to the west is French Africa. Out of the latter region, in the direction of Fashoda, came that French exploring expedition, which to the excitable imagination of the age appeared to foretoken a clash between the two great nations of western Europe. How should Great Britain witness with equanimity the cutting off of her coveted line of all-through railway from Cairo to Cape Town? How, on the other hand, should France be interdicted from carry-

BATTLE OF OMDURMAN—Final Charge of the Anglo-Egyptian Troops on the Last of Mahmoud's Zerabas.

ing her enterprise through the upper Soudan in the direction of the Gulf of Aden? Nevertheless, as we have already seen, the course of the latter nation led no farther than an exploring expedition to which Great Britain could not object. The "Fashoda incident" passed, as has been previously remarked, without a ripple on the surface of history.

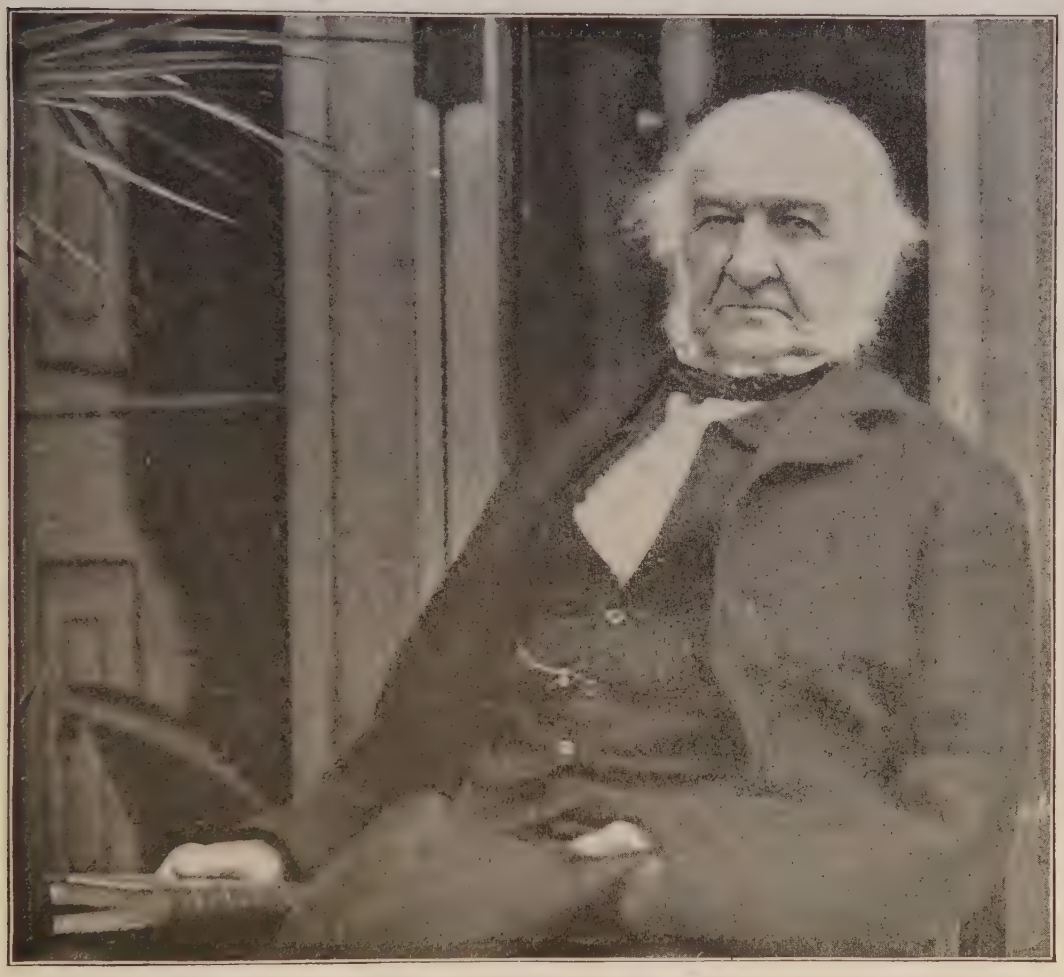
MAP SHOWING THE BRITISH OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN, 1882, 1898.

The passing of William E. Gladstone from the scene of his earthly activities produced a great impression on the British public and throughout the world. By far the greater number of aged statesmen make their *exeunt* from the stage with little observation; only a few are conspicuous unto the final day. Among these Gladstone was peculiarly exceptional. He held his powers and his influence over the public purpose with little weakening or decline to the very close of the scene.

With the completion of his eighty-eighth year, in December of 1897, it could but be noted that the veteran's sun was at the setting. His great vitality, however, bore him onward to the 19th of May in the following year. A painful cancerous affection of the face, having its center in the nasal bones, was the agency by which death came. The statesman passed away quietly at the Castle of Hawarden, from which his body was borne to the near-by church of Chester, where modest obsequies were held in the manner of the English Church. Subsequently the remains were conveyed to London, where, by Act of Parliament, they were interred in Westminster Abbey in the presence of a throng of the most distinguished men and women of the empire.

Historically, Gladstone stands not unmarked with honor in the group of politico-literary publicists beginning with Marcus Cato and ending with himself. The group includes, in his own country, Palmerston, Brougham, and Wellington, and in America, Jefferson and the elder Adams. Of these, Brougham and Adams were nonogenarians. The youngest of the group, at the date of death, was Palmerston, who died at the age of eighty-one.

We have already noted on former pages[1] the rise, in the year 1898, of a strong sentiment of sympathy and common purpose between Great Britain and the United States. This feeling began rather from the British side. It was coincident with the beginning of the Spanish-American war. The decline and death of Gladstone called forth a great deal of American eulogy. The sentiment of admiration extended to other great Englishmen, who, more than Gladstone, had in times past spoken and acted favorably to the American Republic. In the list of such, John Bright held the foremost place Bright was thoroughly American in his opinions and thoroughly courageous in the expression of them. American writers began to note the greatness of the character of Cromwell, of many Whig statesmen of the eighteenth century, of Wilberforce, and of the British radical poets who have sung in their rough way the songs of freedom and progress.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

The British writers of the period took up our favorite characters, and published panegyrics on Washington and Lincoln and Grant and Lee. Mutual admiration was fanned, and the bards broke out with their rhapso-

[1] See pages 173-175.

dies. William Watson, and Alfred Austin, the new poet laureate, were answered in America by Robert Underwood Johnson, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and other American poets of first rank, who strove to express the prevailing aspiration of Great Britain and the United States for a closer touch, and a more cordial fraternity.

Among these expressions of poetic enthusiasm rising into the realm of race affinities and international relations, we may select the following sonnet by Walter Malone, as a fitting conclusion to this brief section of the history of the British Empire.

"Beneath the arctic peaks of silent snow;
Through tropic isles enwreathed with orange blooms;
Where brown Gibraltar like a giant looms;
Where furnaces of red Sahara glow;
In spicy groves, where softest breezes blow;
In tangled Hindu jungles' deepest glooms;
By mummied Pharaohs' immemorial tombs,—
The Saxon legions conquer every foe.

So Alfred's spear and Nelson's sword shall be
Guards for the flag that Washington unfurled;
With might of Cromwell, Lincoln, Blake, and Lee
Our gauntlet at invaders shall be hurled;
Lords of the land and emperors of the sea,
The eagle and the lion face the world!"

INTERMENT OF GLADSTONE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER CLXII.—FRANCE.

THE opening of the year 1889 showed France afflicted with internal dissensions of a character so turbulent that the downfall of the Republic was threatened. The public discontent, made furious by partisan enmities, seemed about to bear General Boulanger to the chief power, so great was the effect of the feebleness of some of the Republic's leaders, so great the violence of others. The sentiment of the nation was significantly revealed in the elections in Paris, when the Plebiscitary candidate received two hundred and forty-five thousand votes to his Radical adversary's one hundred and sixty-two thousand. The result of the election was a real calamity to the alarmed Government, and the disastrous situation was intensified by the scandalous collapse of the Panama Canal Company, and the breakdown of important speculative efforts in other directions, so that the public credit was rudely shaken, and the sum of individual losses was enormous.

Floquet's Cabinet, however, attacked the pretensions of Boulanger, and soon an order for the prosecution of the turbulent officer was issued. General Boulanger refused to put the matter to the issue of a trial, and fled incontinently to Belgium, and thence to England. Yet the premier Floquet failed to obtain the confidence of the people, and was defeated on an issue of little importance. Thereupon, M. Tirard formed a Cabinet of a neutral sort, chiefly to preside over the Exhibition. When General Boulanger by his flight declared the weakness of his cause, the Departments of the Interior and of Justice dared to wage war against him and his aids, M. Rochefort and M. Dillon. Ultimately the Senate found all the accused men guilty, and sentenced them, in their absence, to deportation.

Apart from the distractions of political broils, France had much cause for rejoicing; above all else, in the Exhibition. This opened in May. By the European monarchies it was regarded as an avowed demonstration against the monarchical system, and for that reason the only official allies of importance in the French effort were the United States and Switzerland. Nevertheless, the Exposition was a splendid success, many of its features winning extraordinary favor, preeminently the Eiffel Tower, although this marvel was the recipient of much æsthetic criticism. The Prince of Wales was among the visitors, as were the King of Greece, the Shah, and many other notables. The total of the visitors was six and one-half millions, and of this number fully one-fourth were from foreign countries.

In the September appeal to the constituencies, the Boulangists, the Bonapartists, and the Monarchists allied themselves in vain. The internal feuds of the Republicans were suppressed for the time being, and the polls showed plainly that France had had enough of turmoil and adventure. The Republicans in the new Chamber numbered three hundred and twenty-five, while all the Opposition counted only two hundred and forty-six, the Boulangists having dwindled to forty-one. The improving temper of the day was displayed in the first act of the Assembly, which was the rejecting of a proposal to revise the Constitution.

In foreign matters, France was more tranquil than at home, although the strained relations with Italy continued. As to Germany, there was no real deviation from the apparent peace policy.

The deaths of the year included those of General Faidherbe, who distinguished himself by his victories over the Germans in

1870 and 1871; Admiral Jaures; M. Chevreul, the centenarian chemist; M. Scherer, critic and senator; M. Felix Pyat, the politician; Dr. Ricord, the Nestor of French physicians; and M. Augier, the dramatist.

The new year saw the death of Boulangism, and its end caused a division in the Plebiscitary party, caused in part, too, by the publication of official corruption in the various departments. Early in the year a Cardinal Lavigerie, to the effect that if the Republicans would cease their severe anti-clerical policy, all classes in the country could work harmoniously under the institutions as they then were. The truth of this was witnessed by the success of M. de Freycinet's ministry, which followed that of M. Tirard, in its moderate course. The financial condition was, however, most unsatisfactory, and the discussion of tariff legislation be-

EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1889—CENTRAL DOME WITH ELECTRICAL FOUNTAIN.

fleeting popularity was given to the Monarchical party by the imprisonment of the Comte de Paris's son and heir; but this was more than offset soon afterward by the evidences that showed Boulanger's popularity to have been won chiefly with money contributed by the Monarchists, and by the public statement, injudiciously made by the Comte de Paris, that he regarded as proper any means to weaken the Republic. The effect of his failure to deny the charges of bribery was apparent in the declaration of came as important as it was in the United States.

The most conspicuous deaths of the year were those of Alphonse Karr, the author; Octave Feuillet, the romantic writer; Chatrian, Erckmann's collaborator; Gayarre, the singer; and Mademoiselle Samary, the actress.

In 1891, France went wild with enthusiasm over a Russian friendship, and thereby the rest of Europe was seriously dismayed. The French fleet was sent to Cronstadt,

where the Russian Government, laying aside its prejudice against a Republic, received the naval officers with splendid hospitality. This and other causes seemed to point to an alliance, both offensive and defensive, between the two nations, and the belief was a matter of rejoicing to the whole French people. The general confidence was hardly lessened when M. de Giers went out of his way to meet the Italian Prime Minister at Monza. In the status of the Chamber, the Government's policy was not without a strengthening effect.

In the meantime the suicide of General Boulanger, on his mistress's grave near Brussels, reduced his faction to a memory merely, and the Royalist party, led by Count d'Haussonville, suffered also by the withdrawal of the Clerical wing, although renewed Radical measures against the clergy soon drove the Catholics once more, toward the close of the year, to favor the Monarchists. The chief excellence of the Government was displayed by its firmness in defying the mobs that threatened with violence to prevent the performance of Wagner's *Lohengrin*, and in the restraint of anarchistic terrorism and political conspiracies. The necessity for firmness was well shown at the May-day celebrations, when the rioting was only checked by the efforts of the troops, and, at Fourmies, not without bloodshed.

In the military department, M. de Freycinet's endeavors won for him admiration at home and abroad. Indeed, the condition of the country was better than before for some time. Trade was fairly prosperous, and while the financial condition was distressful, the panic was checked. The Radicals were, however, discontented, and waged war against M. Constans for his prompt energy against the mobs and his removal of Marat's statue; and once or twice their attempts nearly succeeded in overturning the Ministry. It was certainly for their conciliation that the Archbishop of Aix was censured by the Government for his attitude of criticism concerning the stopping of pilgrimages to Rome. The Government issued a decree against such pilgrimages, in view of the attacks made on the French pilgrims by the Italian populace, who believed—rightly or wrongly—that the visitors had insulted the tomb of Victor Emmanuel in the Pantheon.

GENERAL JEAN MARIE BOULANGER.

The chief calamity of the year came from the destructive floods of the autumn. The number and importance of the deaths were much beyond those of any other in recent years. Former President Grévy; the Pretender, Prince Napoleon, commonly known as "Plonplon;" the Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who drew a pension from the English Civil List for his scientific labors; Bishop Freppel, the Clerical leader in the Chamber; Baron Haussman, the architect of modern Paris; Meissonier, the artist; Theodore de Banville, the poet; and Du Boisgobey, romancist, were among the illustrious who passed away.

THE PANTHEON, PARIS.

Despite the fact that there were two changes of Government in 1892, the greatest excitement in France arose over the anarchist outrages in the spring, the Charmaux strike in the autumn, and the Panama scandal. Freycinet's Cabinet fell in February, as the result of the Premier's efforts to rid himself of his powerful colleague, M. Constans, who aided his chief by engaging in a disgraceful scuffle with a Boulangist deputy, afterward a fugitive from the Panama investigations, but, unfortunately for Freycinet, he drew that statesman with him in his fall.

The new Premier was M. Loubet, a man of no particular political renown, but known as an intimate personal friend of President Carnot. His administration was, however, fairly successful until he was overwhelmed with his fellows in the Panama storms. The whole world was horrified by the series of dynamite outrages that occurred in the spring and warned Paris of the secret poison within its depths. The authorities promptly used every endeavor to intimidate the lawless by the trial and execution of Ravachol; but similar crimes were committed in the autumn, despite all the vigilance of the police. Yet the real danger to France was in the political corruption that the revelations of 1892 laid bare. The disclosures in connection with the Panama matter showed the fact that a group of senators, deputies, and ex-ministers was wholly dishonest, and worked only for their own gain at whatever cost to the state. The truth was so revolting that a vehement attack on Republican institutions resulted, and the general yearning toward securing honesty in office was signally displayed in the selection of M. Ribot for the post of Premier. He had been Foreign Minister in the last two Cabinets, and had shown able qualities in that position; vastly more, in

JEAN LOUIS ERNEST MEISSONIER.

view of the shocking disclosures, he had been unquestionably honest.

In 1892 occurred two deaths that were greatly mourned,—those of Cardinal Lavigerie, the greatest of France's contemporary prelates, and Ernest Rénan, the best of prose writers and the most brilliant of critics in the field of religious history.

Once more, in 1893, the Cabinet, under Ribot, was reconstructed in order to purge it of the Panama corruption. Something of the constant political turmoil in France may be understood by the fact that the new Cabinet was the twenty-eighth in less than twenty-three years of the Republic's history. In the Senate, in March, M. Ferry succeeded M. Le Royer, who resigned after eleven years of office, but Ferry's death, soon after, gave the place to M. Challemel-Lacour. M. Casimir-Périer obtained the presidency of the Chamber. The new ministry failed on a constitutional question, and a Radical Cabinet was formed under M. Dupuy. An unfortunate incident in the election was a riot at Aigues Mortes, in which thirty Italians were killed. When the news reached Italy, there was rioting directed against French residents in Rome, and diplomatic relations between the countries were much disturbed in consequence. In the outcome of the affair the mayor of Aigues Mortes and the prefect of Rome were both suspended from office. In September there was a strike in the department of the North in which the miners used every device, including dynamite, to insure success; but, after a conflict of forty-six days, the companies triumphed. A pleasant variation in the general trouble of the year was the visit of the Russian squadron to Toulon in October, and the fêtes that greeted the foreign officers. Every courtesy within the power of the French was extended to their guests. The President visited the vessels, and on the same day the Czar visited two French warships at Copenhagen. The whole affair was looked on by France, and indeed Europe generally, as demonstrating an alliance between the two nations.

The temper of the anarchists, however,

ERNEST RENAN.

was not improved by the fêtes, as was shown at the opening of the December session, when a bomb was thrown from the strangers' gallery, causing wild excitement, and injuring many in the gallery, including its thrower, who was taken and executed. Naturally, the legislative body multiplied enactments looking toward a suppression of such dangers. External affairs were more satisfactory. In the course of the year the French managed an ingenious series of intrigues against Siam,

PORTE ST. DENIS, PARIS.

and by these, with a little intimidation, forced the reluctant King to cede to France all rights to his territory lying east of the Mekong River, including the islands in the river, and to pay a heavy indemnity.

The most conspicuous death of the year was that of Marshal McMahon, ex-President of the Republic, although the whole nation felt the loss of Taine, the author, of Jules Ferry, and of Gounod, the composer.

Curiously enough, in view of the cordial relations with Russia, the Chamber, in 1894, raised the tariff on Russian imports at the same time that Germany was reducing it. A fact of far more importance, however, marked this year; for, in January, the Pope openly revealed his resolve to support the Republic, abandoning his ancient policy of working for the Royalist cause. Another matter of religious importance was the declaration of the Chamber supporting the Ministry in its decision for freedom of religious worship and observances. The mayor of St. Denis forbade the display of any religious emblem in funeral processions; but M. Spuller, the Minister of Public Worship, annulled the mayor's order, and in this ruling he was upheld. Severe measures were taken in the Legislature against the anarchist disturbers; but, in spite of all efforts, an explosion occurred near the St. Lazare railway station, and many were injured. The perpetrator was caught and executed, and the author of two other attempted outrages perished in the premature explosion of a bomb he was carrying. The close of the year was marked by an extraordinary political inversion; M. Casimir-Périer's Ministry was ousted by the Radicals, and M. Dupuy formed one in its place. Thereupon M. Casimir-Périer succeeded M. Dupuy as President of the Chamber of Deputies. An incident that attracted much attention was the prosecution of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, who was convicted of having sold State documents from the war office to Germany.

The calamity of 1894 is yet to be recorded, a calamity that plunged France in profound grief and horrified all the world. This was the assassination of President Sadi-Carnot. President Carnot paid a formal visit to the Exposition Coloniale at Lyons, and June 24, on his way from the Bourse de Commerce, where

he had attended a banquet, to the theater, where he was to be present at a gala performance, he was stabbed by a workman, Santo Caserio, an Italian anarchist. The wounded President died within three hours. The whole nation was frantic with rage and grief. In Lyons, on the night of the tragedy, mobs raged in the Italian quarter of the city, and for a time it was feared that international enmities might culminate as a result of the crime of Caserio. M. Casimir-Perier succeeded to the Presidency, Burdeau taking his place as President of the Chamber. The funeral of the murdered man occurred July 1, in Paris, and was one of the most striking pageants, of modern times.

Another remarkable death in France was that of M. William Henry Waddington, born in France, but the son of English parents. He was Prime Minister under President Grévy, and he was distinguished as being the only Englishman who ever held that office.

Other deaths that should be noticed were those of Maillet, the sculptor; Maxime du Camp, academician and author of the History of the Paris Commune; Leconte de Lisle, academician; the Comte de Paris; and Vicomte Ferdinand de Lesseps, made and marred by his canal schemes. It is gratifying to know that, in the last days of this man of energy, he was spared the shame that came upon his name. It was so contrived that no whisper of the ruin of all his hopes, and the ignominy attached to their failure, came to his ears.

In the following year the Cabinet of M. Bourgeois failed, and M. Ribot succeeded to the Premiership only to fail in his turn and to be succeeded by M. Bourgeois. This occurred under the Presidency of M. François Felix Faure, who was elected to be the Chief Executive of France on the resignation of M. Casimir-Périer, in January. Practically, all of the sessions were occupied with the investigation of scandals, chiefly the Panama and one concerning the Southern Railway. The only event of wholesome flavor was the adoption of plans for an Exposition in 1900, and the voting of a first appropriation. Many measures were undertaken against the anarchists; but the activities of the police did not prevent the sending of a bomb, by post, to the Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, and its exploding disastrously in the hands of his secretary, who opened the evil parcel.

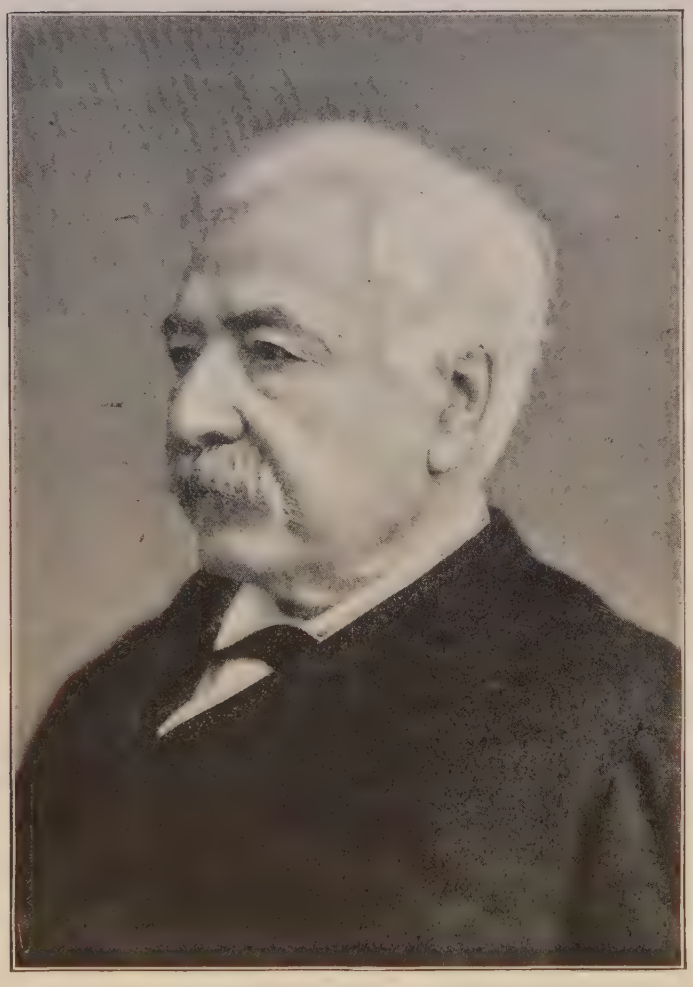
Among the famous who died in 1895 were Canrobert, last of the marshals of France; Pasteur, the bacteriologist; Dumas Fils, novelist and dramatist; and Bartholemy Saint-

M. CASIMER-PÉRIER.

Hilaire, the statesman. These were followed in 1896 by M. Floquet, formerly Premier; Paul Verlaine, the genius of decadent poets; Arsène Houssaye, the writer; Jean Baptiste Léon Say, the statesman; and Jules Simon, the publicist. In this last year the most important political changes were the election of M. Loubet to the Presidency of the Senate, and the fall of the Bourgeois Ministry, M. Meline forming the new Cabinet.

The anti-Semitic movement in Europe manifested itself strongly in France in the first months of 1895. The real philosophy of this phase of half-political agitation in modern times is difficult to apprehend. Anti-Semitism, like the melancholy of Jacques, is a compound of many elements mixed in the most intricate manner. First

of all, it is a race antipathy pure and simple. The prejudice of the Middle Ages has flowed down with the blood of mankind and mingled with all the streams of modern thought. The races of the West dealt cruelly with the sons of Israel for several centuries. The people of Jacob became a survival from the persecution, outrages, hatreds, and oppressions of centuries of time.



VICOMTE FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

It is in this light that the peculiar qualities of the Hebrew people are to be interpreted and understood. Their ascendency in the last quarter of the nineteenth century springs from a germ of power which has been nurtured by the very rigors to which it has been exposed. Historical prejudice against the Jews has for a long time broken out periodically, and the anti-Semitic agitation in Russia and Austria, and finally in France in the year 1895, was only the last in the long series of spasmodic exhibitions of race prejudice.

But there have been other than ethnic causes of antipathy to the Hebrews. The Jew has become the money lender par excellence of the civilized world. Not in one country only, but in all nations, he has discovered the sovereignty of gold, and has availed himself of this knowledge to an extent which is but dimly understood, even by publicists and historians. Modern civilization has taken a form in which money is power, and the want of money is weakness and subserviency. It is this fact which has given the Hebrew his supremacy. He is a man of cities and of bourses. He is a man who knows little of production, and everything of bonds. He is not only a financier; he is a merchant also. Merchandise as well as money is power. Merchandise is the half-way station at which profit stops its trains for a few moments on their way from the fields and forests and mines of the producers to the bourses and stock exchanges of the commercial centers.

For a considerable period of time, the Hebrew has been making his way to the seats of power in the financial world. He has now arrived. His control of the money supply and distribution is hardly any longer disputed in any of the capitals of Europe or America. The ascendency of the Jews in the money marts of the world was for a while resisted and resented. It is not any longer resisted—for that were useless—but

it is resented still. *And this is the secret of the modern situation.* Since the imminent failure of the Baring Brothers of London in 1890, there has not been a single financial institution in the world capable of disputing the money sovereignty of the Israelites. This is true not only in London and Amsterdam, but in Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris; it is true also in every commercial center of America.

The Hebrew has his monarchy. It is the kingdom of gold. While he controls that one commodity of the earth, and compels all nations to measure their values by it, he will continue to be what he is—the emperor of mankind. In that event, the subjects of the emperor will continue to cry out against him, as they did in 1895. At that time Paris, as much as Vienna, rang with the "Hep-hep" cry of contempt which had been raised in many influential parts of Europe against the Jews.

In the next place we may note the logic of this great movement. It may be said that all socialistic Europe and America has joined in the crusade. But why should socialism array itself against Hebraism? For the very reason already indicated. Socialism opposes itself to the monarchy of money. The monarchy of money is under the almost absolute dominion of the Jewish race. That race being without a country of its own and being diffused through all other important countries of the globe, has to reign (if at all) by peculiar agencies. It cannot reign territorially. It cannot reign politically—except by indirection. But having mastered the money craft of mankind, the Hebrew can reign by *that.*

The enterprise of making money to be the central fact in every civilized society of the world has proved successful. The success, however, has entailed on the successful the enmity of the human race outside of Israel. Thus in the year referred to, the rage of the Parisians against the Jewish race burned not a little because Paris is at heart the most socialistic metropolis in the world and because the money lender cannot be a socialist. He must be an imperialist. In this light the whole agitation must be understood. This fact is the secret of the otherwise inexplicable animosity which the French people exhibited in the case of Captain Dreyfus.

Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army, was, in 1894, charged with selling secret information regarding the army to the representatives of foreign states, particularly to the secret agents of the German empire and the kingdom of Italy. The charge was sufficiently serious. The prosecutors and persecutors of Dreyfus may still urge this in justification, that the acts charged against the accused were, if justly charged, the profoundest and most virulent form of treason. Captain Dreyfus was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to transportation for life. Against him, the hatred of the Parisians was kindled to the point of conflagration, and for a while, it was virtually worth the life of any Frenchman to speak a word in favor of the condemned officer, or even in criticism of the process by which his conviction had been secured.

Dreyfus was sent to Cayenne, in French Guiana, and the report went abroad that he was confined in an iron cage! It might well seem that a personal incident of this kind would soon pass from observation and remark; but not so. The conditions were such as to make the question national and historical. For many years the French army had been the pride of the nation. To that army the people looked as the ultimate weapon with which to avenge themselves on Germany. The idea that there could be treason or disloyalty or anything less than deathless devotion in high army circles, seemed to the Parisians preposterous, odious, damnable! What therefore should they do when the integrity of the army was attacked or assailed—what but effervesce with sheer rage and fury?

For a while the incident seemed likely to end in silence; but the evidence on which Dreyfus was convicted was not made public. For the trial was secret and inquisitorial. At length M. Sheurer-Kestner, vice president of the Senate, a man of probity and

good sense, ventured to express his distrust and his condemnation of the method by which Dreyfus had been condemned. About the same time, namely in 1895, the finger of suspicion was somehow pointed at a culprit other than Alfred Dreyfus as the treacherous person in selling the secrets of the army. This other was Colonel Esterhazy. But the imputation was hotly resented by the enraged powers under which Dreyfus had suffered. Efforts were made to suppress the "scandal"—as the whole business was now designated—but the affair would not down.

CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS.

For more than two years the broil in French society kept muttering along the surface, now submerged for a moment, and again bubbling up in the journals until, in the early part of 1898, the accusers of Esterhazy (who were the friends of Dreyfus) succeeded in forcing an investigation of Colonel Esterhazy's conduct, but the investigation was held secretly, and when the Colonel was exculpated, the rage broke out afresh. The scandal rose higher, and the administration became involved. At times there were symptoms of insurrection and revolution.

At this juncture, M. Émile Zola, the novelist, brought his wit and sarcasm into the cause, and taking up the plea of Scheurer-Kestner drove home against the government by publishing an attack on the whole proceeding, charging that there had been a conspiracy from the start. This startling communication, published in *L'Aurore*, was made in an open letter addressed to M. Felix Faure, President of the Republic. In the diatribe Zola attacked in particular General Bilot, Minister of War, whom he accused of having conspired to destroy Dreyfus in order to conceal the rotten condition of the French army.

On the publication of this charge, the uproar broke out anew. The anti-Semitic features of the controversy appeared in full force. The leading Hebrews of Paris had to be protected by a guard. Count Esterhazy was visited by an interviewer of the press, and said in answer: "If Dreyfus were ever to set foot in France again, there would be one hundred thousand corpses of Jews on the soil. If Zola is acquitted, there will be a revolution in Paris. The people will put me at their head in a massacre of the Jews."

Whether these threats were true may not be known, but at any rate Emile Zola was arrested in the midst of the greatest excitement, was hastily and prejudicially tried, condemned to imprisonment for one year, and the payment of a fine of three thousand francs; but he could not be suppressed. He defended himself with great audacity, both before and after his condemnation. In defence of his course, and in explanation of the circumstances, he said: "I had to act as I have done, otherwise matters might have been allowed to drop, and that was what, as a firm believer in the innocence of Dreyfus, I could not allow. Later on people will say, 'The government meant to grant a fresh trial, and there was no need for Zola to be so violent.' That is what Louis XVI. said when the Revolution broke out—that there had been no need for violence, that he had intended all along to grant them the liberties they desired. If I had done nothing, people would have said, 'Now the affair is finished; Esterhazy has been acquitted. Let us say nothing more about it.' I had to keep the agitation going, because nobody with any sense of justice and of humanity can rest until this fearful error has been rectified. As to the consequences to myself, in the first place, *je m'en moque*, and, secondly, they cannot be very serious. With regard to the criminal prosecution, the penalties imposed by the law are not very heavy, and as to the other suits that are brought against me, I know that it is not the wish of the government to drive me to extremes. From a pecuniary point of view I am indifferent to consequences, and supposing that an attempt to ruin me were successful, which can hardly be, I have had offers of support from numerous friends, and did this week receive such an offer from a correspondent in Switzerland. I have no knowledge and no care what effect my act will have on the sale of my books. I have never in my books sought after any thing but the truth. My life shall be as my books, an ardent quest for truth and for justice."

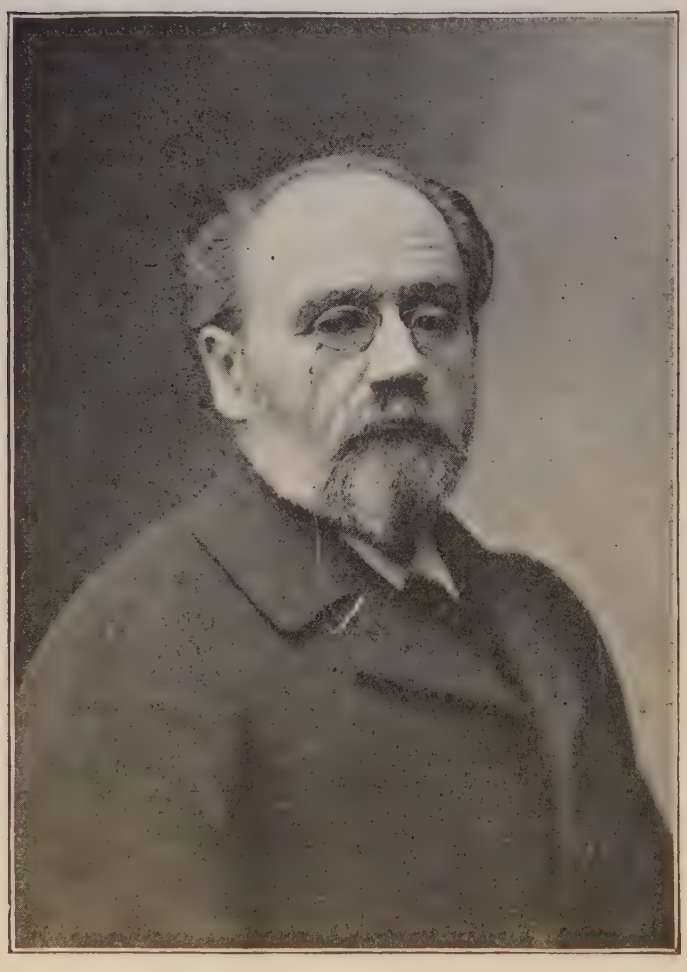
The agitation produced by these events was so great that by the sheer stress of opinion the Dreyfus case was reopened. The principal witness against him had in the meantime admitted that the letters which he had produced incriminating Captain Dreyfus were forgeries, and as if to attest his unspeakable offence against justice and truth, he had committed suicide! The tide turned, though the whole force of the French administration was against the turning. Zola was liberated on bail, and the Dreyfus case was referred for final decision to the Court of Cassation so called, which is the Court of Appeals in

COLONEL FERDINAND WALSIN ESTERHAZY.

France. The beginning of the year 1899 saw this strange and momentous cause still under consideration by the court, and at this time, as if to stay the current of counter opinion, the announcement was made that the favorable judgment which was expected for Dreyfus would have to be the result of unanimity on the part of the judges, such being the rule of the tribunal to which the question had gone. This was equivalent to saying that the last hope of the war department and its following lay in preventing the entire unanimity of the judges!

France, as well as Great Britain, had at this period the premonitions of difficulty relative to her boundary in South America.

The particular question which arose in 1895 was the determination of the disputed line between French Guiana and the United States of Brazil. This was the epoch in which the spirit of arbitration prevailed for a season among the leading nations. France shared the common sentiment, and an agreement was reached between M. Hanotaux and the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs to refer the disputed question to arbitration. In the interim pending the decision, the territory which was claimed by both countries was placed under the control of a dual commission composed of representatives equal in number from the two powers concerned in the dispute.



ÉMILE ZOLA.

Reference has been made to the opening in 1895 of the Kiel Canal in Germany, with the accompanying international naval pageant. The construction of the canal had been undertaken and completed for the double purpose of expediting the water commerce of Northern Europe, and for practically increasing the strategic power of the navy of the German Empire. France, as well as the other leading nations, was invited to participate in the ceremonies of the occasion. Her long suppressed animosity to Germany was only filmed over, but her politeness was shown in the acceptance of the invitation. Her admiral, however, was instructed to conduct his fleet of ironclad ships as ostentatiously as possible in the naval parade, but to avoid everything not strictly requiring him to participate in the festivities. It was remarked also that the *entente* of nations was strongly expressed in the fact that the French and Russian fleets *sailed together* in the pageant, as if to emphasize the opinion that France and Russia were at an understanding in international affairs. Nor will the reader fail to observe over all the event that thin veneering of hypocrisy and craft which characterizes the outer features of European policy. The smile on the face of modern history illy conceals the snarl in the heart.

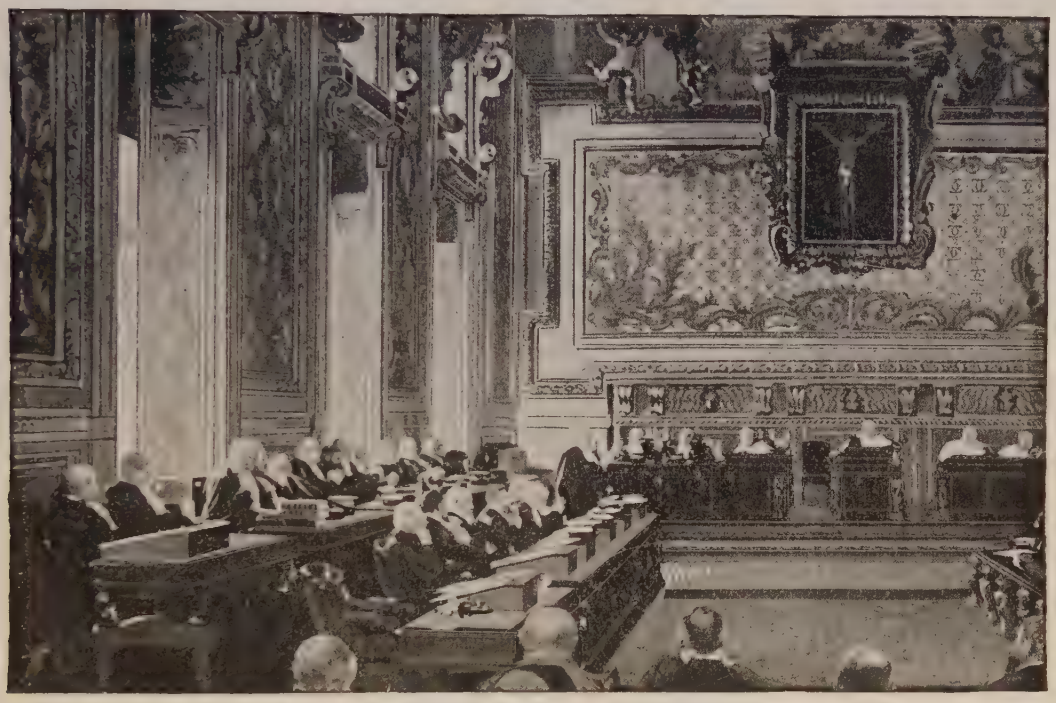
In the summer of 1895, the principal event which agitated the French was the war in Madagascar. Just after the seizure and imprisonment of the American Consul-General Waller for alleged participation in the insurrection of the Hovas against the French protectorate, it was found necessary to send an army of fifteen thousand men to Madagascar in order to reduce the Hovas and to

strengthen the French authority. The expedition was commanded by the French General Duchesne, whose force was well equipped and provisioned, but was illy prepared to meet the dreadful conditions of climate to which the army was exposed.

The campaign was waged from the coast in the direction of the capital, Antananarivo, where the Queen of Madagascar held her court. The native armies could not, in a military way, resist the invaders, but diseases broke out in the French camp, and about one half of the whole force was prostrated with deadly fever accompanied with a wild delirium amounting to insanity among the sufferers. At length, however, General Duchesne made a rush on the capital, captured the place, and completely re-established and extended the French protectorate. The news of his success, notwithstanding the dreadful disasters which had attended the expedition, was received with jubilee in Paris, and the commander and many of the subordinate officers were honored with decorations.

When the French Chamber of Deputies convened, in the latter part of 1895, the Cabinet, headed by M. Ribot, went speedily to pieces. The downfall of the ministry had been expected, but the manner of the dissolution was not foreseen. A certain Senator Magnier was convicted of receiving bribes for his influence in gaining legislative concessions to a railway. The Senator was a member of the Center, or governing party in the Chamber. It was alleged that his punishment was made lighter than justice demanded, as a means of procuring silence with respect to other members of the administration who were said to be involved.

The contingency led to a union of the Right and the Left in a vote against the government. Thus the ministry was overthrown, and M. Bourgeois, a member of the Left, was chosen to reconstruct a Cabinet. The change was complete, not even M. Hanotaux, the popular minister for foreign affairs, retaining his portfolio. The sum total of the change signified the gravitation of the gov



THE DREYFUS TRIAL—COURT OF CASSATION IN SESSION.

ernment somewhat toward the Radical party in politics. The reconstruction of the ministry was the thirty-third event of the kind which had taken place since the establishment of the Republic, twenty-six years previously.

Almost as soon as the new ministry was constituted, the policy of the government was announced by the Premier, who declared a program of procedure including a thorough investigation into the alleged recent corruption; a disqualification of all deputies to serve as directors of corporations in any manner connected with the administration; the speedy adoption of the public budget; a reform of the liquor law; a tax on incomes; pensions for the aged; subjection of the churches to the general laws governing associations; the establishment of a colonial army, and impartiality in all disputes between capital and labor. One of the first acts of the Chamber under the new government was the passage of a resolution providing for an international exhibition of arts and industries to be held in Paris in the year 1900.

The Bourgeois Cabinet, however, was destined to speedy extinction. Before the beginning of summer, 1896, the administration passed away, and the government was reconstituted, having M. Felix Jules Meline at the head. It was noted at the time that the new Prime Minister was, on the great question of the legislative protection of industries, exactly in accord with William McKinley, who at that time became the candidate of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States. One of the circumstances which led to the reformation of the ministry was the desire to return to his office M. Gabriel Hanotaux, who had so ably fulfilled the function for foreign affairs in the Cabinet of Ribot. As to Hanotaux, his popularity depended largely upon the current opinion that he, better than any other, could promote and maintain the Franco-Russian combination against Germany.

THE KIEL SHIP CANAL—ELEVATED BRIDGE AT LEVENSAN.

One of the incidents of French history in

these days was the apparition of a prince in politics. Far in the past, over the ridge dividing the present possibilities from the overgone impossibilities of history, the old House of Bourbon might be seen peering into the arena of civilization. Its eyes were very dim, and its head bald. By close scrutiny the observer using his field glasses might note that a certain representative of that house, called the Duke of Orleans, and having for his royal tag the title of Philip VII., was trying to take part in the things that are. He resolved to accept the Republic and to participate in the proceedings. Accordingly, at the spring elections of 1896, he presented himself as a candidate for a seat in the Assembly of France. His candidature and campaign were made for a rural constituency. The Legitimist party was wholly scandalized by this proceeding. A committee of the Royalists called upon their renegade prince and objected stoutly to his being a candidate for an election under universal suffrage. The reply of the prince was the most notable thing of the whole proceeding. "If you think," said he, "that the French monarchy was constructed in the past and can be reconstructed in the future by the affectation of inert and expectant dignity standing motionless on distant shores because of the greatness of its traditions, and deeming itself too lofty to mix with men and things, we are not of one mind, and I remain the judge of the royal dignity."

ANTANANARIVO, MADAGASCAR—MAUSOLEUM OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER AND FAMILY.
From a Photograph.

In the summer of 1896 occurred the visit of the Czar Nicholas to the western powers. Into no other country did he enter with so much eclat as into France. In Germany and England, the autocrat was received with respect and deference. The Emperor of Germany accompanied Nicholas and passed many compliments in the phraseology of the Cæsars. The British Queen received and entertained the Czar at Balmoral, whence he

departed for his own dominions on the 3d of October. But in France, the Russian Emperor was received with enthusiasm and jubilee. He was preceded with acclamation, attended with fêtes, and dismissed with the booming of great guns.

To the French nation the coming of the Czar had great significance. It implied the strengthening of the Franco-Russian alliance. The event served also as the easy occasion for the "Party of Revenge," long nursing its animosity against the Germans, to recede in a more placable mood of mind from the attitude of belligerency. The Czar had already

FELIX JULES MÉLINE.

begun to pose as the man of peace. He wished to be called the Prince of the Peace of Europe. In reality, this policy was most agreeable to France. It was agreeable to nearly all the political factions. The fact of the support of the Czar made the French Republic strong enough, whenever it willed, to kick at the German Empire, but was, at the same time, the best of all excuses for kicking at that power no longer. After the Czar's visit, the cry of "revanche" was less frequently heard, and the Republic had greater peace.

It could but be noted as a part of the significance of the imperial visit that it brought together the farthest extremes of political and social life. The French people and the Russians stand at the two poles of modern civilization. The governments of the two nations also are antipodal. The one as a republic—third to bear that name since the great upheaval of 1789—and the other the grossest autocracy in the whole circle of modern Europe, would seem to have no common basis of sympathy and admiration; but these governments, moved by the double impulses of fear and ambition, unite in a league against the other powers of Europe, every one of which lies between the affiliated nations! The spectacle is not without its lesson to the student of human affairs.

The French Republic after surviving for more than a quarter of a century—a longer life than that of any other government which the nation had possessed since the great revolution—became to publicists and statesmen a theme of philosophical consideration.[1] Comparisons were instituted between the Third Republic and the United States. Other comparisons were instituted between the French governmental system and that of Great Britain. It might be noted that the French system is the most popular of any; that is, it answers most completely to the movings of the public purpose. The President of the Republic is constitutionally the executive force which the French Assembly employs in carrying out its purpose. The President does not, like the President of the United States, have a power and policy independent of the legislative branch, and frequently contrary thereto. The French chief magistrate neither reigns nor governs;

[1] Going back over French history for a century and a quarter, that is, to the reign of Louis XV., the Third Republic at the close of the century was able to mark with pride its own longevity. No other reign in the whole period referred to had survived as long as the existing order. The Republic had lived ten years longer than the reign of Louis XVI.; sixteen years longer than the reign of the great Napoleon; twenty-two years longer than the Restoration; nine years longer than the Orleans ascendency; nine years longer than the Second Empire. The record might well suffice as an argument by which republicanism could justify itself.

the power to do either is denied him by the constitution.

The French ministry, as the practical organ of the administration, is so constructed as to respond to the public will even more freely and speedily than does the British ministry to the opinion of the people. This fact was illustrated in the closing years of the century in which the Republican cabinet was frequently reconstructed. By the middle of 1897, the government reached the thirty seventh cabinet which had been in power since the institution of the Republic in 1871. This made the average life of a French ministry to be scarcely more than eight months in duration. The same period showed that for the past twenty-eight years the British ministry had had an average of more than three years' duration. It might be urged that on the score of stability the comparison was most favorable to Great Britain; but against this view it might be justly claimed that the better government, and in the long run the more stable, is that which responds to every perturbation in public opinion, swaying in this direction or in that as do the planetary worlds when they are affected by extraneous influences, but nevertheless preserving forever the beauty and stability of the system.

DUKE OF ORLEANS, CALLED PHILIP VII.

On the 4th of May, 1897, occurred in Paris one of the greatest and most distressing calamities of recent times. In preparing the Exposition buildings and grounds for the great celebration of 1889, the authorities had constructed a certain annex to one of the principal structures, intending thereby to illustrate or reproduce in a wooden building a fragment of the old Paris of the Middle Ages. In this annex, at the date referred to above, a fashionable bazaar was held to promote some of the religious charities of the metropolis. Among the managers and patrons of the enterprise were many of the most eminent ladies of Paris, some of whom were representatives of the old aristocratic families, and as such had a peculiar pride in the edifice where the fair was held. On the day mentioned above, when the building was well filled with people, one of the lamps exploded, scattering the combustibles and giving rise instantly to a conflagration. The

people attempted to fly, but were trampled down, and the flames spread more rapidly than the human mass could make its exit. The greater number of those present were women, and their shrieks mingled with the roaring of the flames. More than a hundred persons were burned to death outright, and great numbers of others died from their injuries. Among those who lost their lives was the Duchess D'Alençon, sister of the

INDUSTRIAL PALACE IN PARIS (WHERE THE BODIES OF THE FIRE VICTIMS WERE LAID).

Empress of Austria. Numbers perished who had a strain of the old noble blood of pre-revolutionary France. Several distinguished men also met their doom in the flames.

In the early part of 1897, the disturbing elements in the civil society of Europe became especially active and aggressive. The socialists made gains and produced considerable agitation in the French Chamber of Deputies. Anarchism showed its force in both France and Italy. In May of this year, an anarchist bomb was thrown at the King of Italy, though the explosion produced no disastrous results. The fanatic who did the deed was immediately arrested, sentenced, and punished. On the 13th of June, a similar attempt was made to assassinate President Faure, of France. The affair, however, was bungled by the maniac who undertook it, and but little notice was taken of the intended crime. It had now become the settled policy of the hereditary sovereigns of Europe to protect themselves with guards against the danger of assassination, but such methods were hardly applicable to the goings and comings of the President of France, who, like the President of the United States, must have and retain as his bodyguard the people as a whole, ready to strike in his defence.

As might be expected, President Faure returned the visit of the Czar. This he did in September of 1897. The cordiality between the Republic and the great Slavic empire

THE CZAR OF RUSSIA AND THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE—On the deck of the Admiral Pothuau.—From a Photograph.

was emphasized by the event and much remarked among the nations. The President of the former went to Russia on the French man-of-war *Pothuau*, and the Czar received his guest on board the vessel at Kronstadt. There a banquet was given as if to accent the cordial feeling of the two rulers, and they then visited the capital in company. It was at this feast on board the *Pothuau* that the Czar openly proposed as his toast in French this sentiment: *Nos deux nations amies et alliées.* (Our two nations—friends and allies!)

It was in the afterpart of 1897 and the first months of 1898 that France by a freak of inapt enterprise gave offence to Great Britain in East Africa. The Anglo-French boundary commission, which had worked out satisfactorily the long international line in West Africa, came at last to the eastern extreme and next to Abyssinia in Fashoda. The *French* engineers, as the sequel showed, undertook to reach out somewhat into a region which Great Britain wished to reserve in the interest of her Rhodesian Cape-and-Cairo Railway. Out of this arose the so-called "Fashoda incident," of which an account has already been given in the preceding chapter.[1]

A study of the condition of France at the close of the century revealed one fact of evil omen, and that was the relatively small increase in the population. The statistics during five years, from 1893 to 1898, showed a total increment of only one hundred and seventy-five thousand French-born people. During the same period there had been an increment of three million Germans. The rate of increase in Russia was still greater. It was found that even Italy was distinctly ahead of France in the native increase of her people. The calculations showed further that at the current rate of augmentation the population of Russia would be doubled in forty-five years; that of Germany in about sixty-five years; that of Austria-Hungary in seventy years; that of England in eighty years; that of Italy in one hundred and ten years; while that of France would require eight hundred and sixty years before it would be multiplied by two![1]

This showing might, from one point of view, well alarm a French patriot. Relatively, that power which in the eighteenth century vaunted itself as the grand nation was clearly receding. There were, however, some philosophical grounds for looking at the facts with different and more hopeful sentiments. A great increase of population in an old and well-established country must needs imply a corresponding increase of territory. What will the rapidly increasing nations do with their doubling masses of inhabitants? Will they become China? Or will they attempt, like Great Britain, to find a vent in conquered islands and continents? The latter method might suffice if the earth were as large as Jupiter, but with its present limitations, the rapidly growing nations must presently come to blows and unending aggressions in order to wrest from each other the territory needed for expansion.

In America this problem is not yet vital. The vast uninhabited area possessed by our Republic may well suffice for centuries to come. We have only to reflect that in many of our American States not one acre in five of the arable lands has ever been turned with a plow, in order to discern our vast capacity for a future population. But in Europe it is not so. France, for example, has in her original territory only a small part of unoccupied and uncultivated grounds. The correlation between her population and her domain may be regarded as fixed, and the small increment of population may therefore be a blessing in disguise. The low rate of increase also removes the necessity for French immigration to other countries. It is for this reason, in part, that there are abroad among

[1] See pages 191–193, 196.

[1] According to current statistics, France in the seventeenth century had 38 per cent. of the aggregate civilized population of Europe. In 1789, this relative preponderance among the great powers had sunk to 27 per cent. At the close of the Napoleonic wars there was a still further reduction to about 20 per cent. and at the close of the nineteenth century, the estimate stands at 13 per cent.—just about one-third relatively of the rank held by the country two hundred years ago.

the nations fewer French stragglers than may be counted from the overplus of any other of the leading nations. Why should not stability, equanimity, and happiness flow from this condition rather than from that out of which the turbid waters of a swollen population are ever pouring?

On the 8th of May, 1898, the general elections were held in France with a result highly favorable to the moderate Republicans. The vote of the people was an endorsement of the administration of President Faure and of his two principal ministers. MM. Meline and Hanotaux. It had been feared by the Government, and anticipated abroad, that the result might be adverse to the existing order. There were grounds for such apprehension. The Dreyfus-Zola affair had borne hard on the dominant party. It had borne on the administration, on the department of war, and in particular on the judiciary. But the French decided that, *on the whole*, the Government should be held in its present course. In the election of members to the new Chamber of Deputies, the Center, or moderate group of representatives, was strongly reinforced. The increment was gained from both the Left and the Right. On the Left, the strength of the Radicals was reduced, and on the Right, the monarchical faction was weakened. It appeared that the hubbub relative to Dreyfus and Zola had not after all seriously affected the public opinion of France.

THE BOURSE OF PARIS.

The situation in Paris, in the early part of 1898, brought to light a condition of affairs which gave rise to some reproach on the score of the poverty and want prevailing in certain quarters of the city. For a long time France has been conspicuous among the nations because of the modest plenty enjoyed by the mass of the people. While other

nations have been suffering from vagrancy and beggary, France has been virtually exempt from these afflictions. Nor are the reasons for this peculiar happiness of the country far to seek. France has been for centuries pre-eminently a country of production rather than of commercial activity. Her population has been distributed on small estates. The means of subsistence have been in like manner distributed. There has been but little waste, and only a few examples of engorged luxury.

Gradually, and in more recent years, the commercial spirit is gaining the ascendency. Paris has become, to a considerable extent, a commercial metropolis. Trade has everywhere encroached on the producing industries. Pauperism is a disease of commercialism; it is a fungus that flourishes on the swollen trunk of the commercial life. France, from having been little infected with this disease, got the common poison near the close of the century, and the year 1898 witnessed actual starvation and the other horrors accompanying general want.

At the close of the nineteenth century, the attention of historians and reviewers was turned with peculiar interest to France, to the Third Republic, to the French people, to questions affecting the destiny of that brilliant and conspicuous nation. Many articles were published in the magazines of Europe and America devoted to a careful consideration of the great questions here stated. Ever since the Franco-Prussian war, for example, the expectation had been rife that France would seek opportunity at length to punish her enemy and regain her lost territory. The wound inflicted upon her in 1870 rankled, and she was thought to be only awaiting her opportunity.

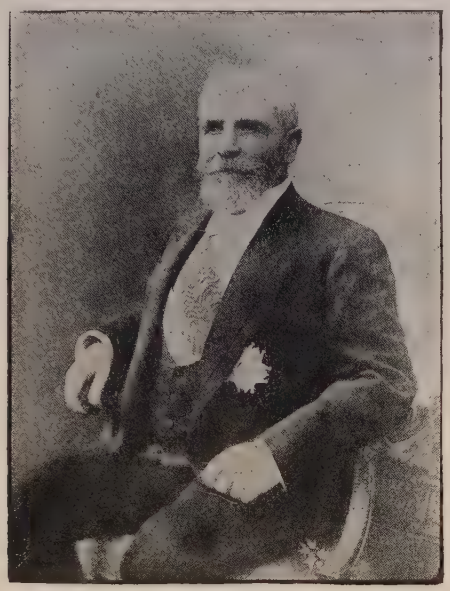
This situation of affairs led to many inquiries respecting the strength and stability of France with regard to resources and institutions. It had been noted, for example, that an old political vice, belonging to the ancient regime, still existed in the feebleness of the local communities in the Republic, and the predominance of the central fact—Paris. The capillary force of French society was not so strong as that which keeps warm and vital the extremities in every Teutonic nation. Financially considered, France was seen at this time to have her burdens and her limitations. Her war debt—that is, the whole public debt, of which the essential part was military—amounted to $5,200,000,000. To add to this would be to crush Pelion under Ossa. Already the annual expenditure was as high as the state could bear; every year the treasury had to set aside $250,000,000 for interest on the debt, which represented the capital lost and wasted in war.

Besides all this, the aggregate wealth of France was not by any means relatively so great as it had been in the eighteenth century. Statistical calculations made near the end of our period showed an aggregate of accumulated wealth for all Europe of about $200,000,000,000. Of this sum about nine-tenths were set down as belonging to the six great powers; the remaining tenth, to the minor states. Of the great powers, the accumulated wealth of Great Britain, heading the list, was placed at $50,000,000,000; that of France, at $40,000,000,000; that of Germany, at $34,000,000,000; that of Russia, at $27,500,000,000; that of Austria, at $20,000,000,000; and that of Italy, at $12,000,000,000. Of all these states, however, France was most dreadfully handicapped with incumbrances and other financial limitations. In 1898, M. de Foville, the leading French authority on statistics, made a publication of estimates, in which he revealed to his countrymen the startling fact that the annual budget of national expenditure was equal to *one-fortieth* of the whole national wealth! He also showed that the Franco-German war and the Commune, which was its aftermath, had consumed about one-tenth of the whole resources of the nation.

The existing political order in France received a severe shock in February of 1899. On the 16th of that month, President Félix Faure died suddenly from an attack of apoplexy. His term of service, which had begun on the 17th of January, 1895, was thus suddenly ended by unanticipated death. The President had been in his usual health. He

PRESIDENT FÉLIX FAURE.—From a Photograph, 1898.

had just passed his fifty-eighth birthday, and in both his personal and public affairs was sailing through smooth and auspicious seas. He had, during the day preceding his death, made preparations to attend a public reception and ball. In the evening, only a short time before the hour set for his departure from the presidential residence, he made a social call having some connection with the public event, and while on this visit he was suddenly and fatally prostrated.



ÉMILE LOUBET.

On the whole, the administration of Faure had been highly successful. He was not strictly a party official, but was in a true sense the representative head of the French Republic. He had grown in reputation during his whole term of service, and was at the time of his death, more than ever before, a historical personage.

The French Constitution provides in case of the death or resignation of a President that a new executive shall be immediately chosen. In accordance with this provision, an election was held by the Assembly, on the 18th of February, and M. Émile Loubet, President of the Senate, was elected to succeed M. Faure in the presidency of the Republic. The disturbances connected with this event were insignificant, though there were in the press of Europe and America the usual outgivings of intended revolution by both the Radical Republicans of France and the Bonapartist faction. Within a few days after the death of Faure, the political elements settled to a calm, and the spring months found the Republic entering its twenty-ninth year of duration in undisturbed peace and good promise.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—GERMANY.

GERMANY, like France, was inclined toward practical friendliness during 1889, and for that reason refused to encourage the polemics of the French press against the Government at the time of the Boulangist uproar. Especially, Germany was determined in this policy because of its preference for the continuance of the French Republic. The chief outbreak of the year followed an unwarranted rumor to the effect that the Italian king was to be present at the Strasburg review with the Emperor. The French newspapers broke their restraint on this occasion, and the German replied; but the affair was in no wise serious.

As to the German policy toward Russia, all the evidence showed that it was decidedly friendly. At one time the attack upon Sir Robert Morier, which was attributed to Count Herbert Bismarck, threatened to involve England and Germany in a quarrel; but the difficulty ended when Bismarck spoke with great cordiality of Great Britain in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag. There was, in addition, a slight diplomatic imbroglio with Switzerland concerning the expulsion of the police agent, Wohlgemuth, that, in the end, was amicably arranged

Of more lasting importance was the singu

lar activity of the young Emperor, wherewith he made his personality impressive at home and abroad. His restlessness was markedly displayed in the matter of the interchange of hospitalities. In the summer, he visited the Queen of England, the Emperor of Austria, and the kings of Italy, Sweden, and Denmark, and finally the Czar. In the autumn, he went first to Italy, and thence to Greece, where he was present at the marriage of his sister, the Princess Sophia, to the Duke of Sparta, the heir to the throne of Greece. Afterward he went to Constantinople, and was there entertained by the Sultan.

Little else in German affairs at this time is worthy of attention. The labor question was, as it was in England, accented with frequent strikes, especially among the miners, and with a warning appearance of organized Socialism. In another direction, the happening of most importance was the unwarranted assumption of authority in Samoa, in the early part of the spring. The United States uttered a strong protest against the German high-handedness, and the trouble was brought to an end at a conference in Berlin, where an agreement was made to the effect that the rights of all parties interested in the islands should be properly protected, and that King Malietoa, the chief whom the German authorities had arrested and deported, should be returned to his island.

The Queen Dowager of Bavaria died in 1889. Another death of international interest was that of Dr. Karl Peters, the leader of an African exploring expedition.

The year 1890 was destined to witness an event of the utmost importance to Germany, if not to all Europe—the separation between the Emperor and the venerable Chancellor, Bismarck. For some time the friction between the two had been growing. Their views were not the same as to the army or as to the labor question. The Emperor wished to combine monarchical traditions with the most advanced views; Bismarck distrusted

COUNT GEORG LEO VON CAPRIVI.

the one and the other. The appointment of Emin Pasha as Governor-General in Africa was much opposed by Bismarck, and in many other matters the Emperor insisted on a course offensive to the sentiments or judgments of the Chancellor. Moreover, the Government party's defeat in the elections made a change necessary. On March 18, Bismarck resigned, and his resignation was accepted, he receiving the rank of Field

Marshal and declining a dukedom. General Georg Leo von Caprivi succeeded him.

In the year following, Germany displayed a new energy in the direction of colonial dominion, under the allied desires of the Emperor and Chancellor von Caprivi, which found its chief expression in the obtaining of Helgoland from Great Britain, and in the extension of the German sphere of influence in Africa.

In home politics, the National Liberals and their Conservative allies were beaten in the general elections to the Reichstag, while the Radicals and Social Democrats increased in power, as did the Clerical Center. The majority sentiment of the electors found its expression in the dropping of the anti-socialistic laws. These changes in the political temper were most significant, viewed in connection with the increase in the efforts of organized labor in behalf of definite socialist legislation.

The untranquil spirit of the Emperor again displayed itself in the number of his domestic trips—a visit to the Queen, his grandmother, at Osborne, and to the Czar at Narva, besides a meeting with the Austrian Emperor in Silesia, another with the Queen Regent of Holland at the Hague, and still another with the King of Saxony in Bavaria. The Emperor continued his extravagant activities, and got the nickname of *Der Reise Kaiser*.

Scientific and unscientific persons alike were aroused to keen interest by the announcement of Dr. Robert Koch's discovery —a lymph whereby consumption might be alleviated or cured. The experiments were received with extraordinary favor at first, but the sum of results was disappointing.

Two religious parties suffered severe loss by death in 1890, mourning the decease of Dr. Döllinger, eminent for piety as well as for scholarship, and of Professor Delitzsch, of similar renown. The royal caste lost the old Empress Augusta, wife of Wilhelm I.

The general satisfaction with the policy of Caprivi was recognized by his elevation to the rank of count, in 1891. On the other hand, the breach between the Emperor and Bismarck was hopelessly widened by the former Chancellor's freely published criticisms on the imperial policy, and by the Prince's successful candidacy for the Reichstag as member for Geestemünde.

In June the people were gratified by the formal signing of the triple alliance treaties with Austria-Hungary and Italy, extending the agreements for another term of six years. At the same time the policy of strict protection was abandoned, and treaties were made on the basis of equivalent tariff reductions with the Parliaments of the nations within the alliance, and this policy was begun toward Belgium, Switzerland, Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and even Holland and Spain. The wisdom of the Government was shown in the decrease in labor troubles, which were less violent than elsewhere in Europe, although trade continued dull, and the workmen were uneasy.

The death-roll of 1891 included the King of Würtemberg, Count Hellmuth von Moltke, and Dr. Ludwig Windthorst, the Catholic leader in the Reichstag.

In 1892 the Government used every endeavor to pass a severe army bill, against the resistance of the Liberals and Center and the organs of Bismarck, who continued his policy of bitter criticism. The ex-Chancellor visited Vienna on the occasion of his son's marriage, and there and at Dresden and Munich great popular demonstrations were held in his honor; but the German embassy at Vienna was ordered not to extend any official recognition to him, and the courts likewise slighted him. These tactics angered the venerable statesman almost beyond endurance, so that he spoke with more emphasis than discretion in his public speeches and in his interviews with the representatives of the press. It was at one time rumored in official circles that he was to be prosecuted for his condemnatory strictures on the Government; but, happily, a scandal so unfortunate did not occur.

In the Reichstag the anti-Semitic war raged less furiously than usual, its chief feature being the issuing of a pamphlet, by Herman Ahlwardt, entitled "Jewish Rifles," in which he denounced the arms supplied to the German army by the famous Loewe Company. The Emperor, with characteristic boldness,

made a number of extraordinary speeches, particularly against those who opposed the Prussian Education Bill. The most momen-

HERMANN RECTOR AHLWARDT.

tous and most lamentable feature of the year, however, was the havoc wrought by the cholera, which, coming from Persia and Russia, visited Paris and Havre, and reached Hamburg and Antwerp, slaying thousands. The influenza, too, was prevalent, so that the death-roll of the year was enormous. The most conspicuous death was that of the Grand Duke of Hesse, the son-in-law of Queen Victoria.

The opening of 1893 witnessed an event unparalleled in the history of the German Reichstag, and one most significant of the changing temper of the times—a five days' debate on Socialism; and, although little immediate result was obtained, this sealed finally the accession of the laboring man to political dignity and power in the State. In the same session the anti-Semitic cause suffered a severe shock from the absolute failure of Herr Ahlwardt to substantiate any of his violent charges of corruption in high places, for which failure he paid the penalty of incarceration. The Government's Army Bill failed to pass, and in consequence the Reichstag was dissolved. In the battle following, no less than twenty parties appeared in the field, and the result was a distinct victory for the bill, the Radicals losing heavily; although the Socialists gained, as did the Anti-Semites, despite Ahlwardt's fiasco. The Reichstag opened in July, and the bill was carried through in the same month.

The chief strike of this period was one of eight thousand miners in the Saar District; but it failed. Bismarck continued his customary policy of passing strictures on the Government; but when, in September, he fell seriously ill, the Emperor offered him a palace, and it is certain that, although the courtesy was declined, its effect was most

PRINCE OF HOHENLOHE-SCHILLINGFURST.

soothing on the wounded feelings of the veteran statesman. Both the Emperor and Caprivi were made the objects of attacks by

sending them bombs, but without any injury to them. One event that was of some political importance was the death of Duke Ernest II., of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. His successor was the Duke of Edinburgh, a prince of the English royal house, and much discussion arose as to the propriety of a sovereign German prince's retaining his British allowance and the like; but in the end it was judged that the German dignity would not suffer seriously.

PRINCE OTTO VON BISMARCK.

Early in 1894 a commercial treaty with Russia was consummated, despite the protests of the Agrarian League. January 26 was the date of an incident more pleasing, if not more important—the formal reconciliation of the Emperor and Prince von Bismarck, when the ex-Chancellor, by special request, visited the Emperor in Berlin, and was received with every mark of respect, even of affection, William II. returning the visit February 19. Another auspicious occasion was the marriage of the Duke of Hesse and the Princess Victoria Melita of Coburg, at Coburg, April 19, when the Emperor, the Prince of Wales, and the Czarewitch were the guests of honor in a splendid court ceremony.

The versatile zeal of the Emperor and his arbitrary will led him into displays of autocratic spirit that ultimately brought him to dispute with Caprivi, and in October the Chancellor resigned. The resignation was promptly accepted, and Count Eulenburg, Prime Minister of Prussia, was also relieved of his post. The new Chancellor was Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst, a Catholic, while Herr von Köller became Prime Minister of Prussia. A disgraceful scene occurred in the Reichstag in December, at the opening of the session, when six of the Socialist members remained seated when the House rose to give the customary three cheers for the Emperor. On being rebuked for their conduct by the President, one of them, Herr Singer, stated that the measures about to be presented to them by the Emperor were so offensive that they could not join in the required demonstration consistently with their own consciences and honor. In this year died Hans von Bülow, the musician;

Professor Brugsch, the Egyptologist; Professor von Helmholtz, the biologist; and Dr. Hildebrand, the linguist.

On April 1, 1895, Bismarck celebrated his eightieth birthday, and there were rejoicings throughout the whole of Germany and in the German communities scattered through the world. The Emperor used every care to make the occasion one of remarkable dignity. Only one dissenting note caused discord, and that was the refusal of the Reichstag to send its congratulations by the President. Those who had opposed Bismarck in former years could not quite forget old enmities, and thus there was a majority against the proposition. The Emperor expressed his indignation in a telegram to the octogenarian, and the President and Vice President resigned. Another season of rejoicing was the anniversary of the victories over the French, especially the fall of Sedan, and great popular joy marked the time, despite the remonstrances of the Socialists, who declared that such delight was injurious to brother Socialists in France. The anger of the Socialists was so aroused by the lack of attention to their objections that they broke forth in violent criticisms of the present Government, and even extended their animadversions to William II. Their language became so offensive that eventually the leaders were prosecuted.

It was on the 30th of January in this year that the world was horrified by the loss of the North German Lloyd steamer, *Elbe*, which was sunk in a collision with the *Crathie*, off the Hook of Holland, three hundred and thirty-five passengers going down in the doomed ship, only twenty-two escaping. In glad contrast to this lamentable casualty was the opening of the Baltic Ship Canal, extending from Kiel to Brunsbuttel, thus connecting the Baltic and the North Sea. The formal opening was on June 29, with an international pageant that was magnificent. In November the Princess Johanna Frederika von Bismarck died. Her death was followed, in 1896, by that of the eminent prelate, Cardinal Luigi Galimberti.

The latter year was enlivened by the ornate festivals and ceremonies that, after much preparation, on January 19, commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Empire. The event showed that the German people had accepted the new order of civil society, though the acceptance was not universal or wholly cordial. There was much in the German nature to resist and resent the Imperial establishment. The colossal Government which had been procreated with Iron in the bosom of Violence, a quarter of a century before, was in reality a despotism which, though possessing many of the constitutional provisions of the British system, possessed also as its essential constituent the autocracy of the Russian Czar. Nevertheless, the fêtes of the jubilee year were brilliant and enthusiastic. The official classes and more generally the dominant elements of society shouted "*Hoch!*" with their best might, and the Kaiser found himself the center and impersonation of German unity and glory.

The other side of the national event was the growth and aggressiveness of Socialism. The Socialist party gained strength, and showed its hand in every important election. Against this agitation the Government opposed its front of bronze. No quarter was given to the propagandists of democracy. In the latter part of 1895, Professor Delbrück in a moderate magazine article offered strictures and criticism on the existing political order, and for this he was subjected to a legal prosecution. The editor of *Ethische Kultur* was arrested, prosecuted, and condemned to three months' imprisonment for an offence which, if human liberty be not a deception, was no offence at all.

Meanwhile orders were issued to the police of Berlin to shut up eleven socialistic democratic clubs, including six of those which exercised electoral functions in choosing members of the Reichstag. The repression extended itself to the committee of the Socialist press, and also to that of the Social Democratic party of Germany. The policy of a forceful suppression of the political agitators was openly avowed as a part of the Cæsarian method. The Emperor took a personal interest in such measures as his

EMPEROR WILLIAM II. DELIVERING HIS MESSAGE FROM THE WHITE HALL OF THE ROYAL PALACE, BERLIN.

partisans promoted for the extinction of Socialism. And, as in America, he sought to make it appear in Germany that the Socialist agitation was only another form of communism and anarchism. When a murder was committed by an anarchist in Alsace-Lorraine, the Emperor made it a text, crying out, "Another victim of the revolutionary agitation planned by the Socialists! If only the German nation would bestir itself!" To which unfinished hypothesis we may add, if only the German nation would bestir itself and stamp out by violence the Socialist faction, how happy the third Emperor of Germany would be! The Imperial policy, however—as are all such policies—was impracticable and futile, for how can the people of a nation be repressed? The ancient aphorism that you cannot bring an indictment against a whole people applies to the growth of Socialism in the German Empire.

In the latter part of 1896, an event came to light which revealed the method of intrigue long prevalent in the diplomacy of Europe. That method had prevailed from the days of Richelieu, who may be said to have invented it. It remained, however, for Prince Bismarck to perfect the method, and to exemplify it more strongly than any other continental statesman of modern times. After his retirement from the position of Chancellor of the Empire, he continued to comment on public affairs, and to interfere therewith by his powerful influence, and occasionally by revelations which disturbed the equanimity of the powers. He stood in the character of a deposed autocrat. He associated himself, by direction and indirection, with prominent journalists of the Imperial party. He had an organ in Hamburg, and his opinions were reflected in its pages. When the Franco-Russian alliance, in 1896, became a conceded fact, he permitted it to be given out that eight years previously, when he was the representative of the Empire, he had concluded with Russia a secret agreement, which was not known outside of the contracting parties. His understanding with the Czar was to the effect that in case either should be attacked by any other power, the second party to the secret league would preserve a "benevolent neutrality," thus enabling the first party to defend itself without molestation from any save the belligerent. Bismarck's paper declared that the agreement had been kept under the rose at the special request of Russia. When the Chancellor, in 1890, was deposed, his successor, Count Caprivi, had overtures from the Czar for a continuation of the secret *entente*, but Caprivi had rejected the proposals, thus throwing Russia into the arms of France. Possibly, the metaphor were more appropriate to say that France was thrown into the arms of Russia!

At this epoch, the German Empire was perhaps the most pretentious Government in Europe. The Emperor assumed spectacular attitudes and did the most wonderful things. His sceptre was the most egotistic which had been seen on the continent since Waterloo. And his sceptre was hardly more vainglorious than his pencil! For he wielded a pencil as well as a sceptre. He had some skill in drawing, and amused himself with making cartoons on international affairs. These appeared at times in the German journals, to be copied into those of the English-speaking countries. One effort of this kind attracted not a little attention. The Kaiser drew a picture which was entitled "On guard before the temple of Peace." The portal of the temple was executed with the word *Pax* under the arch. In the vestibule were seen the Muses celebrating the peaceful arts. At the foot of the pillars, right and left, stood conventional lions. In the foreground, wallowing in a kind of inferno, were the fiends of war and devastation. They carried torches and spears, and some had horns and batlike wings. Between them and the entrance, the modest Emperor drew a warlike and panoplied figure, *said to be himself!* The warrior was accoutred for battle. He was German in his weaponry, form, and features. There he stood keeping back the fiends of war from the temple of Peace. The car-

toon might well be regarded as one of the most humorous and ironical of sketches. The idea of the German Kaiser's being the guardsman of the peace of the world may well be regarded as one of the finest examples of historical sarcasm. Wilhelm II. drew better than he knew! His work needed only a companion piece of equal merit done by the Czar of Russia! Another of the Kaiser's cartoons, quite famous for a first Kaiser was erected, and dedicated in the midst of pageants and ceremonies almost unequaled for splendor and enthusiasm.

In the spring of 1897, an article was published in Germany by Baron Von Lüttwitz on German naval policy and strategy, in which the eminent writer set forth certain facts and principles of great international importance. His article was an exposition

KAISER WILHELM'S CARTOON—"NATIONS OF EUROPE, DEFEND YOUR FAITH."

day, was entitled, "Nations of Europe, defend your Faith and your Home."

The month of April, 1897, was in some sense, an era of monuments. In our own country, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of General U. S. Grant was celebrated with the dedication of the great mausoleum erected to his honor in Riverside Park, New York. On the third of the same month, the one-hundredth anniversary of the Emperor Wilhelm I., founder of the German Empire, was observed with a similar celebration in Berlin. In that city, a great monument in commemoration of the of the reasons for the creation of a great German navy. The reasons were such as to create and propagate alarm in both hemispheres. One part of the publication was as follows: "Losing annually, as we do, a number of our surplus population, the acquisition of agricultural colonies in a favorable climate is a question of national life and death.

"In the last century we were too late to partake of the general partition. But a second partition is forthcoming. We need only to consider the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the isolation of China—that new

India of the far East—*the unstable condition of many South American States, to see what rich opportunities await us.* In order not to miss them this time we require a fleet. We must be so strong at sea that no nation which feels itself safe from our military power may dare to overlook us in partition negotiations, and there is no time to be lost. We cannot stir up a national war for every little piece of ground we want in distant countries, however important its acquisition may be to us.

"The armed strength and state of preparation of European powers being nearly equal, the second partition will probably be a peaceful one. But our right to more extended colonial empire is sure to be ignored, if we do not possess the naval strength by which eventually such colonies could be taken and held."

This utterance of Baron Lüttwitz indicated clearly a purpose on the part of the German Empire (in so far as the writer was an authorized exponent of that purpose) to ignore, and if needs be violate, the traditional Monroe Doctrine as held by the Government of the United States. The Baron said, "The unstable condition of many South American States," enables us, "to see what rich opportunities await us." It was to preserve the South American republics from colonization by the European monarchies that the Monroe Doctrine was first promulgated. The tenacity of the American people in support of their favorite tradition, would indicate that Baron Lüttwitz's views would hardly be applicable in the present political condition of the world! Nevertheless, the German Emperor later in the year took up the question of a great naval expenditure, and endeavored to enforce his views upon the Reichstag and to get them enacted into law. The Germans have as much repugnance as do the English people, and a much greater repugnance than do the Americans, to unwarranted expenditures and excessive taxation. The proposition to expend great sums for the increase of the German navy was for the time seriously opposed

THE MONUMENT TO KAISER WILHELM I. BERLIN

in the Reichstag, and the Imperial Government was obliged to temporize with the question.

Meanwhile, however, the opposition encountered by the Kaiser excited his belligerent temper, and serious legislation was undertaken for the suppression of assemblies in opposition to the prevailing policy and party. A measure was introduced into the Prussian Diet called the "Law of Association Amendment Bill," in which it was proposed to give

THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, BERLIN.

almost discretionary powers to the imperial police to suppress or disperse meetings and all manner of assemblies not congenial to the governmental régime. The serious proposal and discussion of a measure which if adopted would virtually annihilate freedom of speech and opinion could but show to the people of more experienced nations how slowly and ineffectively the political evolution was proceeding in the German Empire.

In the meantime, the announcement of the German policy of increasing and improving the naval armament created distrust and tended to animosity among other nations. This was true in particular in Great Britain. To menace the naval ascendency of the British Empire is to make a threat against the existing order of the world. It is certain that if the power of the British navy were broken, there would be a rapid and complete transformation in Europe and indeed in all the continents, for in that event, where would Egypt be? and where India? Where would Cape Colony and Australia and New Zealand stand? and where Canada? It were not far from the truth to allege that the present dominion of the world has for its support two facts; first, the Bank of England, and secondly, the British navy. The German method at the close of the century was directed against the ascendency of the latter. This was resented by Great Britain, and the *entente* between the Kaiser's Government

and that of his illustrious grandmother was seriously disturbed.

It is in the manner of Great Britain to express her diplomatical resentment in a surly way which may be better witnessed than described. In the present case, she pursued her usual method. She continued to build and arm her ships and to plant colonies and to strengthen her dominion. The temper of Germany was ruffled by the equanimity of the greater power. She was quick to interfere in the question of the Transvaal, and she would fain have persuaded the Boers to throw off altogether the suzerainty of Great Britain. But nothing serious came of these agitations. The Kaiser's project of conferring on the police the power to break up public and political meetings failed, and the Social Democrats continued to attack the imperial policy.

Not able to have his own way in international affairs, the Emperor sought to hold his own in the concert by a display of extravagant activity. In the summer of 1897, he was seen everywhere and heard on every hand. The world could but take note of his flying about, and of his utterances. Late in August, he attended the naval display at the port of Dantzig. A few days later, he attended the unveiling of the monument which the people of Magdeburg had erected to the memory of his grandfather. On the 30th of the month, he delivered at Coblentz an important address on the occasion of the dedication of a public monument. Three days afterward, he witnessed the review of the army at Homburg, and there he had his interview with several of the crowned and crownable heads of Italy. Nor do we fail to remark on the fact that at this period no other sovereign of all Europe, or of the world, could have produced addresses of as great force and so significant as were those of Wilhelm II.

When it became known that the Franco-Russian alliance was not only a theory, but a condition as well, it became the policy of Germany to make light of the league as though it were not, or as though it signified little. The matter was construed in this way —that Russia had taken in France, and that the Czar would attain his own ends and nothing more by fostering the alliance. At the same time, it was sought to exploit and strengthen the Triple Alliance, or *Dreibund* agreement, of the German Empire with Italy and Austria-Hungary. In this business, the Kaiser occupied himself constantly. He had the King and Queen of Italy with him at the Homburg fêtes, and presently afterward, he went in person to Totis in Hungary, where he had an amicable interview with the Emperor Francis Joseph. Thus with spectacle and manœuvre and intrigue, the great international game went on in the closing years of the century.

To all seeming, the disruption and partition of China by the aggression of the European powers is an event not far in the future. The years 1896–97 witnessed at least two of the entering wedges. The French made an advance toward the great carcass, by way of Tonquin and Cochin, and at the same time, Russia pushed forward successfully by way of Mantchuria. The cordial relations between these powers ensured the noninterruption of the projects of either by the other. But this business could not be viewed with complacency by the German Kaiser. He cast wistful glances to the eastern coast of Asia, and in November of 1897, an event occurred which gave him the wished-for excuse.

In the province of Shan-Tung, two German missionaries were conveniently murdered by the natives. A fleet of warships was at once despatched by the Imperial Government to the port of Kiao-Chau, and arriving there debarked six hundred marines, and several pieces of artillery. The Chinese garrison fled from the fort, and the Germans, taking possession, hoisted the flag of the Empire. This summary method of procedure was justified on the score of the alleged delays always encountered by European diplomatists in getting such matters attended to by the Chinese authorities at Pekin.

This policy of fighting first and arguing afterward has become very popular with the powers of Europe, by whom it has been

THE PORT OF KIAO-CHAU, CHINA.

much used to excuse their conquests. It has been found to be more glorious as a national expedient to use force first and reason afterward. The method implies the hoisting of national flags where they have no right to be, and of then appealing to the national honor as a reason for not removing them. Germany learned this expedient from Great Britain. At Kiao-Chau she put up her flag, and then kept it up until she forced a concession of right from the Chinese Government. The port, and four hundred square miles of the surrounding territory were ceded to Germany, and thus she obtained her coveted foothold, in order to be ready for the spoil.

The statistics of the German Empire, prepared in the year 1895, and issued in 1897–98, showed many interesting facts relative to the industrial progress of the people. The attempt was made by the statisticians to show the advance in population, production, and commerce, in a comparative way for about a quarter of a century; that is, from the founding of the Empire in 1871 to 1895. The tables revealed in the period indicated a total increment in population of 12,500,000 souls. Of this number, about one-fourth had emigrated (mostly to America), leaving a net increase of 9,500,000. This was a gain of about twenty-two and a half per cent. on the total given in the census of 1875. The movement of the population had the same significant drift city-ward, as has been shown in the recent censuses of the United States. In Germany, the twenty-year period gave an increase in the rural population of only thirteen per cent. while the gain in the municipal population was more than twice as great.

The statistics of the means of subsistence were likewise significant. One of the astonishing things in the tables was the footing which showed that the consumption of potatoes had reached almost four pounds daily for every inhabitant. It has generally been supposed that the potato is relatively a more important article of food in Ireland than in any other country; but the consumption in that country is not nearly as great as that in Germany. The statistics also showed a great reduction in the quantities of native meats consumed by the Germans, and the consequent necessity of foreign importations —a matter of much importance in relation with the meat production in the United States.

The fact was also significant as tending to show the gradual decline in the ability of the common people, even in the most powerful nations, to supply themselves with meat food. In the list of human supplies, fine meats stand at one end of the scale and rice at the other end. Just above rice in expensiveness is the potato. The gravitation of the masses of mankind toward the potato and the rice level is the sure index, wherever such a symptom is discovered, that the purchasing power of the people has been weakened and their resources consumed in

the wastefulness of bad government and the horrid luxury of war. The boast that the German Kaiser is the war lord of Europe is another way of saying that his subjects will eat potatoes instead of beef!

The considerations just referred to soon got a historical importance in the relations of Germany and the United States. The people of the former, as well as the people of the latter, must be fed, and the food equation was against the Germans. Their side of the balance went up, and the scale had to be restored by importation from America. The feeling between the United States and Germany had not been cordial for a quarter of a century. The reason is to be found in the deep-down antagonism of the two systems of government. Imperialism and democracy cannot finally coëxist in the world. The Kaiser and the supporters of his system cannot well brook the necessity of dependence on the great American democracy for an adequate supply of fruits and meats. Hence these tears! Ever and anon a canard is started in Germany about the vicious character of the American supplies. Then a proclamation of non-importation is issued, and then comes a protest from the American side. So the casuistical game goes on—and the Germans take to potatoes.

At this epoch, the same spirit relative to what is called "expansion" prevailed in Germany, as it began to prevail in the United States. In fact, nearly every one of the powers, seeing and envying the ascendency of Great Britain, would be great by the same means which she had employed in achieving greatness. Each one of them adopted a method in which the leading principle was designated as the *forward* policy. Each one of them, unable to cope with the domestic questions with which all were afflicted, and each striving to reach over the near-by grief and agitation to something far-off and spectacular, sought to find in the policy of expansion a vent and diversion for the troubles at home.

Thus Germany began to say, as one of her leading reviewers said, "It is the Germans who are to be the great civilizing agency of the future, the cement of new societies, because the German, of all men, is the most adaptable." So said they all. German ambition reached out at this epoch into Africa, and the far East. Germany sought to find or to make a market. She must be a great commercial power. Nor is it easy to discover the foundation of this infinite delusion which took possession of the nations, and expressed itself in the rush and struggle to gain foreign trade at the expense of domestic development and peace.

At the present time, not a single great state in the world, with the possible exceptions of Great Britain, France, and Holland, has even approximately developed the resources of its own soil; and yet they are all striving to gather resources, to amass wealth, and to make themselves impregnable by insane foreign ambitions, by expeditions and conquests in unknown regions, by the butchery and oppression of barbarian and half-civilized peoples, and by mutual robberies perpetrated on every inviting coast and prosperous island of the world. This lunacy Germany, dominated by the War Kaiser, caught in the closing years of the century. The Germans joined in the universal rush toward the coming cataclysm of world-wide insurrection and transformation.

The manifestation of this policy of expansion, of island-clutching and continental conquests on the part of the Imperial Government, was shown in the German interference with the affairs of Samoa. A petty crisis came in the years 1898–99. Ten years previously, at the treaty of Berlin, Germany, the United States, and Great Britain agreed to administer the affairs of Samoa by means of a triple protectorate. The native sovereign should be supported by the three powers named. This arrangement held until August of 1898, when old King Malietoa died. A successor to the throne was named, as the three powers had agreed, by the Chief Justice of the island. By him Malietoa, son of the late king, was selected as successor to the throne—whatever the "throne" might mean.

This selection of a king was distasteful to

the German faction in Samoa, and that faction was charged with instigating a revolution among the natives. The movement was successful to the extent, that another Samoan prince, named Mataafa, was chosen king. Civil war ensued among the natives, but the British and American consuls agreed to accept for the time the provisional government, having Mataafa as its figurehead.

KING MATAAFA OF SAMOA—UPHELD BY THE GERMAN FACTION.

Soon followed riots, ambuscades, and killings in several places. In one mêlée, which occurred on January 1, 1899, not a few of the natives were slain and decapitated—for that is their manner in war.

Of the rival kings, Malietoa was supported by British and American influence, while Mataafa was upheld by the German officials. Bush fighting and guerilla warfare prevailed, and continued sporadically for several months. Finally a Peace Commission was appointed by the three powers, and the three representative consuls were notified to issue a proclamation suspending hostilities. Hereupon, on the 27th of April, Mataafa sullenly receded from Apia into the interior. A truce was promulgated, to which Germany gave unwilling acquiescence; for she perceived that her influence in Samoan affairs was neutralized by the superior power of her two rivals.

Meanwhile the great actors in the imperial drama—they who had forged the Empire with the mingled violence of genius and iron—dropped one by one from the stage. The old first Emperor and his distinguished son, Frederick III., passed away. Von Moltke, the Grant of Germany, was no more. On the 30th of July, in his palace at Friedrichsruhe, died Prince Otto von Bismarck, whose part in the drama of modern Europe had doubtless been greater than the part of either the Kaiser or the head of the army.

It were not far from correct to regard Bismarck as the most conspicuous and striking figure of the last half of the nineteenth century. It may be that to the English-speaking peoples, Gladstone held a larger place. But in reality, it is not so, for Bismarck transformed the continent of Europe. Gladstone succeeded in the abolition of the Irish Church, but he failed to secure Home Rule for Ireland, and he was on the whole borne forward by progressive forces and was not essentially a transformer of events.

Bismarck not only organized the German Empire, but through a period of fifteen years he prepared, with more than a statesman's skill, the antecedent conditions out of which came the political unification of the German states. The evidences and tokens of his life and work are so abundant in the preceding pages that no further sketch of the great

Chancellor will here be given. At the time of his death, he was eighty-three years three months and fifteen days of age. His decease produced a profound impression throughout the civilized world, and the ceremonies attending the funeral were such as befitted the conspicuous act which he had performed in the drama of modern history.

PALACE OF PRINCE BISMARCK, BERLIN.

The passing of Prince Bismarck from the stage was followed on the 6th of February, 1899, by the death of Baron Georg Leo von Caprivi, Chancellor of the Empire from 1890 to 1894. He, like his great predecessor, died in retirement rather under the disfavor of the Imperial Government. Caprivi was born on the 24th of February, 1831. He was thus one of the youngest of his great contemporaries. He had shown himself to be no less a statesman than an organizer of armies and navies. When Bismarck was forced to retire from the Chancellorship, in March of 1890, Caprivi was named as his successor. In this relation, he obtained Helgoland from Great Britain by exchanging therefor the German claims in Zanzibar and Witu. In the year following his accession, he secured and confirmed the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy. His death removed one of the last pillars and ornaments from the temple of the First Empire—the Empire created, as the logical sequel of the Franco-Prussian war, by William I. and his generals at Versailles.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—ITALY, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, SPAIN, ETC.

IN Italy, the year 1889 saw Crispi more firmly established in power by reason of the change in his ministry, and the attempted assassination of him. He emphasized his belief in the necessity of Italy's retaining her place in the Triple Alliance by his attitude in the Chamber at Rome, and by his speech at a banquet in his

MARQUIS DI RUDINI.

honor at Palermo. There was a report current that a treaty between England and Italy had been formed, and, although the rumor was officially contradicted, it was the general belief that England would not permit any alteration of the position of affairs in the Mediterranean through the destruction of the Italian fleet.

Two deaths occurred during the year that must be mentioned; those of Signor Cairoli, formerly Premier, and of the Prince of Carignan, the King's uncle.

In the year following, the elections to Parliament gave an overwhelming majority to Crispi, the Irredentists failing to excite the national feeling, despite the fact that the financial condition continued one of gravest trouble, so that the increased armament was a grievous burden; but the Ministerial success was short-lived, and in 1891 it was reversed, the Marquis di Rudini forming a Cabinet. Yet the general policy was hardly disturbed by the change, the new Premier holding, like Crispi, to the Triple Alliance.

In her internal affairs Italy was much distressed, for the labor troubles that afflicted all Europe were strongly marked in the kingdom. The May-day demonstrations were riotous, with collisions between the mob and troops in Rome and Florence, while most unworthy street-fights occurred in Bologna, caused by the arrogant folly of the officers and the popular jealousy of the military. To these dissensions were added the irritating effect of general financial distress—a distress increased by the fact that the French markets were closed to Italian productions.

Nor were natural calamities wanting at this time to emphasize the hardship of the period, as floods in the autumn caused great loss of life and property. The feeling of dissatisfaction caused by the multiplication of ills expressed itself in 1892 by a change in the Government, the Moderate Left defeating the Moderate Right, and establishing Signor Giolitti in the place of Signor di Rudini. The prevailing discontent was expressed with much violence by the anarchists. A bomb was exploded at the residence of the United States Minister, but no one was

injured. Another was discovered in time to prevent the wrecking of the Palazzo Altieri, the headquarters of the papal guard. An explosion occurred also at the Marignoli Palace, but by a fortunate accident there was no loss of life.

Far more threatening to the State were the revelations that were now made in the Chamber as to the corruption of the Government officials. The storm came when it was proposed to extend the banking laws for a term of six years. Charges were openly made that the Banca Romana and other banks had been guilty of gigantic frauds, and that the silence of the Government officials had been secured by constant bribes. These charges were fully investigated, and they were proved to be true. Distrust was expressed as to the fullness of the investigation from the fact that no senator or deputy was named in the list of the accused.

When the parliamentary session opened in November it was found that the report of the Inquiry Commissioners stated that the bulk of the papers seized in the house of Signor Tanlogno, one of the senators, had been put out of sight. This caused a storm of indignation. Forthwith Signor Giolitti, the Premier, fell, because, knowing the guilt of Signor Tanlogno, he had retained that name on the list of senators. Signor Zanardelli followed in the Premiership; but within a few days the failure of the Credito Mobiliare caused such terror that Signor Crispi was summoned from Sicily again to assume control of the Government.

Meantime riots and outrages by the populace abounded. Sicily was in full revolt because of a proposal to relieve the financial situation by means of new taxes. The only breaks in the gloom were caused by the celebration, in March, of the Pope's Jubilee, it being the fiftieth anniversary of Leo's consecration as Archbishop of the titular diocese of Damietta. Fifty-five thousand gathered to the splendid service in St. Peter's, and among the countless visitors were special representatives from most of the reigning sovereigns of the world, while the gifts from these and lesser persons were almost fabulously valuable. The Pope crowned his Jubilee by the beatification of Joan of Arc. A month later a second *fête* enlivened the capital, it being the celebration of the silver wedding of the King and Queen. Emperor William of Germany was welcomed, and won great favor in Rome by placing a wreath on the tomb of Victor Emmanuel.

In 1894 the internal affairs of Italy were at their worst, with popular uprisings everywhere and a state of siege proclaimed in Sicily. Crispi was unable to solve the difficulties of the time, and his popularity was only retained with an attempt to assassinate him by an anarchist named Lega. Even this halo of possible martyrdom was dissipated, however, when Signor Giolitti produced the missing papers in the Banca Romana inquiry, and it was found that the Premier was implicated in the prevalent corruption. His resignation was demanded; but he refused to resign, and the unique spectacle was presented of the Parliament dissolved while the Premier remained. The most important death in 1894 was that of the ex-King of Naples, Francis Maria Leopold of Bourbon.

In 1895, despite the taint of the financial scandals, the Government obtained a majority in the elections, this result being aided by the action of the Pope, who bade all Catholics absent themselves from the polls. The agitations in the legislative body and in the country at large were less, wearing out, it may be, from their own exhaustive violence. Sicily grew quiet, the occupation by troops being really to its great advantage by bringing some money into the island. A bomb exploded on the stairway of the French Consulate in Ancona, whereupon the customary anger flared up between the French and Italian Governments; but as a whole the country was beginning to desire rest from disastrous turbulence of all sorts. Crispi retained his Ministry into 1896, and then yielded to the Marquis di Rudini, not because of the corruptions laid to his charge in connection with the bank scandals, but because of the defeat of the Italian troops in Abyssinia.

The historical forces, back of the ministerial crisis just referred to, were far reaching. The Cabinet of Crispi went down

JUBILEE OF LEO XIII.

THE POPE SAYING MASS IN THE CHAPEL OF THE CONSISTORY IN THE VATICAN.

before a national reäction brought on by the news from the shores of the Red Sea. The course of events in that remote region had become complex in the last degree. In 1895, Great Britain, having completed the pacification of Lower Egypt, concluded for the time that the game in Upper Egypt was not worth the ammunition. Meanwhile, Italy had established a colonial station at Massowah, and with the assent of the other powers, she began to extend her authority over the surrounding territory reaching southward along the coast to the extremity of the Red Sea.

This country is designated as Erytræa. The region adjoins Abyssinia; and it was not long until the Italians on their southwestern frontier came into contact with the Abyssinians, who under their King Menelek had revived their power and influence, which had waned after the death of King John, who perished in a war with the Dervishes of the Soudan in 1890. The Abyssinians being a progressive people, belonging to the Semitic race, though professing Christianity, mustered a large army, and from Russian sources obtained a sufficient supply of excellent arms and ammunition.

It appears, however, that the Italian forces on the frontier under command of General Baratieri were not awake to the strength and equipment of the Abyssinians, and the Italian commander did not hesitate to risk a battle with his army of fewer than thirty thousand men. Indeed, the advanced division numbered only fifteen thousand. This advance took position at Adowah, on one of the tributaries of the Nile, about one hundred miles from the coast. Here, on the 1st of March, 1896, Baratieri was attacked, and was overwhelmingly defeated. More than three thousand of his men including a great number of officers were lost in the battle and the retreat. The rout was checked

MENELEK OF ABYSSINIA RECEIVING FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.

by the Italian reënforcements under General Baldissera, commanding the reserve division, who did as much as he could to trammel up the consequences of the disaster.

It was the news of this shameful overthrow which wrought havoc with the existing political order in Italy. The ministry went down with a crash, and the throne itself was shaken. All the malcontent elements in the Kingdom rose suddenly to the surface, and it was as much as the royal Government could do to prevent a revolution.

Nor will the reader fail to discover in this situation the tremendous swirl of international forces in Eastern Africa. The Russian Czar made haste to grant a decoration to King Menelek. On the other hand, Germany and Austria, being members of the Dreibund, with Italy for the third, came to the support of that power in the recovery of her prestige and footing on the Red Sea. France, as the ally of Russia, must extend her sympathy to the Abyssinians. And hereupon Great Britain threw in *her* influence with the Dreibund! Out of this condition came the Gog and Magog of Eastern Africa in the closing years of the century.

At the first there was expectation of an Italian campaign on a large scale against Abyssinia. Nothing less than this seemed to satisfy the historical expectation in the after part of 1896. But the international complication operated the other way. One of the incidents of the Italian campaign was the dissemination of the rinderpest among the cattle of the country. The disease spread with great rapidity, and with the most fatal results. It became the order of the day to shoot down and to burn the carcasses of whole herds; and still the infection spread. The Italian cause got presently so bad a name that the King was induced by the new ministry to open negotiations with Menelek. Conferences were held with that sovereign, and a treaty was agreed to by which the Italians were to withdraw from the contested territory, and retain only their small province of Erytræa. The event gave peculiar emphasis to the fact that thereby Abyssinia was left as the only remaining independent native kingdom in the whole of Africa.

Though the Abyssinian complication was solved, or at least mitigated, the affairs in the home kingdom could not be reduced to a calm. During the whole of 1897, and the beginning of 1898, Italian society was rent with disturbances and feuds. The insurgent disposition was partly traceable to social and partly to political causes. There were also industrial causes like those operating in the United States. The Italians were overtaxed and underfed. There was a lack of employment and constant encroachment of corporate greed on the rights and welfare of the laboring masses. The Italians had not yet learned how to vote intelligently and patriotically. It was difficult at the elections to get a large vote deposited. Though universal suffrage prevailed, there was much religious and some social prejudice against it. In many instances, the ecclesiastical power had been exercised to prevent communicants from voting. On top of all was the lingering animosity and shame for the three thousand Italian soldiers sacrificed at Adowah.

In the early summer of 1698, matters became alarming. On the day of the general election, riots broke out in many parts of the Kingdom. In Milan, the disturbance amounted to an insurrection. The rioters were confronted by the soldiers, and there was much firing, with serious loss of life. Three hundred persons were reported killed, and fully a thousand wounded in the *emeute*.

The result was a strong reäction against the ministry of Count Rudini. That statesman had found great difficulty in preserving his majority in the Chamber of Deputies. After the disastrous affair at Milan, he failed altogether to command the requisite backing. He and his fellow ministers accordingly resigned, in July of 1898, and a new government was organized with General Pelloux as Prime Minister. The whole Cabinet was strongly military in character. The office of Minister of Foreign Affairs was assigned to Admiral Canevaro. The new order assumed a conciliatory tone toward Parliament

and toward public opinion, with the result of a period of political quietude which prevailed in the after part of 1898 and the beginning of the following year.

The year 1889 was one of peculiar trial to Austria-Hungary, owing to the violent death, generally supposed to be by his own hand, of Rudolph, the Crown Prince. This disaster was most unfortunate, since it occurred where the personal influence of the reigning family is in reality the most effective tie that holds together subjects of diverse nationalities and various interests. As to the internal policy of the Emperor, much murmuring in Bohemia was caused by his resolute refusal to entertain any overture toward making Bohemia a sovereign State, only united to the Empire by the Crown. In Hungary there was apparent a revival of the anti-Austrian spirit, but the discontent found its

SCENE DURING THE BREAD RIOTS IN MILAN.

chief expression in the unpopularity of M. Tisza. In Austria the condition of the working classes was bad, and strikes were numerous, accompanied by mutterings of the socialistic storm of the same sound as that heard in Germany. The relations between the Empire and Russia continued to

RUDOLPH, CROWN PRINCE OF AUSTRIA.

display a strong spirit of rivalry as to influence in Eastern Europe, and the feeling between the two nations was embittered by Russian predominance in Servia and the massing of troops on the Galician frontier, together with the sympathy of Austria-Hungary with Prince Ferdinand and the patriots of Bulgaria in their efforts to escape from external dictation and to win the recognition of the great powers.

The death of most importance to the world was that of Count Karolyi, who had represented his Government at the Berlin Congress and in London, and this was followed in 1890 by that of Count Andrassy, who had attained great prominence in his term as Foreign Minister. Throughout 1890 Austria-Hungary was disturbed by the agitations in the Balkan States, and by riots and strikes, the discontent showing in the resignation of M. Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, and in the difficult position of Count Taaffe's Cisleithan ministry through the indiscretions of the Home Rule party in Bohemia. In 1891 affairs in Bohemia became even more disturbed. The Home Rulers obtained control, but Count Taafe was undismayed, and, indeed, strengthened the German element in his Cabinet, despite all endeavors of the Radicals. Warring factions were, however, too much for his skill in 1893, and he resigned after twelve years of service.

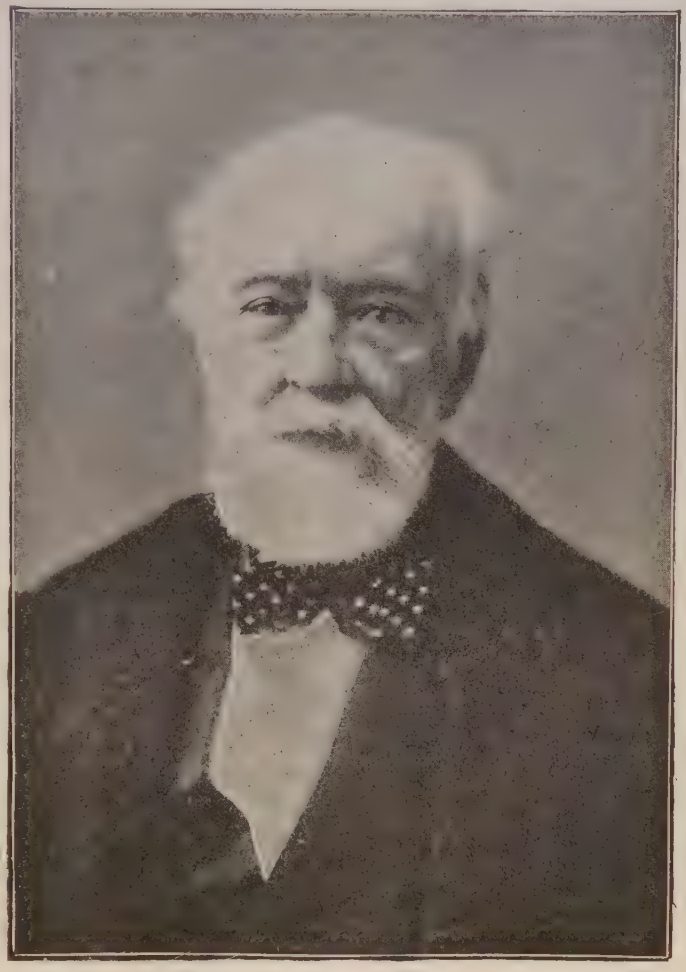
Soon afterward the feeling in the Bohemian Legislature became so bitter that personal encounters occurred between members on the floor, and the Emperor thereupon closed the Diet. Anarchistic uprisings took place throughout the district, and an anti-dynastic movement was started, crowds in Prague and other places singing the Russian and the French national anthems. The presence of troops and in some instances bloodshed was necessary to subdue the factions. Matters were ultimately rendered tolerable to a certain extent by the selection of Prince Alfred Windischgrätz to be Premier, he being a Moderate Conservative, and at the same time a loved landlord in many different provinces.

A matter of better import to Austria was the marriage in Vienna of the Archduchess Margaret Sophia to the Duke of Würtemberg. The riots continued and spread through all the Empire in 1894. The death of Kossuth the patriot, who died in exile in Italy, in March, aroused the Hungarian crowds to particular violence. The inability of the ministry to cope with affairs became apparent, and in May, M. Khuen Hedervary became Premier. In this year the most important act of legislation was the passing of

the Civil Marriage Bill, to the great chagrin of the Catholics, making the civil ceremony compulsory, though permitting a subsequent religious rite. In the following year, the general condition of the country was somewhat improved, although severe earthquakes in the south caused much suffering.

In 1894 military circles were much grieved on account of the death of the Archduke Albert Frederick Rudolf, Field Marshal and Inspector-General of the army. This was followed in 1896 by the death, in Hungary, of the Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the philanthropist. The year 1896 was remarkable in Hungarian history since it witnessed an imposing celebration of the one thousandth anniversary of the nation's life. The occasion was adorned with the institution of public works throughout the kingdom, and an Exposition in the summer at Budapest, attended by many visitors from foreign countries.

A glance at the political and social affairs of Austria-Hungary in the year 1895 reveals a condition in which nearly all the forces of modern history were at work. There was a marked drawing asunder of the two divisions of the Empire; Austria went at this epoch strongly in the direction of conservatism, while Hungary veered off in the direction of liberalism. Meanwhile, in Vienna, the anti-Semitic crusade in Europe reached its climax. The hostility to the Jews became intense. As usual, there were both an ethnic and a financial or social reason for the antagonism. The Hebrews in Vienna had become, first an important, and then a dominant factor in the business life of the city. Having control of the finances, they controlled the city government—for that happens in every city where the given condition exists. The Conservative and Catholic party became more and more hostile to the Jewish regime, and at length, in the election of 1895, they attacked it openly.



GENERAL LOUIS KOSSUTH.

The city government passed into the hands of a new council in which the anti-Semitic combination had ninety-two seats, while the Liberals (who conceded much to the Jews and included them politically) obtained only forty-two seats. This result was grateful to the Government, but that Government had to conceal all symptoms of

jubilation, since it was under obligations to the Jewish bankers. The revolt, however, was sufficient to overthrow the ministry of Count Windischgrätz, and to insure the appointment of a Conservative. A new Premier was found in the person of Count Badeni, formerly Governor of Galicia, a strong Conservative and Catholic. Notwithstanding his religion and political principles, it was necessary for him to accept and continue the Dreibund, or Triple Alliance, of

PRAGUE, BOHEMIA.

Austria, Germany, and Italy. The new Minister of Finance was Herr von Bolinski, of Polish origin, a man known to some extent in the world of letters. The system of finances over which he was called to preside was very distasteful to the Hungarians, and he was obliged in his administration to temporize with the conflicting interests of the two sections of the Empire.

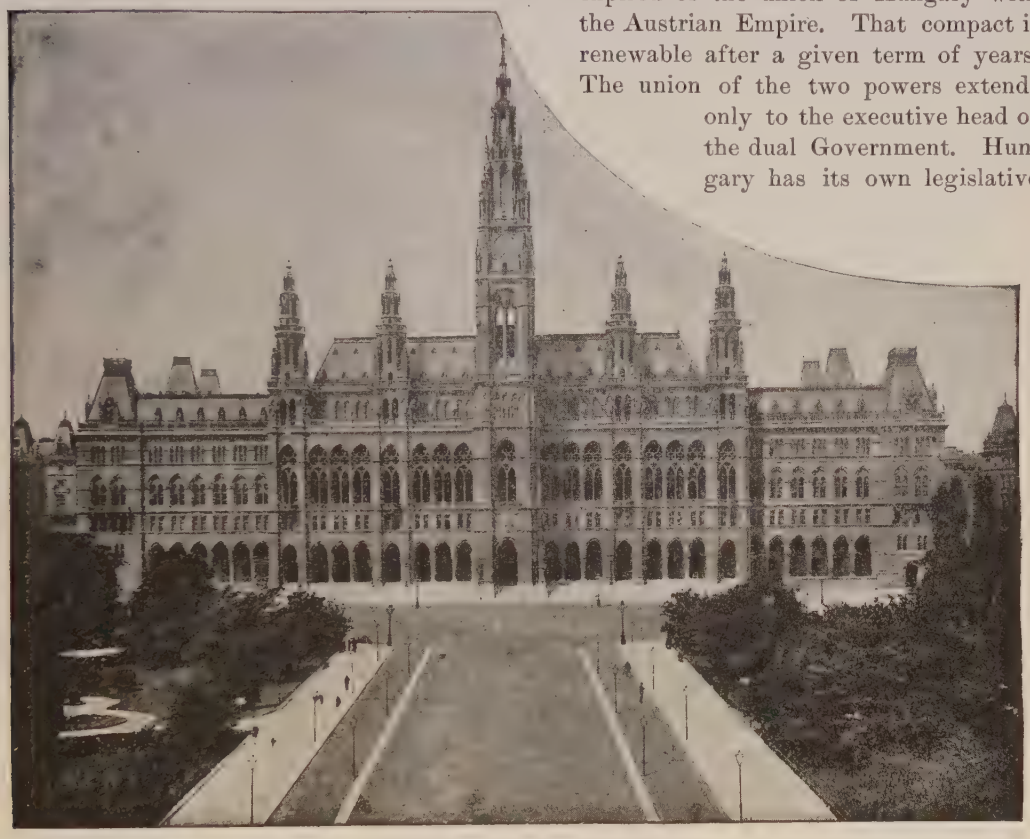
In the spring of 1896, the Hapsburg dynasty passed through another of its many trials. On the 16th of May in that year, the Archduke Charles Louis died. He was the heir presumptive to the imperial crown. His son Francis Ferdinand, next in order of the succession, had been already overtaken with an incurable malady. The third heir was the Archduke Otto, but there were reasons to anticipate his resignation in favor of his son Charles, still a youth. The friends of the imperial house felt an anxiety that Francis Joseph, who had now reached his sixty-sixth year, might remain on the throne for years to come. It was feared that should he suddenly depart, the youth of Prince Charles might invite the distracted and antagonistic factions in the Empire to rise against it, and perhaps succeed in a revolution.

The startling results of the Austrian elections in 1896 were partly attributable to the new and extended franchise which had been granted to the people. Like all citizens unused to their tools, the Austrians failed to

gain from their new liberty all its value. One of its first consequences was a deadlock in the Reichsrath, in the session of 1897. The opposing parties knew nothing but to confront each other and stand their grounds.

The question about which the irreconcilable division occurred was that of teaching languages other than German in the public schools. In the Bohemian quarter of the Empire, the Czechs and the Poles constituted in some parts the great majority of the population. To these should be added the Moravians. The peoples of this region are not German in language or sentiments, but are Slavs. Desiring to have their own language recognized in the schools and courts of law, the Slavic communities appealed to the Government at Vienna and obtained the desired concession; but the German opposition to the innovation was extreme. The German party and the Slav party confronted each other in the Reichsrath, and neither would yield to the other. No business could be transacted, and the session was barren of results.

Ordinarily, legislative entanglements of the kind here mentioned have little importance; but in the present instance, there was danger of serious historical results. It chanced that at this juncture, namely in 1897, the period expired of the union of Hungary with the Austrian Empire. That compact is renewable after a given term of years. The union of the two powers extends only to the executive head of the dual Government. Hungary has its own legislative Assembly, or Diet, and its own home rule, except that the Austrian Kaiser is the elective King of Hungary.



THE RATHHAUS, VIENNA.

While the deadlock in the Reichsrath was on, it was necessary to adopt the periodical resolution of reunion. The session was about to go by, and it was with extreme difficulty that the resolution which had been already adopted by the Hungarian Government was, on the 19th of November,

provisionally approved by the Reichsrath. Meanwhile, the illustrated newspaper at Stuttgart published a cartoon in which the Count Badeni was represented as straining every nerve in the attempt to draw the chariot of state. The chariot had *too many drivers.* In it were a priest, a Hebrew

CARLOS WOLF—LEADER OF THE RADICALS IN AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT.

money-changer, a landlord, and two or three Czechs. It was a Government beset with difficulties!

In course of time, the true inwardness of the situation in the Reichsrath appeared. The deadlock continued, and the contention becoming more boisterous broke into riot. The scenes which were witnessed in the after part of 1897 beggared description. The like had never before been witnessed in the deliberative body of any civilized nation. The reason, however, was not far to seek. The diverse races represented, and the babel of languages heard, in the Reichsrath were inconsistent with any serious progressive legislation.[1] The cataclysm came at the close of the year with the overthrow of the Badeni ministry. The Reichsrath unable to do anything itself could agree on nothing except the torment of the ministry. The latter yielded and went down. Baron Gautsch von Frankenthurm, a pious schoolmaster, conservative and ancient, was chosen as Premier. Already he had had some experience in statecraft as well as in pedagogy. He had performed the duties of Minister of Public Instruction; had offended few, and inspired nobody. There was not much likelihood that Carlos Wolf, leader of the opposition, who had recently fought a duel with Count Badeni, would have occasion to challenge his successor!

There were not wanting, however, critics and reviewers who held that the unprecedented agitation in Austria-Hungary at this time was an indication not of disruption, but of reviving national life. Dr. Emil Riech, of Oxford, himself a Hungarian scholar and historian, took this view of the affairs in his native Kingdom and its

[1] A striking sketch of the condition of affairs in Austria-Hungary at the middle of the last decennium of the century is cited by Samuel L. Clemens in his article *Stirring Times in Austria*, in "Harper's Magazine," for March, 1898. The citation is from Forrest Morgan, who made a study of the subject in 1895. Mr. Morgan says:

"The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is the patchwork quilt, the Midway Plaisance, the national chain-gang of

paramount Empire. In the Nineteenth Century for March, 1898, Dr. Reich argued with much cogency to the effect that the tumults in the Reichsrath should be regarded as evidences of the vigorous vitality of the Austro-Hungarian peoples. "Now," said the reviewer, "through the intensified life of each nationality there is prospect of an intellectual renascence of peoples who have hitherto been slumbering on the pillows of sloth. The Czechs stung to the quick by their political antagonists will still more advance their national literature, which even now is considerable, *pace* Professor Mommsen. Already in music, the Czechs have embodied their national gifts in the very remarkable works of Dvorak. The Poles of Galicia are a gifted race, and great things may be expected from them both in science, literature, and art. Through the inevitable complication, the Germans of Austria will be induced to multiply their efforts at intellectual supremacy in Austria. The vast progress made by Hungary in all the departments of life, political and intellectual, in the last forty years, owing to the burning ambition of the Magyars, is a sure guarantee of similar results among the nationalities of Cisleithania. It is incalculable how much commerce and trade and industry will be benefited by that revival of all the mental and moral energies of the Empire. Already the material progress of both halves of the monarchy during the last fifteen years has been very considerable. It will, aided by the immense natural wealth of the Empire,

EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH I OF AUSTRIA.

be increasing at a rate distancing that of all former periods. The enemy of a nation is not to be found in great civil disturbances and commotions. Woe to the nation that knows of no inner conflict."

In the closing years of the century, no other of the great powers of Europe seemed to depend so much on its ruler for a prudent administration as did Austria-Hungary. The Emperor Francis Joseph, on the 2d of December, 1898, completed the fiftieth year of his reign. Next to Victoria's, his was the oldest existing sovereignty in Europe. His influence throughout the Empire was very great. He had the confidence of the people. His many concessions to the nationalities within the Hungarian boundary had made him, even to the Czechs and Poles, a most acceptable King. His very merits, however,

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Europe; a state that is not a nation, but a collection of nations; some with national memories and aspirations, and others without; some occupying distinct provinces almost purely their own, and others mixed with alien races, but each with a different language, and each mostly holding the others foreigners as much as if the link of a common government did not exist. Only one of its races even now comprises so much as *one-fourth* of the whole, and not another as much as *one-sixth*; and each has remained for ages as unchanged in isolation, however mingled together in locality, as globules of oil in water. There is nothing else in the modern world that is nearly like it, though there have been plenty in past ages; it seems unreal and impossible even though we know it is true; it violates all our feelings as to what a country should be in order to have a right to exist; and it seems as though it was too ramshackle to go on holding together any length of time. Yet it has survived, much in its present shape, two centuries of storms that have swept perfectly unified countries from existence and others that have brought it to the verge of ruin, has survived formidable European coalitions to dismember it, and has steadily gained force after each; forever changing in its exact make-up, losing in the West, but gaining in the East, the changes leave the structure as firm as ever, like the dropping off and adding on of logs in a raft, its mechanical union of pieces showing all the vitality of genuine national life."

increased the apprehension which was felt respecting the termination of his reign. Prince Francis Ferdinand, the heir presumptive, was, as we have said, afflicted with mental and bodily ailments which had become hereditary in the Hapsburg strain. After him, the Prince Otto may be said to have enjoyed universal disrespect. The contingency of his succession looked, to the political prophets, like the end of all things.

EMPRESS ELIZABETH OF AUSTRIA.

The old Emperor was accordingly left during the period of tumult in the Reichsrath to conduct the Government as he would. His virtues were, for the time, the remaining savor of the monarchy. As for himself, he had sorrow enough. If his responsibilities were great, his griefs were greater. Already he had been stripped until he stood like a desolate tree in the storm. In 1889, his Crown Prince Rudolph was taken from him by death. His brother, the ill-starred Maximilian of Mexico, went down, in June of 1867, before the bullets of the Juarists. While the preparations were on for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his reign, an event occurred which might well destroy his remaining courage and hope. On the 10th of September, 1898, the Empress Elizabeth, who had been sojourning in Switzerland, was assailed by an Italian assassin named Luccheni and stabbed to death. The Empress was about to go on board of a steamboat at Geneva when the cruel villain, with a blunt file in his hand, sprang upon her, and plunged it into her breast.

There had been so great disparity of age between Francis Joseph and the Queen, and in particular so great a contrariety of tastes and dispositions, that the domestic life had virtually ceased some years previously. The Empress had not been seen at court, nor had she participated in public affairs for a considerable period, and her death, politically considered, was for these reasons less significant than it would otherwise have been. Nor may we pass from this incident of crime without noting the fact that the Emperor had for some time previously suffered extremely from vague apprehensions of impending evil. The preterition had been so distinct as to

dispirit him and to destroy his interest in the approaching festivities in his honor.

The year 1889 found Spain in more than usual tranquillity. The ministry of Señor Sagasta maintained its supremacy, despite the efforts of the Canovist Conservatives and the Radicals and Republicans. The Queen Regent's direction of the Government of her infant son was regarded with much approbation by her subjects and by the statesmen of other nations, so that the visit paid to her at Biarritz by Queen Victoria, the most punctilious of sovereigns, was looked on as a deserved recognition of excellence in fulfilling the duties of a most critical position.

The most lamented death of the year was that of Marshal Quesada, a distinguished veteran of the Civil War. The King was attacked with a severe illness early in 1890, and the intrigues of parties thereby doubled, but he recovered. Señor Sagasta succeeded in passing a measure for universal suffrage; but his popularity waned, and he was forced to resign in the summer, Señor Canovas del Castillo forming a Conservative Cabinet. Throughout this period it was evident that the fall of the Brazilian Monarchy had created a profound impression on the political thought of Spain, as, indeed, was the case also in Portugal. Two deaths in 1890 were of political importance, those of the Duke of Aosta, formerly King Amadeo, and of the Duke of Montpensier, once an aspirant to the Spanish throne. The Conservative cause continued in the ascendant in 1891; but Radical efforts were spurred by the financial embarrassment, Spanish stocks falling seriously, while the industrial depression was increased by the devastating floods that swept over the lowlands in the autumn. These causes combined with the purely political to breed dissatisfaction, with the result that in 1892 the ministry was defeated and the familiar Radical, Sagasta, became Premier in the place of the no less familiar Conservative, Canovas.

The chief affairs of 1893 were religious riots between Protestants and Catholics, fomented to extremity by the anarchistic element. In 1894 the ministry resigned, but Señor Sagasta was able to re-form the Cabinet and to continue in the premiership. Fortunately for the ministry in its struggles with the financial difficulties, it was successful in gaining a large indemnity from the Sultan of Morocco for assaults on the Spanish soldiery.

In 1895 the storm burst upon Spain. Ever since the revolution of 1868 to 1878 the party of rebellion in Cuba had been working insidiously to obtain the freedom of the island from Spanish dominion. To that end no less than one hundred and forty clubs were formed in America, the members of which were pledged to contribute at least one-tenth of their income, if necessary, to the cause of revolution. Arms, too, were collected, many of them stored secretly in the island itself. The men in control of these plots planned a general uprising to take place in the island February 24, 1895. On the appointed day there were revolts in three of the provinces, Santiago, Santa Clara, and Matanzas. At this time Captain-General Calleja, on whom the Spanish authority relied for its protection, had only nine thousand men; not enough to garrison the towns, even with the four thousand recruits soon sent to reënforce him.

Of the thirteen Spanish gunboats, only seven were available for the protection of five hundred leagues of coast-line, and they were slow. The rebellion under such circumstances could grow; and it did grow, especially since the insurgents pursued guerrilla tactics, escaping from the forces sent against them by retreating into the fastnesses of the mountains or the inaccessible depths of the swamps. Early in March, Spain voted unlimited credit for the putting down of the rebellion, and sent twenty thousand men to the island, and Field Marshal Martinez Campos, who brought the other revolution to an end in two years, was given command of the island. On March 25, José Marti and Maximo Gomez proclaimed, from Hayti, a declaration of Cuban independence, and on the 31st of that month Antonio Maceo arrived from Costa Rica with arms and officers, forthwith establishing a Provisional Government, with Dr. Tomas Estrada Palma as the Provisional President of the Republic, José Marti as Secretary, and Gen-

eral Gomez as Commander-in-Chief. A convention was held, May 18, in which Bartolome Masso was elected President of the Cuban Republic, Maximo Gomez Commander in Chief, and Antonio Maceo Commander in Chief of the Oriental Division.

On the following day, just after Marti had parted from Gomez, he was ambushed and slain by the Spaniards. The Provisional Government was formally constituted in the Valley of the Yara, and a Declaration of Independence issued on July 15. In August, officers were elected: President, Masso; Vice President and Minister of War, Gomez; Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Gonzalo de Quesada; Commander-in-Chief, Antonio Maceo; Commander of the Oriental Division, José Maceo.

To this list of leading spirits must be added the name of General Calixto Garcia, who, as the event showed, was one of the most powerful of the Cuban leaders. To him the revolutionists were greatly indebted on the score of his success in the delicate work of procuring arms and supplies from the United States. Subsequently, he was potential alike in the revolutionary government and in the field. When Antonio Maceo was slain, Garcia became the chief reliance of the insurgents as a competent commander. When the war was at the crisis in the midsummer of 1898, General Garcia commanded the only Cuban patriot army worthy of the name, and in that relation he coöperated successfully and honorably with General Shafter in the campaign which ended with the capture of Santiago and the collapse of the Spanish cause.

In the meantime the reënforcements sent by Spain had been so many that there were fully sixty thousand effective men in the service; but as one-half of these were necessary for the safe garrison of the towns, the number was not fatal to the insurgents, who now had nearly thirty thousand soldiers. These continued a war that showed the extreme of bitterness on each side, until the whole island was one scene of desolation, and all commerce and industry were ruined. The courage of the Revolutionists continued with

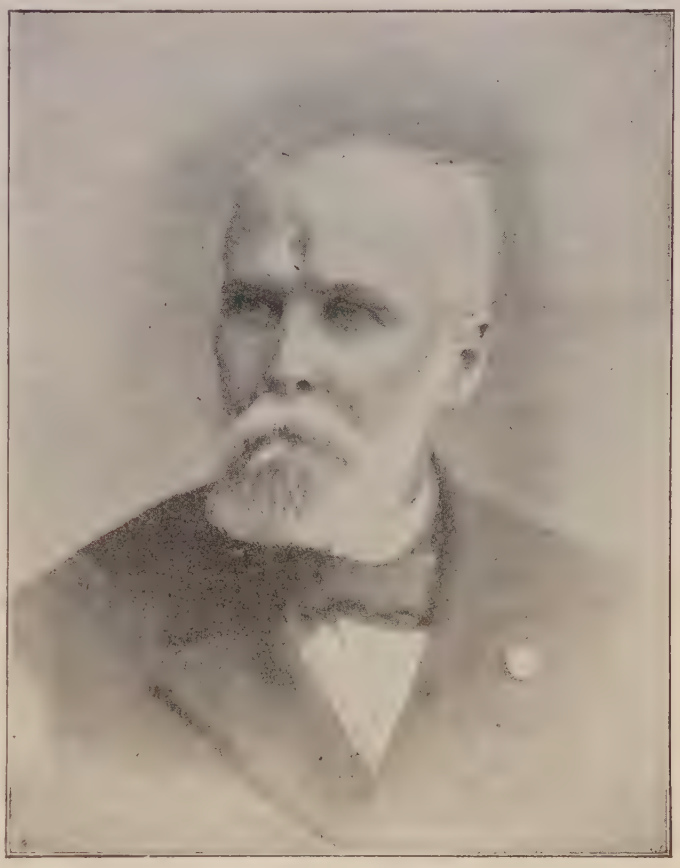
SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

the prolonging of the war, the exhausted condition of Spain's finances, and the burden of a serious revolt in the Philippine Islands, leading them to believe that their enemy must yield to the multiplication of ills unless the Government could be promptly restored.

On September 23, the Revolutionists adopted a constitution at Anton de Puerto Principe, and elected Salvador Cisneros President. No decisive point was reached at the end of 1896, the sending of General Valeriano Weyler to take the place of General Campos having served only to make the work of the soldiers in Cuba vastly more brutal, without accomplishing any apparent progress toward Spain's final victory.

The period in Spanish history, from the middle of the last decennium to the close of the century, was an epoch of gradual decline of power and retraction of territorial dominion. The retrograde movement had for its conclusion the virtual restriction of the dominion of Spain to the peninsula which constitutes her remaining center of undisputed sway. The beginning of the extension of power by conquest and discovery was coincident with the first years of the sixteenth century. For a while at the middle of that century it appeared that the Spanish Empire would be and remain almost as wide as that of Great Britain in the present age. But the outspreading of the realms of Spain was delusive and transitory. Already, in the time of Philip II. the extremities of the kingdom began to fall away. At intervals there would be a stationary period, but always, after the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tendency to retrogression was seen.

This fatal trend of affairs, however, was hidden under Spanish pride. No loss was sufficient to darken the disc of national vanity. When the Cuban imbroglio came on, and in 1895 rose to the crisis of revolution, the authorities at Madrid treated the event with their wonted haughtiness. Nor did the protests of other nations much avail to turn



GENERAL CALIXTO GARCIA.

the Government from its predestined course. It should be said, however, that Maria Christina, the Regent of the Kingdom, was a good and not incapable ruler—according to the royal standard for the estimate of rulers, and according to the conditions under which she was placed. Her boy, Alfonso XIII., grew apace, and in 1896, began to be ten years old. The Regent and her Government looked with anxiety on the progress of affairs in Cuba, but to them it seemed that but one policy could be pursued—the repression of the

insurrection and the reëstablishment of order by absolutism.

Before the close of the administration of Cleveland, he sent to Congress a rather elaborate, and, on the whole, conservative message, which, if the Spanish Government had taken heed thereto, might have led the way to peace by reconstruction. But the national spirit would brook no overture. We may assume that the Crown and ministry of Spain were moreover informed of the covert disposition in the United States to encourage the rebellion against the home kingdom with the

ANTONIO MACEO.

ulterior design of securing, under the semblance of independence, the actuality of annexation. The schemes that were on in our own country were well calculated to provoke the ire of Spain, and to make an amicable settlement impossible. One such scheme, which was fomented at the beginning of 1896, was to get a large issue of Cuban bonds and to have them guaranteed by the Government of the United States with the consequent privilege or right of appointing American revenue officers for the Cuban ports—this to the end that the proceeds necessary for the payment of the interest on the factitious bonds might be diverted from commerce into the pockets of the managers.

During the whole of the year 1896, the policy of cruelty and persecution against the Revolutionary party in Cuba was pursued. General Valeriano Weyler, who had succeeded Captain-General Martinez Campos, visited not only the rebels, but those who were vaguely suspected of rebellion, with fire and sword. It was at this juncture that the genius of Antonio Maceo was displayed as a formidable leader of the Revolutionists. To him more than to any other the Cubans looked hopefully as to one able to cope with the Spanish soldiery. Maceo continued in command until the 8th of December of the year just named, when he was ambushed and slain. Nor was the suspicion wanting that treachery was used against him.

Spain redoubled her efforts in the beginning of 1897 to suppress the Cuban rebellion and to save the remnants of her insular Empire. The war in Cuba was waged with great ferocity. General Weyler adopted the policy of forcing the non-combatant element in the insurgent districts into the towns, where he pent up both the evil and the good. By this means he was enabled, with small contingents of soldiers posted here and there in Pinar del Rio, to hold the starving reconcentrados in their keeps until they should perish, or at least satisfy him by their sufferings that they had become loyal to authority.

This business continued until it began to work its own cure. The tone of the American press toward the Spanish management in Cuba became threatening. The rumble of international thunder was heard in the horizon. At length, General Weyler was recalled, and the position of Commander-in-Chief was assigned by the Spanish War Department to General Ramon Blanco.

By this time, the energies of the Spanish administration at Madrid were almost wholly absorbed in the Cuban complication. The impoverished condition of the treasury prevented the speedy and extensive enlargement of the Spanish armies and fleets; but these were augmented as much as possible. Spain had sunk to the rank of a second-class or third-class power, but as such she armed and equipped herself to a measure of efficiency, though she could hardly expect to hold her own in the case of war with the United

States. The population of the latter outnumbered that of the former in the ratio of four to one, and the resources of the American Republic were overwhelmingly preponderant. Though Spain prepared for war as well as she might, actual hostilities were hardly anticipated. Not until the winter of 1897–98 had worn away, did an event occur which seemed to justify the expectation of an outbreak. At that time, however, a perfidious thing was done which suddenly aroused the American people to an almost uncontrollable fever of animosity.

From the evening of the 15th of February, 1898, to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace by the American Senate on February 6th, 1899, the history of the Spanish-American war in all of its leading movements and results has already been recited in the narrative of our own national affairs, and to that narrative the reader is here referred.[1] In this connection it only remains to note the vicissitudes of the home affairs in the Spanish Kingdom while the war was on. The outbreak of hostilities gave opportunity for all of the elements in opposition to the Crown and the dynasty to come suddenly forth. Such elements were by no means wanting. The Spanish Republicans, aforetime followers of Emilio Castellar, showed their disposition in movements and agitations looking to the abolition of the monarchy; but this part of the domestic turbulence was not formidable.

In the next place, the Carlists, partisans of the pretender Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand VII., made a show of strength. The original Don Carlos had now been succeeded by his nephew of the same name. The latter, however, had not, since the death of Alfonso XII., seriously prosecuted his claims to the throne. Moreover, prudence and foresight on the part of the claimant led him to see that advantage to himself and his followers lay at this juncture in the policy of upholding rather than revolutionizing the Government. Patriotism as well as good political sense inspired Don Carlos to shout, "To the battle!" He accordingly became a strong supporter of the war, limiting himself to criticism of the war policy of the administration, and awaiting the opportunity to take advantage of any revulsion that might come in favor of his pretensions.

The Queen Regent, meanwhile, had several advantages in her contest with her adversaries. Her son, now in his thirteenth year and already titular King of Spain, might be shown by the mother to both the Cortes and the people. He was her living appeal. He was to her interests almost as much of an argument as the infant Joseph had been in the arms of Maria Theresa just one hundred and fifty-seven years earlier. The fact that she, a woman, was charged in these dreadful days with the responsibilities of a monarchy added to her influence and her security.

CAPTAIN-GENERAL RAMON BLANCO.

The Spaniards really prosecuted the war with enthusiasm. The people at large were embittered to the last degree against the Americans. Spanish soldiers had a more rational opinion of the affair on their hands. They were well disciplined, well armed, and

[1] See pages 85–152.

María Teresa. Alfonso XII. Carlos V. Isla de Luzon. Ensenada. Cisneros. Numancia.

Audaz. Osado. Terror. Furor.

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

FIGHTING LINE OF THE SPANISH NAVY.

well instructed in the code of war. They fought well, and observed the rules of courtesy. Those who were taken prisoners were found to be soldiers of good character. Some of the captive officers traversed parts of the United States and were received in a manner befitting their rank and behavior.

On the other hand, the qualities of the Spanish soldiery were soon discovered by the Americans in the field, and the swift moving war was not half over until a certain sympathy with the enemy, even against the patriot insurgents for whom the Americans had interfered, sprang up and prevailed. The motley character of the rebels in Cuba did not appeal to the Americans. The Cuban patriots were found to be of a kind who do not pass current among the Teutonic peoples. There was a gradual change of sentiment in the United States with respect to those for whom the war had been undertaken, and the same thing, but more acute and illogical, occurred in the Philippines, where the conflict was actually turned against the Filipinos.

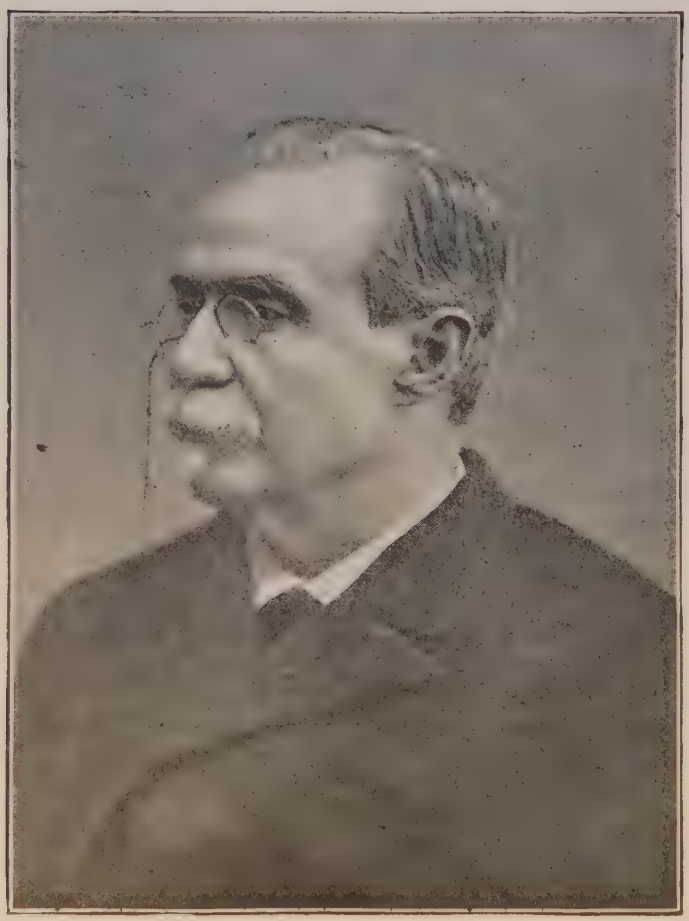
Outside of the amenities of the field, however, and a certain respectful speech and tone in the Spanish ministry, the feeling toward the Americans was bitter to the last degree. A whole vocabulary of epithets was invented to express the common rage. The Americans were monsters. They were robbers, assassins, beasts, *pigs*—the last term being the supreme expression of Spanish hatred and contempt. The reader of history must be reminded by the phraseology so abundant in the Spanish publications of 1898, of the like expressions in the newspapers of Matamoras, Vera Cruz, and Mexico at the outbreak of hostilities in 1846.

The prosecution of such a war as that in which Spain was engaged must needs bring a severe strain upon the ministry. During the antecedent period of the crisis, Señor Antonio Canovas del Castillo was Prime Minister. He was a Conservative statesman of the first rank, and had previously been Premier of the Government. At this time, the Liberal party was under the leadership

QUEEN REGENT MARIA CHRISTINA AND ALFONSO XIII OF SPAIN.

of Señor Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, whose name and activities had been interwoven with public affairs ever since the insurrections of 1856 and 1866.

In the beginning of 1897, the Liberal party still upheld the Conservative Government in its Cuban policy of repression by force. At length, however, after several miscarriages in Cuba, the Liberal policy was changed into one of criticism and opposition. In the summer of 1897, an event occurred which threatened the ministry with sudden overthrow. In the course of the debates, the Duke of Tetuan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an assault upon an aged statesman, one of the professors of law in the university of Madrid. Public opinion rose against the assailant to such a degree that he was obliged to resign, and the whole Cabinet resigned with him.



SEÑOR ANTONIO CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO.

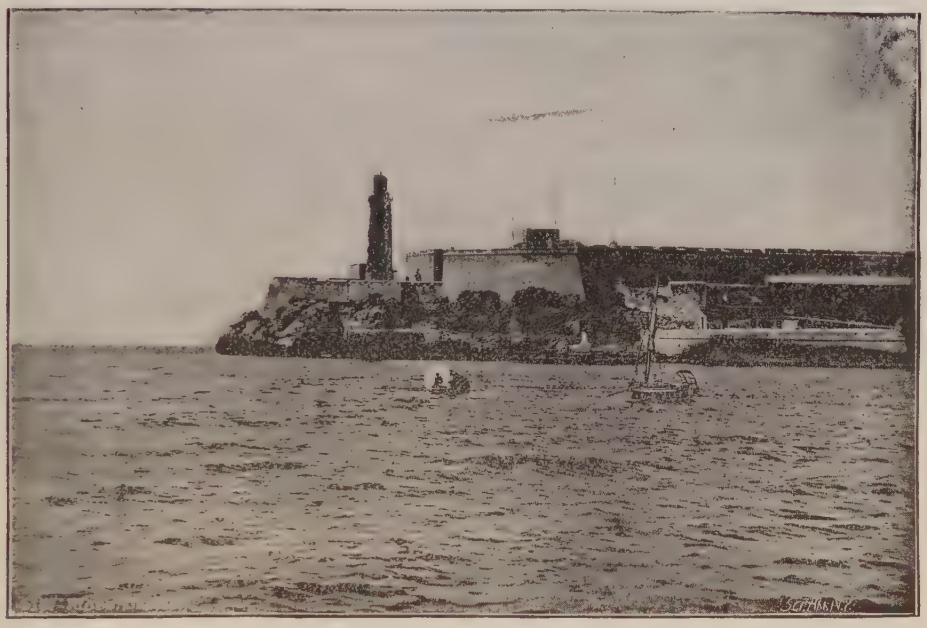
It appeared for the nonce that Señor Sagasta and the Liberal party would come into power; but the Queen Regent preferred to retain Canovas. His associates also, including Tetuan, came back, and the Government went on as before. When the summer recess came, the Prime Minister went for a season to Santa Agueda, a watering place, where on the 8th of August, he was shot and killed by an obscure anarchist of Italian origin, named Angiolillo. It did not appear that the deed had resulted from a conspiracy, or that the blow was delivered with political intent. It seemed rather that the assassin was inspired against the statesman because the latter was thought to have visited severe punishments against anarchist disturbers at Barcelona, where they abounded. The event deprived Spain, or rather the existing dynasty, of its strongest pillar of support, and made almost certain the passing of the political scepter to the Liberal party. Meanwhile, the duties of Prime Minister were assigned for the time to the Spanish Minister of War.

After the summer recess of the Cortes, the difficulties impending over Spain thickened daily. The provisional ministry which had been organized after the assassination of Canovas went to pieces in October. Public sentiment, as expressed in the election, went more and more against the Conservative Government. At length, the majority turned to the Liberals, and Sagasta was again charged with the duty of constructing a Cabinet. It was a duty of the performance of which few statesmen would have been ambitious. In one respect, the new administration was even

as the old. It did not dare to change policy as it respected the Cuban rebellion. Indeed, the complaint of the Liberals had been that the war against the insurgents had not been waged with sufficient energy. Weyler had been criticised for being at once impolitic and inefficient. The Liberals must therefore go on and insure efficiency and the speedy suppression of the rebellion. It was at this particular juncture that General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco sent to Cuba in his stead. The latter, entering upon his duty on the 20th of October, declared his purpose to press the war with the greatest energy.

With the beginning of the year 1898, the most important aspect of Spanish history was the growth of the revolt in the Philippine islands. It was the policy of Spain to minimize her colonial difficulties. It was the policy in the United States to magnify them. This course was pursued by both Governments with respect to the prevailing conditions in the West Indies and also in the Philippines. There came to pass at this time, a new method of journalistic agitation to which the civilized countries had never before been subject. Correspondents were sent by yacht and railway train into the disturbed parts of the world for the purpose of gathering sensational information and of making exaggerated reports of such facts as might tend to inflame the passions of readers and create a demand for more. By this means it was imagined that the volcanoes that were opening in almost every part of the world might be smothered by other agitations created in their stead through the agency of journalism.

Spain, following this method, constantly published for her own people false reports of the disturbed and insurrectionary conditions in her colonies. She sought at the same time to quiet or divert the attention of her own revolutionary elements to the embarrassments and troubles of foreign states. And thus also did the United States. Having her own financial, economic, and industrial questions yawning under her feet, she would fain have the organs of public information distract the attention of the people with the publication of lurid accounts about the insurrections and brawls of barbarians and savages in distant islands. She must needs foster the opinion



By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

THE MORRO OF HAVANA.

that the great Republic ought, in morals and in fact, to undertake, in the British manner, the rectification of everything in the world except her own character.

At the period referred to, the rebellion of the Filipinos became formidable. At the very time when the *Maine* was destroyed in the harbor of Havana, the rebellion of the oriental subjects of Spanish authority threatened its extinction in the East. It was this antecedent condition that enabled the United States, in expectation of the outbreak of hostilities, to have one fleet in the East and two fleets in the West, ready when the crisis came to strike before dawn and be victorious with the rising sun.

paid by the United States for Alaska. The sum is one and a third times as great as our third President gave to Napoleon for the empire of Louisiana, and it bears a like relation to the amount conceded by our Government to Mexico for the imperial dominions which we wrested from her in 1848.

The fact that the powerful United States granted such a compensation for the relinquishment of the buildings and fortifications which Spain had established in the Philippines was to her and her people a salve for many wounds. Nor should we fail to note that the extinction of the colonial governments of the Spanish Kingdom must have been, as it is and remains, a measure of relief

PALACE OF THE QUEEN REGENT, MADRID.

At the conclusion of hostilities in August of 1898, the Spanish Government put itself in a conciliatory attitude. The Queen Regent, the Sagasta ministry, the Cortes, and the leading publicists of the Kingdom were willing to have peace on the most available terms. The protocol was readily accepted. The Spanish representatives at the peace conference, which sat at Paris in the autumn and early winter of the year, were men of ability and character. They contended as well as they might for advantageous terms. They yielded only as they must. They secured an indemnity or compensation of $20,000,000—a sum not to be despised when we remember that it is nearly three times as great as the price

to a nation which was afflicted with outlying troubles and scandals to an extent hardly compensated by the revenues and robberies which the colonial governments constantly inflicted on the subject insular populations.

This species of political farming has never been successfully practiced but by two great nations, and these two were (one *was* and the other *is*), Rome and Great Britain. Such a method flourishes only under a scepter of iron, wielded with an iron hand and supported with iron guns. It is the hard method which blind and fatal history employs for the extermination of the weak and innocent savages who seem to impede a little the ambition and lusts of the mighty.

The ratification of the treaty was not easily effected on either side. There were great and serious reasons for the hesitation. The right of the American Senate to discuss and reject a treaty is absolute. In the present case, the results of the war had been as portentous as they were gratifying to American pride. The conflict brought in a large category of the most doubtful advantages. The payment of twenty millions of dollars, as if to make good a conquest already accomplished, seemed to be an extraordinary waste of resources. The acquisition of considerable territory, distant by nearly half the circumference of the globe from the nearest continental port of the United States, was an alarming gain. The whole West Indian complication was involved as a part of the sequel. These matters must needs arouse the fears of many statesmen and lead to a long discussion in the Senate.

On the Spanish side, there were also the most serious reasons for holding back a ratification by the Cortes and the confirmation by the Queen. The result had been humiliating to the monarchy. The reigning dynasty had much to fear and everything to imagine. The loss of prestige might well anger the opposition and give great advantage in the debate. The collapse of the whole insular Empire of Spain might well excite the profoundest passion. The event corresponded to the expectation. The Ministry of Sagasta was shaken like a reed in the winds and counter-currents of public clamor. The debate in the Cortes was long continued and acrimonious, but a ratification was at last obtained. The Queen hesitated, but at length yielded to the inevitable. On the 16th of March, 1899, she signed the treaty, which was at once forwarded to M. Jules Cambon at Washington, for the usual exchange for that copy of the treaty which had been signed by President McKinley.—Such was the official ending and final extinction of the fires of war.

Portugal peaceably managed, in 1889, that most difficult of all tasks for a kingdom, the calm succession of the heir to the throne, the occasion being the death of King Luis. Despite this change in rulers—and, too, despite the excitement of the foreign activities—Portuguese home affairs were unusually serene. The same could not be said of the next year; for then the hesitating policy of the ministry in its attempted defiance of England in African concerns, aroused the anger of the Anti-English party to such an extent that the Cabinet twice fled in dismay from the mobs in Lisbon.

CARLOS I., KING OF PORTUGAL.

The year 1891 was marked by an abortive effort at military revolution in Oporto that only succeeded in causing financial troubles, to which were added a fall in Portuguese securities by reason of an over-issue of depreciated paper currency. In the same year the ministry fell, and a coalition Cabinet was formed, with General Chrysostomo at its head, by which, ultimately, the long-delayed settlement of English and Portuguese broils in Africa was accomplished. In 1893 a most curious policy was followed by the opposition against the ministry, it being no less

than a strike, whereby no quorum could be obtained, and the ministry was forced to resign.

The new Cabinet was formed by Señor Hintze-Ribeiro, and proceeded to embroil itself with France by permitting the cashing of French money orders at even rates, in spite of the fact that the depreciation of the Portuguese money made such transactions much like robbery. The excuse of the ministry amounted simply to this: That the state of the finances in the country was so bad that anything was justifiable, even theft. The matter was ultimately amicably adjusted. Little has been done in the years following toward establishing a sound financial system.

In the recent history of the Kingdom, little of importance has occurred, with the exception of the visit made, in November of 1895, by the King, Carlos I., to Great Britain. His Majesty had expressed the purpose of visiting Rome, where he might call upon his kinsman Humbert. But such was the peculiar complication of affairs that the Holy Father thought it worth while to forbid his faithful Carlos from coming to the Italian Court.

For Leo, cherishing his resentment against the "Cis-Alpine Usurper," was not willing that so good a Catholic as the King of Portugal should pay him respect. But in the matter of the intended visit to the *British* Court there was little objection, as well there might be not; for how could the Vatican afford or presume to slight the majesty of an empire whose established church he soon hoped to lead back to the altar and communion of St. Peter!

So Carlos made his journey to London and St. James and Windsor, in each of which places he was received with flattering attention. Indeed, the narrative of the thing done, said that "he was loaded with honors by the Queen." Politically, and internationally, the event signified that the traditional good will of England and Portugal would be maintained and strengthened. For a long time, the British administration has considered friendliness at Lisbon equivalent to several regiments at Gibraltar.

Switzerland, in 1890, was disturbed by a miniature civil war at Bellinzona, where the Radicals revolted, and by force of arms overturned the Conservative Government of Canton Ticino, one of the members being shot. The Swiss demanded the extradition of the murderer; but the English authorities, to whom he appealed for protection, decided that the disturbance approached to civil war, and that therefore the offender was a refugee for political reasons, thus being exempted under the extradition treaty. At Ticino, matters were eventually compromised, but not until the Federal troops had been called to the scene. This unpleasantness, however, in no wise interfered to prevent an imposing celebration, in 1891, of the six hundredth anniversary of the first establishment of the Bund.

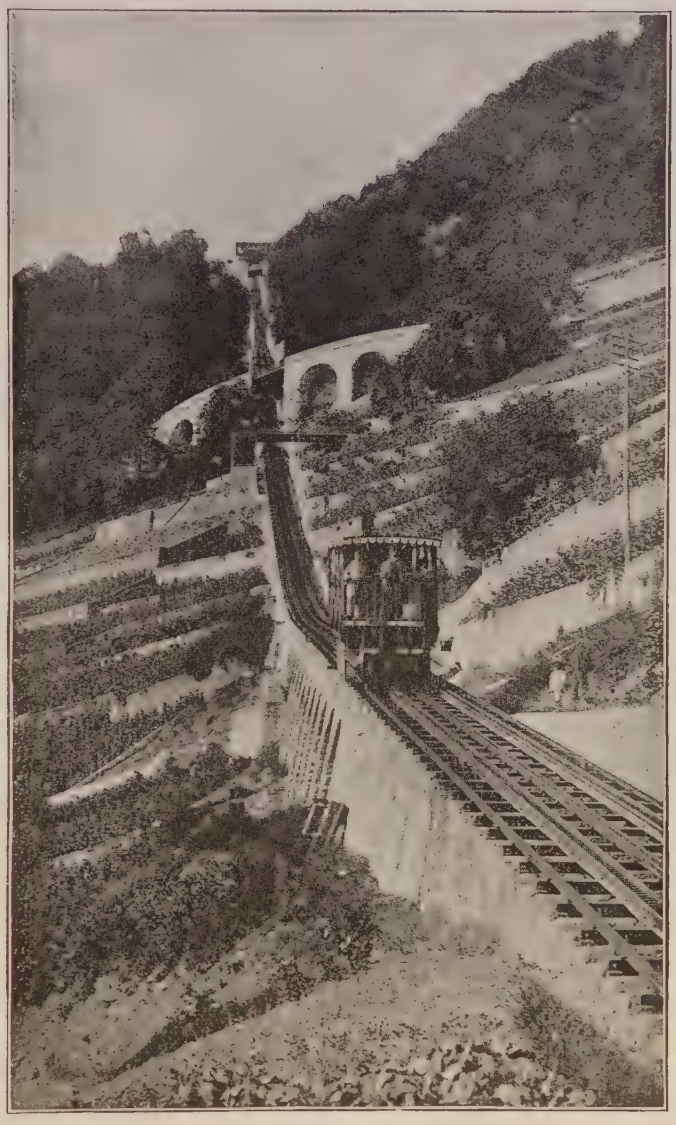
A Congress of Socialists was held in Switzerland in 1893, with four hundred delegates from all parts of Europe in attendance. After the first meeting the anarchistic element was excluded, and the transactions of the body were remarkably dignified and admirable. The same year witnessed a curious result of the referendum, when the vote of the people decreed that Jewish butchers should not kill their cattle in the manner prescribed by the Israelitish law! Another and far more important evidence of the referendum's power was given in the following year, when a constitutional amendment was proposed to the effect that every citizen should be guaranteed sufficiently remunerative employment. The amendment was rejected by a large majority, despite all the exhortations of the strong Socialist party.

In the recent history of Switzerland, by far the most important feature is the growth of state socialism. The Republic furnishes the extraordinary example of a nation, small though it be, in process of solving the great problem of modern times. But the evolution is slow and almost silent. The progress of the state in the direction of industrial socialism has taken the wind out of the sails of the professional Socialists, and at times their vocation, like that of the abolitionists in the

United States in 1863, seems to be almost gone.

There is no other state in the civilized world in which the assumptions of corporate and industrial functions has been so easy and natural as among the Swiss. Measures have been adopted which in any English-speaking country would provoke widespread discussion and fierce opposition from the money powers of society—this with scarcely a ripple of agitation or disturbance.

The socialistic movement among the Swiss has appeared not only in the municipalities, not only in the different cantons as such, but in the general actions of the Republic. In recent years one enterprise after another has fallen under the control of the state, as if by the most natural process of development. The condition of moneyed ascendency prevailing in almost all other countries over the rights and prerogatives of society is well-nigh reversed in Switzerland. And yet Switzerland is one of the most highly industrial countries in Europe. The state is a hive, and the people are the bees. When they have found, as they have found, that public enterprises and franchises can be better controlled and determined by the community as a whole than by companies, corporations, and trusts, they have quietly assumed the control to the immense economic advantage of the community at large.



TERRITET RAILWAY, MONTREUX ON LAKE GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

One of the first acts of this kind on the part of the Government was the adoption of a government telegraph. This was done before the usefulness and necessity of the telephone were demonstrated. Afterward the telephone also was nationalized; so that the people at large were admitted to its benefits at an expenditure of about nine dollars for each citizen annually. The next measure was the establishment of a parcels post, corresponding in its function to the domineering express companies in the United States By this means, the cost of sending parcels in Switzerland has been reduced to about one-fifteenth of the express charges in our country.

In the same direction lies the effort of the Swiss to take possession in the public interest of all the railway lines.

Nor is it the public franchises only that are thus sought for by the practical socialism of Switzerland. Many manufactures and many agencies for the general promotion of industries have likewise been quietly taken from the hands of the corporation and transferred to the hands of the community. Such, for example, is the manufacture of matches, which has become a social industry. The Government has likewise claimed the monopoly of the sale of alcoholic drinks, with the result incidentally of a great reduction in drunkenness; the moral advantage has appeared more distinctly in this case than has the industrial consequence.

For some time the question has been agitated of establishing a national bank—this in a sense as different as can be from the so-called national banks of the United States. The Swiss idea is to assume complete control by the Government of the money function and of its subordinate financial operations —to the end that the people may have for the transaction of their business a money supply sufficient therefor without the servitude and loss usually entailed on borrowers at the bank counters of a state.

Meanwhile, the cantons and the principal municipalities have gone forward successfully on the same lines of development. Geneva owns its own plant for lighting the city. The municipal government has also assumed control of the tremendous water power of the river Rhone, which pours out of the lake with a force second only to our Niagara.

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND—RUE DE MONT BLANC.

The river has been made not only to furnish the power for illumination and for a hundred local industries, but also to pump itself up as a water supply for the city! Geneva holds the cup to her own lips and washes her features with the gratuitous spray and dew of her lake. For four miles down the river the control of the stream by the city is absolute. The great dam was built at the public charge. The price of power thus produced may be purchased by individuals and local companies at about one-half of the rate charged in other cities which are in the grasp of companies owning the franchises. In

1896–97, the municipal government branched out into the construction of tenement houses; insomuch that, as we have said, the cry of the professional Socialist that the poor as well as the rich should share in the blessings of the home seemed to be answered affirmatively, and as if by common consent.

During the year 1889 the King of Holland was so near death that his decease was regarded as certain speedily to occur, whereupon all arrangements were made for the cutting off of Luxemburg from the Netherlands. The crisis was postponed by an unexpected improvement in the health of the King, only to come again in 1890, when his death occurred.

In Holland the succession of the Princess Wilhelmina had been decreed by law, and Queen Emma was made Regent. According to the treaties, Luxemburg separated from the Dutch Crown to become an independent neutral State, under the nearest agnate, the Duke of Nassau. At the same time, Holland caused much trouble by objecting to the levying of imports in the Congo State, suggested by the Berlin Congress in its plans to abolish the slave-trade. Eventually, Holland yielded to the expressed wish of the Powers, and has ever since been singularly free from external difficulties and from civil strife, although, like all Europe, suffering from much industrial depression and the tumults of the anarchistic element. The most important death, since that of the King, was that of Prince Baldwin of Flanders.

In the later annals of Holland, the most important event has been the assumption of regal power by the young Queen Wilhelmina. The law of the Kingdom is that the heir apparent reaches the legal age of sovereignty at eighteen years. The Princess Wilhelmina thus gained her majority on the last day of August, 1898. Her royal father had been dead nearly eight years, and her mother in the interim had held the office of Regent for her daughter.

The event of the accession of a new sover-

WILHELMINA, QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS.

eign had been anticipated by the Dutch with as much interest as that stoical people can feel for any civil event. For a long time the monarchy which had survived the shock of the Napoleonic wars had been mildly tolerated by the citizens of the Netherlands, who looked upon it as a necessary relic of the past. The management under the regency made

THE CORONATION PAGEANT OF QUEEN WILHELMINA.

due preparations for the accession of the young Queen, and the 5th of September in the year named was appointed for the ceremonies of coronation.

The event was marked with elaborate formalities in which the religious element was conspicuous. The young Queen went through her part of the pageant encouraged by the applause and greetings of her subjects. Gossip about a possible marriage for the beautiful Majesty ran through the throngs and

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM—BOULEVARDE ANSPACH.

was repeated in the journals of the day. To her credit, however, be it said, that she concerned herself more about the honor and welfare of her mother, who now assumed the title of Queen Dowager, than she did about the choice of a prince for a husband.

Belgium, in 1892, was the scene of an earnest effort to solve some of the perplexing evils of the time through the medium of an International Monetary Conference at Brussels. The silver crisis was so far-reaching in its influence and so disastrous in its effects, and the condition of trade throughout the world was so much injured by the malign restraints of artificial currencies, that statesmen and bankers, and those sharing their interest in financial and industrial concerns, hoped to contrive a remedy by a consultation of representative men. Thus it was that the meeting in Brussels was held; yet the result was of no practical worth, unless to show that the troubles were beyond the reach of accepted political measures.

In Belgium, the year 1894 marked the first trial of the constitutional amendment to universal suffrage. The results were, that the Catholics obtained a crushing majority, while the Liberals were reduced to an insignificant minority. The polls showed, however, that the strength of the Socialists had become an important factor in the political affairs of the State, and one that must be recognized.

The overthrow of the Liberal party in the election just referred to, and the return of a Clerical majority of one hundred and four in the legislative chamber, resulted, however, not so directly from the system of *universal*

suffrage as from the adoption of plural voting, which privilege had been granted to all electors having certain qualifications. In the first place, the new law gave to every citizen of the age of twenty-five, who was not otherwise disqualified, one vote; but if he were a married man, or a widower of the age of thirty-five with legitimate children, occupying a house for which he paid five francs rental, he should have two votes. Or, if he were a voter and possessed real estate valued at two thousand francs, or had an income from any State investment of one hundred francs, he should have an additional vote. Or, if he were a voter possessing certain educational certificates, or if he belonged to a learned profession, he should have an additional vote. If he were a voter and possessed *two* of the additional qualifications, he should have *three votes.* But three was the maximum number conceded to any elector.

GUSTAF—Crown Prince of Sweden and Norway.

It transpired that the foregoing provisions of the law fell to the advantage of those who needed it least. Those citizens who were already fortified with the powers of additional voting were mostly the wealthy classes and those who were in close touch with the Church. The result was the overwhelming victory of conservatism over democracy as the first outcome of the new system. Property and tradition as usual joined their issues and gained the day.

Recent years in Sweden and Norway have offered little of general interest, save in the matter of exploration, and in that particular their fame is written in the records of other nations. The most important and lasting feature in the internal political history has been the straining of the bonds of the union by reason of Norway's individual jealousy. In 1894 there was a celebration marking the opening of the last section of the North Trunk Railway, extending as far as Boden. This is the completion of an elaborate system of railways, covering all parts of the kingdom, which are of great worth for the development of Swedish industries, and at the same time are of particular value strategically in the event of war.

In the recent history of the kingdom, the most notable event has been the brief resignation of the crown by King Oscar, who, on the 21st of January, 1899, abdicated the

throne. The King had just reached the seventieth anniversary of his birth. For two or three years he had been feeble in health, and more recently had been warned by the Court physicians to relinquish the cares of State.

The Prince, in whose favor the resignation was made, was the Crown Prince Gustaf, who at once took up the duty of directing the executive authority. He was said to be, in most respects, the opposite of his father. He was accredited with possessing an iron will, and to be less afflicted with personal sensibilities and humane sentiments than his father had been. The Prince had completed his fortieth year. It was predicted in the gossip of the day, that on assuming the royal functions he would quell the seditious spirit which had long prevailed among the Norwegian portion of his subjects.

It was anticipated that King Oscar, old and enfeebled, would never resume his royal powers; but the event proved otherwise. After a brief vacation of scarcely a month, he returned to his place at the head of the kingdom, and affairs flowed on in their wonted channel.

OSCAR II., OF SWEDEN.

CHAPTER CLXV.—RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN STATES.

THE history of Russia in 1889 is essentially that of its foreign relations. The Czar voiced his distrust of the attitudes assumed by his neighbors by saying that Montenegro was Russia's only friend; yet during the year Servia and, perhaps, Roumania were added to the list of his adherents. The Pro-Russian party dominated in the Servian Assembly, and in the early part of the year, King Milan abdicated, and his son, thirteen years old, succeeded to the throne, under a Council of Regents, in which Russian sympathies were clearly apparent, and a policy of demonstrative hostility toward Austria was evenly pursued.

In Bulgaria, Prince Ferdinand maintained his power, with Stambouloff at the head of affairs, urging opposition to Russia in the face of all discouragements. The Prince made a tour through Austria, Bavaria, and France, and in its course succeeded in negotiating an important railway loan of a million pounds in Vienna.

Affairs were less orderly in Roumania, where M. Bratiano and the Cabinet were overturned, and M. Catargi, the new director of the Government, figured as the friend of Russia. He in his turn, was removed from office; but the trend of Roumanian desire toward Russia was unquestionable in the history of the year, the influence of Germany and Austria obviously waning.

The most important deaths in Russia in 1889 were those of Count Peter Schouvaloff,

at one time Ambassador to Great Britain, and of Count Dmitri Tolstoi, of the Ministry of the Interior. Outside of Russia the most distinguished death was that of Prince Charles of Monaco.

Throughout the Balkan Peninsula the usual Russian policy was cleverly pursued in 1890, with the result that a general uneasiness pervaded the political atmosphere. In Servia, Russia's endeavors were aided by the claims of Natalie that her divorce should be set aside, and that she be established in her natural authority over the young King, her son. Prince Ferdinand's position in Bulgaria continued as it was in 1889, and Stambouloff's power remained in the ascendant.

ALEXANDER, THE YOUNG KING OF SERVIA.

In 1891 there was a slight straining over Russian relations with Germany, on account of the failure of a proposed loan negotiation; and the cordiality of the French in the matter of money, as in other ways, evidently made a strong impression on the Czar. In internal affairs the persecution of the Jews continued, despite the protests of the civilized world, and the impression of a Russian character on Finland progressed rapidly. In Servia, Russian influence was injured by the forcible expulsion of Natalie, but in Bulgaria the growing unpopularity of Stambouloff was helpful to Russian desires.

The Premier showed great harshness in his measures, especially toward persons suspected of disloyalty; nor is this a cause for wonder, inasmuch as it was only the ignorance of the assassin that saved his life, M. Beltcheff being shot in his presence in his stead by mistake. So bitter did Stambouloff become that he caused the expulsion of a French journalist, Chadourne; an act thought by the French to be contrary to the capitulations, and by them resented to the extent of withdrawing their agent from Sofia, and sending a notification and protest to the Porte as the Suzerain of Bulgaria. In Roumania there were no important developments, notwithstanding the death of M. Bratiano.

In 1892 Russia continued to expel the Jews and to hoard gold, in preparation for a future war, while the ravages of cholera removed two hundred and fifty thousand persons, and the influenza aided the more virulent disease in its work of disaster. In addition, the failure of crops in many parts of the Empire brought great masses of the people perilously near to starvation. The natural result of such conditions was to make the Nihilists rampant in their destructive work, while all the people felt more severely than

ever the baneful effects of official corruption and exaction.

An instance of the extreme bitterness was manifested when, in March of 1893, the mayor of Moscow, M. Alexejeff, was assassinated by a workman, who hated the official because of the manner in which the poor were plundered. The Government, however, relieved the distress of many by pushing work on the construction of the great Transcontinental Railway, which now showed evident signs of future realization. In foreign relations the usual policy was pursued by the absorption of the khanate of Bokhara, thus bringing Russia to the Afghanistan frontier in India, and into direct contact with Great Britain. In European relations the policy seemed to lean toward alliance with Austria-Hungary, while the cordiality displayed in a visit of the Czarewitch to Berlin delighted the Germans and alarmed the French and English.

The precise part played by Russia in Servian affairs in 1893 is a matter much in doubt, but events there were of a decisive character. Early in the year there was a public reconciliation of the ex-King and his divorced wife, and soon after, on April 13, the young King Alexander executed a remarkable *coup d'état.* The ministry obtained a very uncertain majority in the March elections, whereupon the Cabinet so arranged the session as to exclude their adversaries to such an extent as to insure a majority. Thereupon the King summoned a meeting in the palace of the ministry, of his regents and household, and late in the evening notified them of his intention of assuming directly the reins of government, emphasizing his declaration by placing them under arrest for the night. He then proceeded to the barracks and received the oath of allegiance from the soldiers, and on the following day word to exact the oath was sent to all the headquarters of the troops in the kingdom. The whole matter was managed without any hitch, and the youth gained possession of his authority with the general approval of his subjects. Dr. Dokitch, his old tutor, was Prime Minister, although the Premier's illness in October gave the influential post to General Gruitch.

In Bulgaria and Roumania the most important of political happenings were nuptial. Ferdinand strengthened his position by his marriage to the Princess Marie Louise, of the House of Bourbon, she being the daughter of the Duke of Parma; and the Roumanian Ferdinand, Heir Apparent to the throne, delighted his subjects by espousing the Princess Marie of Edinburgh, the child of the marriage of Prince Alfred of Great Britain to the only daughter of Alexander II. of Russia. The most lamented event of this year in Bulgaria was the death of Prince Alexander. This was followed in 1894 by a death of vast importance in Russia, that of the Czar Alexander III., who died October 31, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II. The accession of the new ruler was hailed with anticipations of milder sway, hopes well justified on the occasion of his marriage, November 27, to the Princess Alix of Hesse, when he challenged the loyalty of his subjects by omitting, for the first time in years, the barriers of soldiers between Czar and people.

Another matter of importance that distinguished 1894 was the discovery of a northeast passage by an English sailor, Captain Wiggins, who had been searching for it for years. He passed around the north coast of Norway, through the narrow Yugor Strait, traversed the Kara Sea and Arctic Ocean, entered into the Yenisei River, and thus completed a passage to Siberia, that, he declared, was available and safe during all the summer months, and opened to the world all the vast and rich tracts of Siberia.

Affairs were satisfactory to Russian interests in Bulgaria, inasmuch as M. Stambouloff resigned on account of the Russian sympathies of Ferdinand, and was succeeded by M. Stoiloff. The former Premier was so violent in his attacks on his Prince that he was arrested, and, when bailed, had difficulty in escaping the violence of an angry mob. In Servia, too, affairs were unstable, Alexander executing another successful midnight *coup d'état*, and changing, in January, M. Simitch's premiership for that of M. Nikolaievich.

The divorce of the royal parents was declared void; but a class of agitators refused to yield to the charm of domestic harmony now dominant in the kingdom, whereupon Alexander executed, on May 21, yet a third *coup d'état* at his favorite nocturnal hour, abolishing the Constitution and restoring the more autocratic instrument of 1869.

The following year was one of consternation in Bulgaria, though one of triumph for Russian interests, since, on July 15, M. Stambouloff, the ex-Premier, was shot and stabbed in the streets of Sofia, dying of his wounds three days later. The event shocked Europe, and much suspicion of Russia was provoked by the tragedy; for it was thought that the assassination was deliberately conceived by the Muscovite government. Nothing occurred, however, to confirm the suspicion, only the Russian influence in Bulgaria was now unhampered by the intelligence and force of its bitterest antagonist. Meantime, in Russia, conditions were peculiarly distressful. The Nihilists, on August 19, blew up the barracks at Taola, killing three hundred persons. The police redoubled their endeavors against this sort of crime, and on September 6 nine hundred persons were arrested on suspicion in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The terrorism of the agitators was again displayed in Poland, where an incendiary fire at Przytyk left four thousand citizens homeless.

CZAR NICHOLAS II.

The Cabinet suffered in 1895 by the death of M. de Giers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and again, in 1896, by the death of Prince Lobanoff-Rostovsky, who succeeded to the Foreign Ministry. In the same year died the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Church in all Russia, Isaac Elchonon.

In 1896, Russia was credited with having obtained an understanding with the Sultan, whereby she gained a free passage of the Dardanelles, control of the Black Sea, and actual suzerainty over European Turkey. This success was increased by the betrothal of the Princess Hèlène of Montenegro to King Alexander, by which the alliance of Russia and Servia was confirmed, and by England's consenting to a Russian lease for twenty years of a Chinese port at the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

The glory and the horror of the year came in the coronation of the Czar; the glory, because May witnessed the most imposing fêtes in Russian history; the horror, for the same month witnessed the destruction at those fêtes of more than a thousand human lives. Nicholas II. was crowned at Moscow, May 26, with the most splendid ceremonies of modern times. On May 30, in a panic of the crowds in the people's fête on the plains around Moscow, one thousand five hundred persons were trampled to death. The dismay, caused by a casualty so fearful,

CORONATION OF CZAR NICHOLAS II.—METROPOLITAN OF ST. PETERSBURG ANOINTING THE CZAR IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ASCENSION, AT MOSCOW.

can hardly be conceived. It cast a gloom over all the world, while it filled Russia with lamentations, little lessened by the bounty of the Autocrat, who gave one thousand roubles to each family sustaining a loss, besides paying for the burial of the dead. The event was one of those for which it is impossible to fix the particular blame; but it was at least an evidence of a disastrous social condition when the poverty, the ignorance, and the hunger of the masses were such as to make them, in their frantic desire of gifts, rush over one another in such mad fury as to tread under their feet and destroy hundreds of their fellows. It was with something of relief that the Czar and Czarina left the scene of such calamity, in August, for at our through Europe, including in their itinerary Austria, Germany, Denmark, Great Britain, and France.

THE CZARINA.

After this episode, the Czar returned to his northern capital and began to be Emperor of all the Russias. Two years previously, he had taken for his spouse the Princess Alix of Hesse, granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Meanwhile, partly in virtue of the situation, and partly in virtue of his humane disposition, and partly because of the traditional aptitude of the Czars each to reverse the policy of his predecessor, Nicholas decided as one of the first acts of his reign to abate the persecutions which had long been prevalent. These were directed against two general classes of his subjects. First, the malcontent—mostly Polish and Lithuanian—part of the population which had contributed in past years so many of its representatives to the Siberian snows; and secondly, the Jews.

One half of the persecution had political insurgency as its motive; the other half had religious animosity as its basis. There was a suggestion that the happy Czar, rejoicing in the birth of an heir to the throne, would fain emphasize his boreal ecstasy by relaxing somewhat the rigors which had been laid upon the unhappy. Accordingly, in the early part of 1896, the Procurator General of the Holy Synod transmitted to the Minister of the Interior a ukase in which the more complete assimilation of the frontier population with what was designated as "the heart and core of Russia" was declared to be the imperial policy.

The document also alleged that extraordinary measures of repression by the authori-

ues *need no longer be taken*, and that the Minister of the Interior should, in a word, refrain from further persecution. This edict was directed to the Minister Pobedonostzeff, who had for some time acted as persecutor-in-chief of the Russians. That the young Czar should venture to reverse the policy of such an official was a clear indication of the purpose of the former to distinguish his reign as that of the Emperor of Peace.

The middle of the year 1896 may be noted as the time of the revival or growth of Russian interest in the countries of Eastern Africa. This interest centered in Abyssinia. It cannot be doubted that the bottom motive of Russian adventure into this quarter of the globe was the desire to establish a bond between the Greek Catholic Church and the Christian Churches of Abyssinia. There were many reasons for creating and cultivating such a tie. If Russia could succeed in winning over the Christians of Abyssinia to her own faith, she might then with a show of reason assume toward the country the same attitude which she held toward Montenegro and the other protected states of the Danube and the Balkans. Indeed, she began to do this. It was a process worthy of her craft.

At length, when King Menelek won his victory over the Italians, the event was hailed at St. Petersburg as though it had been a triumph of Russian arms. The Czar made haste to confer on his favorite foreign prince the decoration of the Russian cross. And in this sentiment the French participated, for the Franco-Russian Alliance grew in strength and tenacity. One great drawback upon the establishment of a powerful Russian interest on the Red Sea coast, and still further south, was the relative weakness of the Russian navy, and the fact that Abyssinia is an inland nation without ports and seaboard.

Meanwhile, the labor question in Russia continued to be as rife and as fruitful of results as in any other country of the world. Russia, like the United States, is an agricultural country. Unlike the United States, she has not been threatened as yet with the absorption of her population in great municipalities. The land question, therefore, continues to be the paramount interest under discussion. The epoch which we here consider showed several results of an attempt under encouragement from the Government to establish and extend peasant proprietorship to the public lands.

As far back as 1883, an institution called the Peasant Bank was established, having in view the furnishing of facilities to the common people for getting possession of the lands. The law was to the effect that any intending proprietor or purchaser of land as a home for himself could do so by providing in money one fourth of the value of the land

KING MENELEK OF ABYSSINIA.

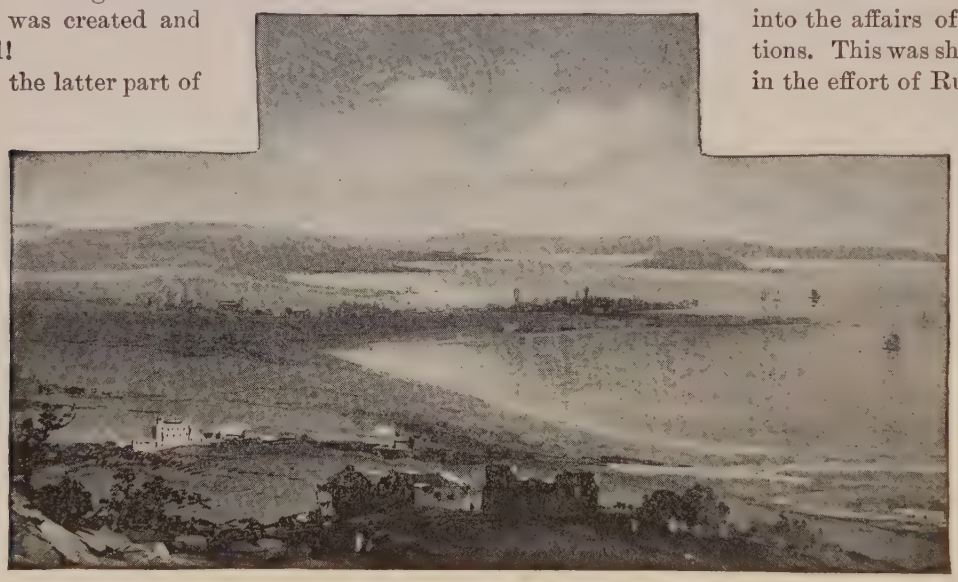
to be bought. The other three fourths of the purchase money should be furnished by the State. In the course of about ten years, it was found that more than two hundred thousand peasant families had availed themselves of the advantages thus offered. Two million three hundred thousand acres of freehold had been acquired, and this generally on the outskirts of the settled districts where the lands were cheapest. The sparsely inhabited parts were thus furnished with a population so that the movement of the people was *away from* rather than *toward* the towns and cities.

Seeing the success of the Peasant Bank,

and the beneficial results to the State, the Russian nobility established another financial institution of like character for their own advantage; but the strange thing about these trial schemes was that while the enterprise of the peasants was successful, that of the nobility proved to be abortive. By the middle of the last decennium, it was found that the nobles had not in fact increased their landholding to any appreciable extent. More than this, it was found that they had placed mortgages on from sixty to seventy per cent. of the land which they possessed before their banking institution was created and tried!

In the latter part of 1896, the rumor was revived of a secret treaty between Russia and China, whereby the former should gain by the concession of the latter a seaport free from ice which should be the eastern terminus of the proposed Siberian Railway. On the occasion of the journey of Li Hung Chang around the world, he paused at Moscow, where he had extensive conferences with the Czar, but the results reached were not authoritatively promulgated. It was, however, given out that the concession of a port to Russia did not look to Port Arthur, though that point might well appear to be the most eligible terminus for the Siberian line. Port Arthur remained for the time being in the keep of the Japanese; to hurry them out and admit the vanguard of the Czar's railway builders would seem to be an affront to the late conquerors of China. The pacific and commercially disposed Czar would not by preference give offense to any; so the point selected for his exit to the Pacific was a harbor near the mouth of the Yalu River. Not indifferently did Great Britain and the other Western powers look on while this business was under negotiation.

Ever and anon in the period under consideration, the religious interests in the larger sense were obtruded into the affairs of nations. This was shown in the effort of Russia to gain for the Greek Church a complete ascendency in Bulgaria. That country has long constituted a part of the religious water-shed between Rome and Moscow. The Bulgarian Church, as such, belongs to the dominion of the Czar and his metropolitans, but the Roman Catholic Church is prevalent in many parts of the country. Prince Ferdinand himself belonged to this communion, and the religious division between him and the Czar had a tendency to prevent Bulgaria from a complete assimilation with the Empire. Russian influence prevailed, however, to the extent of having the child Prince Boris, heir of Ferdinand and therefore in expectancy of



CITY AND HARBOR OF PORT ARTHUR.

the Bulgarian throne, baptized into the fellowship and communion of the Greek Church. So far as Ferdinand was concerned the change was one of polity and politics, rather than of conviction and religious preference. In the spring of 1896, it thus came to pass that the heir apparent to the throne of the Bulgarian principality became a Greek Catholic, with the expectation of the managers that in time to come he would be a faithful subordinate of the Czar.

It was at this period that the international understanding became emphatic between Russia and France. Notwithstanding the diversity of temper and contradiction of institutions in the two countries—notwithstanding the paradox which from a historical point of view appeared in the very phrase, Franco-Russian alliance—that fact became recognized as a fact, and as such came to be the basis of other facts in various quarters of Europe. The arch of internationality, standing like a sunbow, one foot in the snows of Russia and the other in the vineyards of France, overspanned the German Empire and several other intermediate powers.

With the appearance of this phenomenon, Great Britain became first curious and then interested. All the other powers from Norway to Portugal, from Finisterre to Greece, looked on with wonder while the miracle was accomplished. What did it signify? It signified that the old balance of power in Europe, though as vital as ever, was distrusted by all the principal parties thereto. It was a partnership which could not be dissolved without the ruin of the firm; but in the meantime, partners A and C secretly leagued in order to keep partners B and D from combining against either! All the while partners E, F, and G beat around the heavy members of the firm to find hiding places and points of vantage for the preservation of their respective fortunes. For this reason the German Empire hugged Austria and Italy, one in either arm, and called them brothers of the Dreibund.

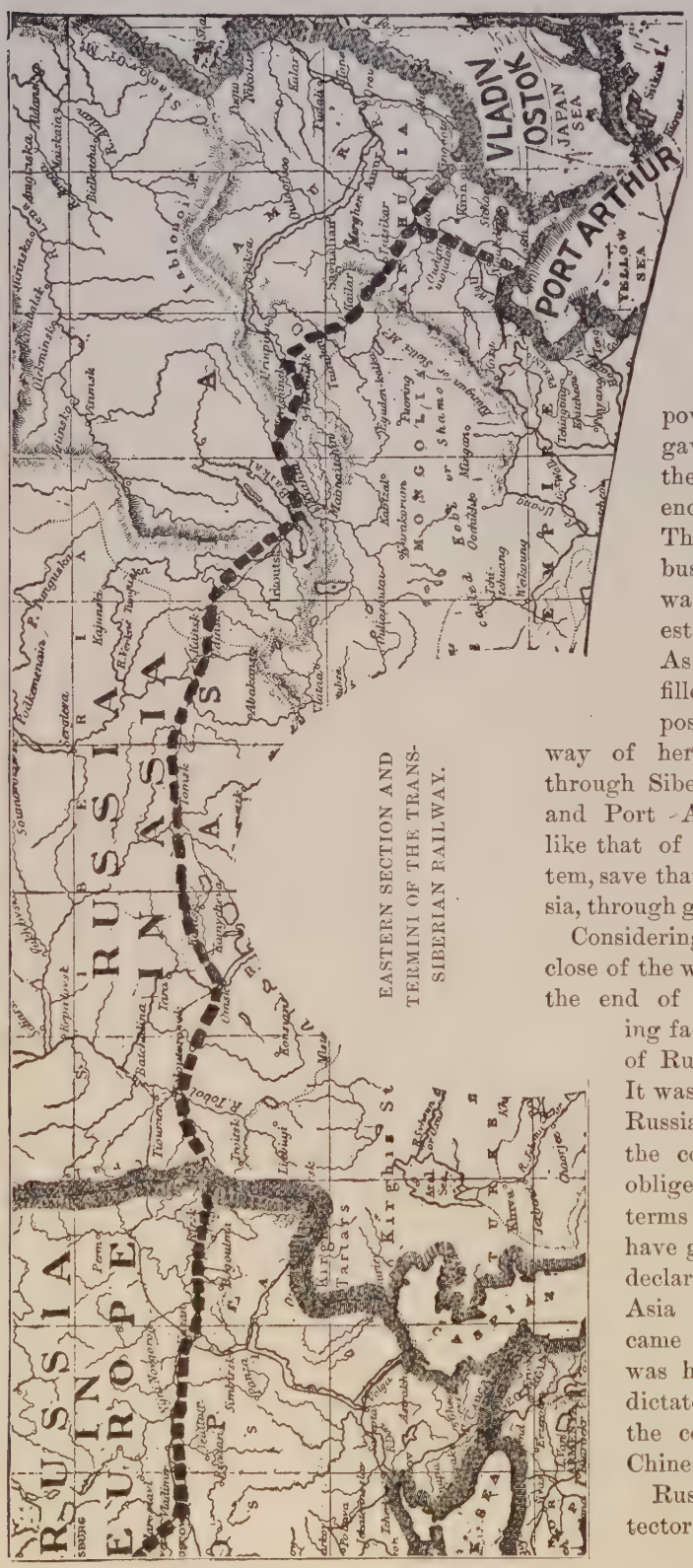
Meanwhile, however, the Czar began to prepare his proclamation of peace. Soon after the beginning of his reign, he made that tour of the Western states to which we have frequently referred. He visited all the principal capitals, and conferred both socially and politically with the heads of governments in every important quarter of Europe. To what extent he, at this early period of his career, gave out the doctrines of peace with which his name was subsequently associated, is not known. But on the whole, his tour of Europe tended to amity and conservatism.

In the last month of 1896, international busybodies were stirred up, first with the publication, then with the contradiction, and finally with the reaffirmation of the fact of a Russo-Chinese secret treaty, involving the concession by China to Russia of a right of way and sea-coast terminal for the Siberian Railway. There could be no doubt that the Czar was reaching out for influence in the direction of the Chinese coast. The report went abroad of a project to establish Russian schools in Peking. The policy was to press the Russian ascendency as much as it would bear without awakening the antagonism of the Western nations.

In the early part of 1897, the line of the Siberian railway was provisionally determined from Blagoveshchensk in a southerly direction through Manchuria, and thence in an easterly course to the sea at Vladivostock, at the mouth of the Ussuri River. A provisional line was at the same time surveyed in a southwesterly course from Kirin, in the heart of Manchuria, to Talien-wan and Port Arthur. It was thus that the foundation was laid for that extreme jealousy which the German Empire soon exhibited toward Russia—a jealousy which led, as we have already seen, to the conquest and colonization of Kiao-Chau, with the acquisition of four hundred square miles of territory.[1]

In course of time, a fuller knowledge was gained of the almost alarming extent of the concessions recently made by the Chinese Empire to the Czar. The concessions amounted to a virtual protectorate of the greater part of northern China. Russia was permitted to send into this territory such

[1] See page 235.



EASTERN SECTION AND TERMINI OF THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

forces as she might choose to send, and to raise and equip Chinese levies. She might also develop the mines and, by implication, the agricultural resources of the country over which her influence prevailed. She might, in certain contingencies, fortify Port Arthur and Talien-wan. China bound herself not to cede the strategical points referred to, to any other power. And Russia, for her part, gave a counter pledge to defend the vantage points against the encroachment of any foreign force. The great importance of the whole business, however, lay in the railway communication which was established under the compact. As soon as the same should be fulfilled, Russia would control and possess an all-through line of railway of her own gauge from Moscow through Siberia and Manchuria to Peking and Port Arthur! The enterprise was like that of our own Pacific railway system, save that it extended, in the case of Russia, through great reaches of foreign territory.

Considering the whole period, from the close of the war between China and Japan to the end of the century, the one prevailing fact is the imminent ascendency of Russia in both Europe and Asia. It was the threatening aspect of the Russian naval power which stayed the conquering hand of Japan, and obliged her to concede to China terms which she would not otherwise have granted. As soon as peace was declared, the Russian evolution in Asia proceeded evenly. Russia became the paramount power, and she was henceforth able in a measure to dictate the antecedent conditions of the coming dismantlement of the Chinese Empire.

Russia became virtually the protector of both China and Korea.

Just in proportion as this power was established she became the enemy of Japan. Nor could it be said that in this aggrandizement and vast increment of power Russia had broken any of her treaty stipulations. She had simply advanced until, by the year 1898, the shadow of her hand lay all over the landscape of the East.

have an actual living faith which seizes the life and character and dominates all actions. They believe what they profess; that is the peculiarity of the Slavic race and its religion. That profound apathy and undeveloped hypocrisy which mark the Christian profession in the states of the West are not seen among the Russians. They are as sincere in their

By the courtesy of *Scientific American*.

ON THE LINE OF THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY—ROCK-CUT THROUGH THE URALS.

Meanwhile, in the heart of the Empire, two facts might be noted as peculiarly significant. One of these was the continued mastery of a religious faith over the minds of the people. At the close of the nineteenth century, Russia was by far the most religious country in the world. This is said of the heart of the matter. There were other countries in which the Roman Catholic pageant was more universal and more splendid; but the Russians

religion as in their business, and this cannot be said of any other civilized people

The other fact referred to is the deep foundation and powerful growth of socialism. This aspect of Russian life and practice is closely blended with the religious disposition. The social communities are as a rule powerfully religious. If Moscow may be described as the one holy city still remaining in Europe, it may also be described as the

native haunt of socialism. The industrial life has here taken on an aspect which has been called monastic. The manufacturing establishments are generally conducted on the religio-socialistic basis. The workmen employed are both lodged and fed from a common supply and by a common authority. The dormitories and refectories of the great manufactories are provided for all in common.

Thus a large silk manufactory, employing five thousand hands, will have connected with it fifteen or twenty dormitories, each of which furnishes sleeping accommodations for from two hundred to three hundred persons. The internal arrangement is similar to that of a hospital. The men's dormitories are separated from those of the women. A given number of the lodgers are assigned to one table, and on that table the apparatus for making tea, and indeed, all the supplying sources of food, are arranged. At the head of every bed are hung sacred images, and the atmosphere of the place is religious rather than secular. The whole establishment constitutes a kind of industrial monastery, which if the end of man be freedom can but be regarded as one of the most formidable nests of oppression in the world; while if the end of man be subjection and servitude, the workman monastery must be regarded as one of the ultimate institutions of mankind.

We have already mentioned the effort of Bulgaria to come to an understanding with Russia, and to gain the support of that great power by the initiation of Prince Ferdinand and his heir Boris into the Greek Catholic communion. The results, however, hardly seemed to answer to the expectation. On the outbreak of the war between Greece and Turkey, the Prince of Bulgaria again sought to take advantage of the schism of Europe, and to get for himself recognition as an independent sovereign. He would fain take rank with the rulers of Servia, Roumania, and Greece. He accordingly set out with his Prime Minister Stoiloff to visit several of the western capitals. He imagined that the rulers of the powers would

DVITCHY CONVENT IN THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

now be willing, while the Turk was grappling with the Greek, to grant him a crown.

But they all temporized with the Prince, awaiting the issue of the Græco-Turkish war. That conflict proved to be on the side of the Greeks a miserable fiasco. The Turkish army rushed on to complete and overwhelming success. This changed the aspect of affairs, and Prince Ferdinand, taking counsel of prudence rather than consistency, hastened to Constantinople and made his peace with Sultan Abdul to the best possible advantage. The *Kladdaratasch* caricatured the event in a cartoon, in which Prince Ferdinand, bending loyally forward, takes the hand of the Sultan, and to this is added the legend, "A crown is worth a kiss of the hand."

One feature in the general history of this period was the better understanding which the nations obtained of the bottom policy of the Russian Government and of the true character of the Russian people. It was seen that there was much of the conservative temper in the method and purpose of the Czar and his Government. The publicists of Europe and America began to examine critically the various measures which Russia had taken in the last decennium, and there could be found but few if any causes of complaint. It appeared, on the whole, that the internal industrial and social condition was the thing to which the imperial policy looked most of all. It was development *within*, which constituted the motive in nearly all that had been done. The foreign outreachings seemed to be contributory to internal strength. The Russian Government at this period was to a less degree than any other power under the dominion of that insidious plutocracy which has established itself throughout Western Europe and America.

Another fact of no less importance came out as a result of better information, and that was the superior character of the Russians as a people. This character was made known by international travel, by correspondence, by reviews in the great periodicals of Europe and America. In April of 1898, an article appeared in the "Contemporary Review" under the title of "Russia and the Balance of Power," in which the critic passing from political and international questions speaks thus eulogistically of the Russian people:

PRINCE FERDINAND OF BULGARIA.

"I found that the Russians by temperament were without exception the gentlest, most easygoing, and humane nation in Europe—and I have seen them all. Their defects are many, but the leading feature in the Russian character, high and low, which stands above faults of which they have their full share, is an enthusiastic, generous humanity, easily moved to sadness and tears; full of expansive gratitude for kindness; free from meanness, pettiness, and cunning greed. In short, it struck me, the more I contemplated the Russian character, that they were the only people in Europe who possessed several of the better characteristics of ourselves. The Russians are not so fond of fair play, not so truthful, not so energetic, not so manly as we are; but, on the other hand, they are less hypocritical, more truly modest, gentler, more tender, more truly religious, more humane, and less brutal and violent in every way. This being so, I decline to believe that the Russian nation as a body, or the Russian Government as its representative—which shares the virtues and vices of that body—would ever lend itself heart and soul to an aggressive general war for mere purposes of spite and plunder; and in this matter, far inferior though the Russians are to their new allies in intelligence, wit, vivacity, and many other noble qualities, they are infinitely superior to the French. They are a juster race, with less venom."

COUNT LEO TOLSTOI,
Most Famous of Modern Russian writers.

For a certain time after the accession of Nicholas II. not much was known in the world at large about the character and purpose of the new autocrat. He was destined, in the summer of 1898, to make a revelation of himself in a manner as marvellous as it was unexpected. On the 28th of August in the year just referred to, the splendid monument to the memory of Alexander II. was dedicated at Moscow. Czar Nicholas was present in person to participate in the ceremonies commemorative of the life and work of his grandfather. For some time, the event had been in preparation, and it is likely that

Nicholas more than ever before had looked into the tendency and bottom facts in the history of his Empire. At any rate, he had made up his mind and prepared a *coup*.

Just before setting out from St. Petersburg to Moscow, the Czar called together the ambassadors from the principal states of Christendom, and made to them a manifesto which was of the most startling character. It was on the 24th of August that he handed to the representatives of the intolerable burden of taxation and the ravages of war. Nicholas suggested a great conference of the powers by their representatives at which the tremendous question which he proposed should be considered and decided.

There has not been in modern times a more striking lesson than was shown in the sequel. The Czar's proposal was received with a ripple of hollow approval in every capital of Europe and America. Then each

OLD RESIDENCE OF THE ROMANOFF CZARS, MOSCOW.

the great powers, the paper which he had prepared, perhaps without consultation with anyone except his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Muravieff, whose ascendency began at this time to be felt in the diplomacy of Europe. The Czar, in his paper, proposed that there should be a universal disarmament, and a permanent peace throughout the world. He gave assurance that the Russian Empire would coöperate with the other great nations in disbanding their enormous armies, thus relieving the producers of all countries from

of the powers waited to see what the others would do. Each waited to consider how a measure of disarmament would affect the prospects of the political parties which were in control of the several governments. Each expressed its favor in a manner to make practical endorsement possible if the tide should turn in that direction, and to make a way of escape if the measure should fail.

But there was no substantial and practical endorsement of the Czar's overture. He left it with the ambassadors to be transmitted to

their respective governments. On the 29th of August, the manifesto was published in the United States. Our country was at that time in a war grapple with Spain. A protocol, however, had been agreed to, and peace was imminent. None the less, the delights and advantages of war, the splendor of military pageantry, the supposed power of armies and fleets, were too great to permit even the American Republic to aid the Czar in filling up the bloody abyss of the ages. It seems to be one of the marvels of the nineteenth century that the greatest autocrat of all should have made an overture of peace which was held off and coldly considered as a merely academic proposition by the newest and best republics.

The proposition of the Czar was nominally accepted, as it must needs be, by all the leading powers, but it was really approved by none. The Hague was selected as the place for the holding of the international peace congress, and the 22d of May, 1899, was named as the date for the beginning of the discussions. The President of the United States appointed as American representatives Andrew D. White, late minister of our Republic to Russia; Stanford Newell, minister of the United States to the Netherlands; Captain Alfred T. Mahan of the American navy, and President Seth Low of Columbia College.

By the time of the beginning of the conference any belief which may have existed in the efficacy of the movement had, in large measure, given place to incredulity. Already each nation had fixed its attention on the problem of advantage, and it was said that in the Czar's own country all hope of a successful issue had been abandoned. With the opening of the congress, the first report given out was to the effect that the project of disarmament was no longer seriously considered, but that Great Britain and the United States would jointly offer a substitute for the proposal of the Czar in the form of a paper for the establishment of a court of international arbitration as a means of settling important questions arising among the powers. The apprehended negative result, so far as disarmament was concerned, was clearly to be found in the fact that the so-called Christian nations of the world are still so profoundly immersed in the passions, so subordinated by the methods, and so given over to the brutalities of the Middle Ages, that they PREFER to retain war as the principal function for the display of political strength and the increase of national glory.

CHAPTER CLXVI.—TURKEY, GREECE, AND AFRICA.

TURKEY suffered, in 1889, from the disturbances in Crete, caused by misrule and feuds between the Christian and Moslem inhabitants. Chakir Pasha, the Governor appointed by the Porte, armed the Mussulmans in the towns, and acts of violence followed. In order to quiet the island, the appointing of a Christian Governor was agreed upon; but the agreement was violated. In Armenia, affairs were vastly worse. The Turks wholly failed to adhere to the promised reforms, and were unwilling, if not unable, to prevent atrocious assaults by the Kurds upon the Christian population and the perpetration of frightful massacres. The Porte's real attitude toward the violence was shown in the permitted escape of Moussa Bey, the chief offender in the massacres.

The Powers of Europe quite failed to take any measures effectually to prevent, even to limit, the outrages, and they continued, hardly checked in any way, through 1890 and 1891. In 1891 died Musurus Pasha, famed as the Turkish Minister to England, and for his translation of Dante's "Divine Comedy" into Greek. All of the years since have shown a continuation of the horrors of

persecution in Armenia, with intermittent imitations in other parts of the Sultan's domains. The atrocities in 1895 reached such a point that the Powers made a naval demonstration before Constantinople on December 12, yet the other nations of the world have done practically little to relieve the peril of the Christian Armenians.

The massacres in Armenia, extending from October 1st of 1895 to January, 1896, were among the greatest atrocities of modern times. What were the causes? The Turkish official reports glozed the matter over. It became necessary for the Sultan's Government to do as much as it might to exaggerate the causes and excuses for the persecution, and at the same time to minify the persecutions themselves.

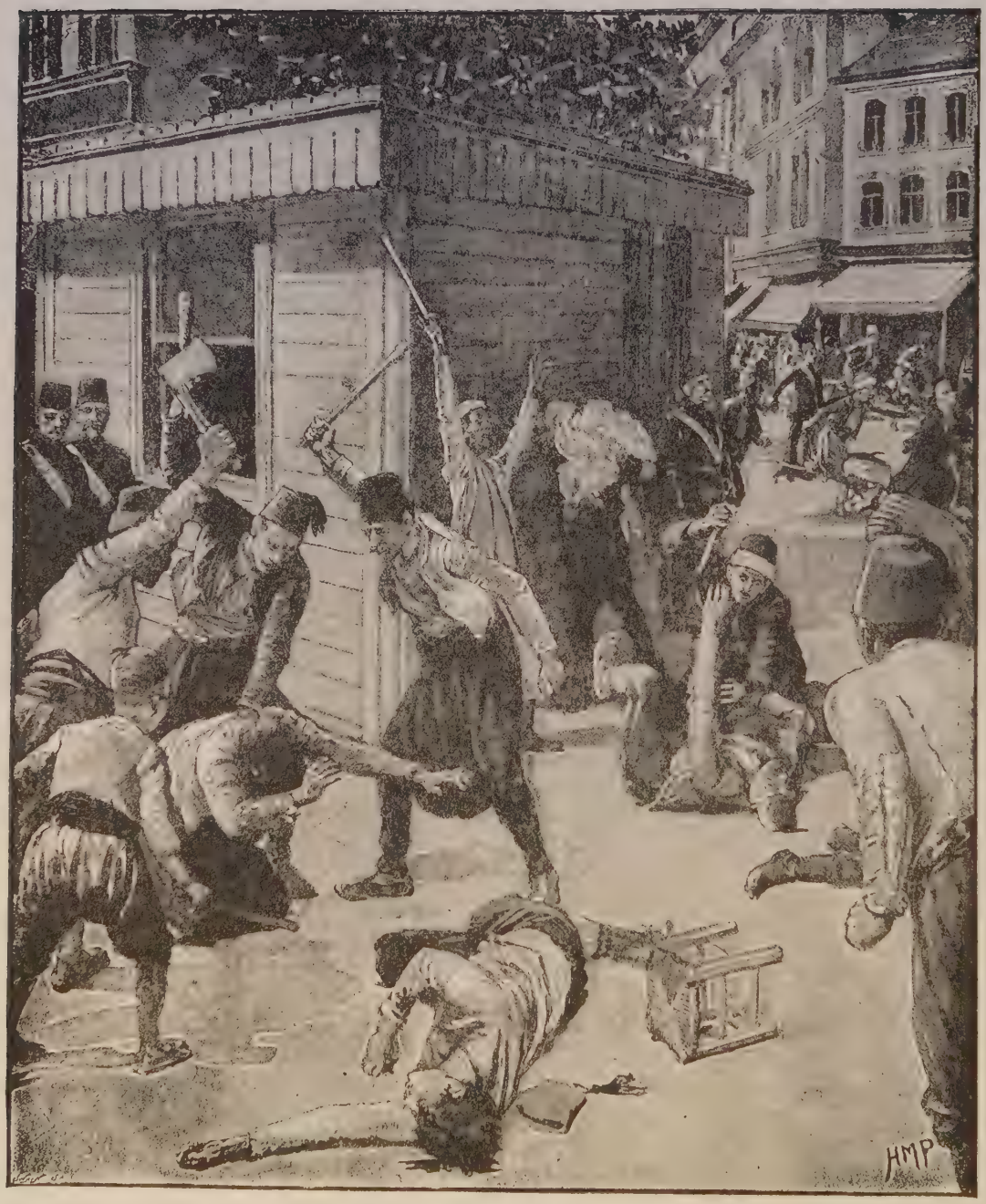
The investigations of foreign travellers showed that in September of 1895 some young Armenian patriots, though warned by the patriarch and the police not to attempt such an act, undertook to bear a modest petition to the Grand Vizier. For such a step, they could plead precedent and custom. But in the present temper their action could not be tolerated; it was constructive insurrection. It also appeared that the mountaineers of Zitun had expelled a Turkish garrison from its district, but they had not behaved with inhumanity nor had they used more force or pressure against the soldiers than was necessary to drive them forth.

It was found out likewise by impartial investigation that certain individual Armenians, driven to desperation by the abuses to which they had been subjected, had counseled the people to correct the abuses of the administration by violent measures. But beyond these minor offences and occasional individual crimes, the Turks could not allege any valid reasons for the atrocities which they inflicted.

There were six provinces in Armenia in which the outrages were perpetrated. In these, massacre became the order of the day. A band of about two thousand Kurdish and Circassian raiders were loosed upon the Armenian population. Only the Armenians were robbed and butchered. The Greeks and other alien peoples were carefully spared. The victims offered little resistance. When there was resistance, the massacre was only the more outrageous. In such cases, the dead were mangled beyond recognition. The massacre was accompanied with almost universal robbery. The Kurds came down on hundreds of villages, shooting, and swinging swords, clubs, and pickaxes, killing at random.

CHAKIR PASHA.

The persecution was directed most of all against the upper caste in Armenian society. The aim was to destroy all men of business,



MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS IN THE STREETS OF GALATHA.

whose capacity and intelligence might qualify them for leadership. Beyond the six provinces that were ravaged, the cities of Trebizond, Marash, Intab, Cesarea, were visited and pillaged by the raiders, who killed and robbed at will. It was estimated that in three months fully fifty thousand people, mostly well-to-do citizens and their families, were butchered. About three hundred and fifty thousand were rendered homeless or reduced to starvation. The property plundered or destroyed was estimated at forty million dollars.

The result of the outrages of the Turks in Armenia was the production of a feeling of extreme resentment and animosity throughout the nations. There was an expectation of interference with the Sultan and his provincial administration. In Great Britain, the national feeling flamed up to the point of combustion. The newspapers of all Christendom raised a howl, and the poets of Europe and America broke out in their usual cheap manner for and against the Sultan.

There was, however, no serious movement on the part of any power to interfere with the Porte. The reason was not far to seek. The European nations had their concert. The support of the status in quo was a part of the league which was tacitly, almost openly, agreed to in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin. The Liberal party in Great Britain urged on the Government to interfere on behalf of the Armenians. That was because the Liberal party was not in power, and because in this manner the national prejudice might be turned against Lord Salisbury and his administration.

In the United States, the rising imperialists urged our Government to precipitate itself into Asia Minor; to demand indemnity for buildings and property said to have been destroyed in Harpoot; to establish consulates at that place, and at Erzeroum; to increase the navy, and to send a squadron into Turkish waters—all this with a view, not of punishing the Turk, but of getting our Government still further entangled in the affairs of the Old World. At this time, the administration of Cleveland had not expired. That chief magistrate gave no encouragement to the schemes which were hatched for embroiling our country in the affairs of the East, and the Ministry of Salisbury held on in its course of remonstrating with the Sultan, but of refusing to interfere in a more forceful manner.

The outrages in Armenia had a strange sequel in Constantinople. In August of 1896, a company of twenty Armenians, anxious to protest with their lives against the existing order, and to make their exit from the Sultan's dominions, armed themselves with revolvers and quietly entered the Imperial Ottoman bank at Constantinople. Once within, they began firing, and to complete the terror exploded a bomb. The clerks quailed before the intruders; some fled, and forty were imprisoned. Two of the directors were caught and held as hostages. Then a dynamite charge was placed in the basement. The leaders appeared at the windows and swore that they would blow the bank and themselves out of existence if the outside powers did not treat with them and agree to their demands. For several hours they held the authorities at bay. Troops gathered and shattered the windows with shot. But the desperadoes held their ground until the authorities were obliged to promise them safe conduct out of Turkey. A compact was made to this effect, and the bank was given up. The dynamite was taken out of the basement, and the Armenians were escorted to the yacht of Sir Edgar Vincent.

Hereupon the Turkish rage broke out beyond control. The people began to attack and kill the Armenians without respect to whether or not they had participated in the act of violence. The onset grew into a fury, and the fury spurted blood. The foreign ambassadors in Constantinople sought to appease and stay the mob. After the rage was over, they furnished an estimate of the slain Armenians at five thousand.

The desperate condition of affairs throughout the Sultan's dominions provoked at this epoch a renewal of the suggestion to divide Turkey among the powers, and thus reform what could not otherwise be amended. It

was a delicate business, for the Sultan himself could never assent, and he had the pledge of the Powers, not only to let him alone, but to support him. Besides, though not a European himself, he knew enough of European diplomacy and intrigue to understand that mutual jealousies would keep the nations from attempting his own dismemberment. Nevertheless the busybodies went ahead to discuss the break-up and partition Salamanca. Albania was to be given to Italy. Asia Minor should go to Russia. France should have Syria, and England should have Egypt. In this manner, the Sultan was to be dispossessed—only the thing was not done or attempted.

When the McKinley administration was instituted at Washington, a new corps of diplomats was named as the representatives of the United States at foreign courts

ARMENIAN QUARTER IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

of the Ottoman Empire. This power was to receive so much; another power should receive thus much, and so on until the Turk should be despoiled.

When the Grand Duke Nicholas, soon to become Czar of Russia, visited Vienna, in the after part of 1896, the rumor was busily circulated that he and the Emperor of Austria were engaged in arranging the schedule of dismemberment. According to the scheme, Austria was to be permitted to spread out to Among the ambassadors so appointed, was President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, who was nominated and confirmed as the American representative at Constantinople. At that capital the question was raised as to whether Dr. Angell's religious views were such as to be acceptable at the court of the Vicegerent of the Prophet. The gravamen of Angell's offending was that he was a member of the Congregational communion in the United States!

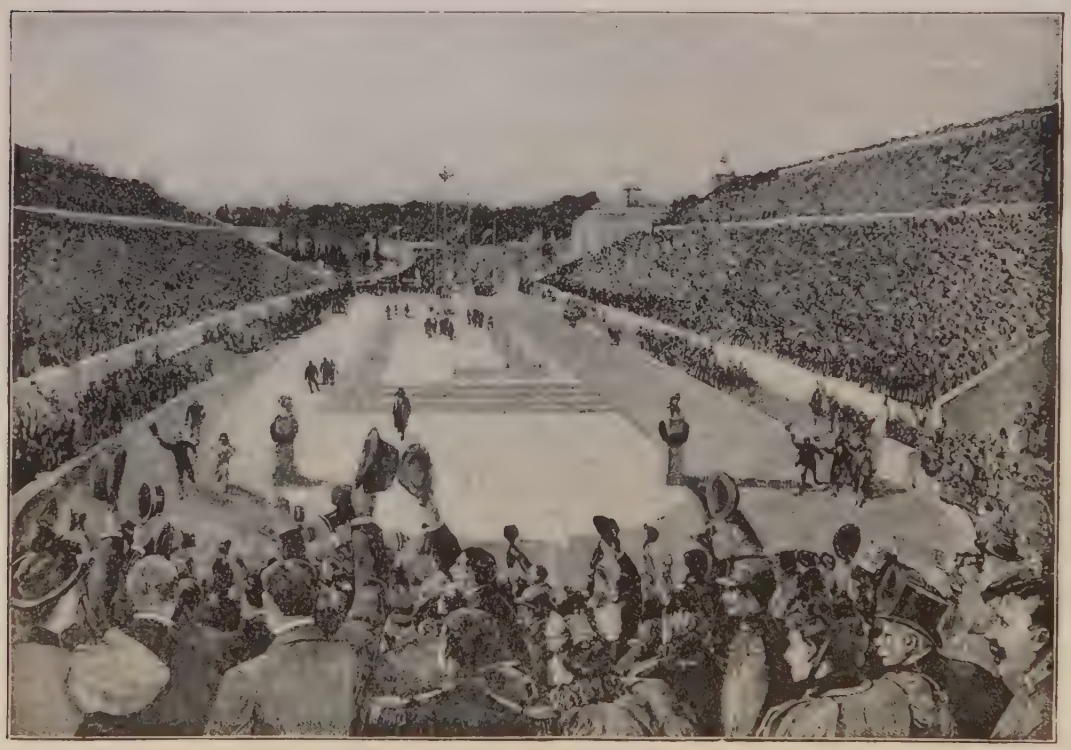
The alien character of Turkish civilization and the jar of Turkish institutions on the institutions of Christendom led publicists at this period to examine somewhat critically the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire. One branch of inquiry looked to the discovery of such privileges and immunities as the Sultan's Government gave to citizens of other countries including our own. It was found that the concession of right to foreigners was more considerable and satisfactory than had been expected. According to the rules and principles prevailing in the last years of the century, the subjects or citizens of other nations might freely enter Turkish territory and travel there, whether for trade or the gratification of personal tastes. The same privilege was extended as to the navigation of Turkish waters. Not only so, but the citizens of other states might follow the customs (including the religious rites) and the performance of duties in the manner prescribed by their own country and their own church. Sojourners were exempt from taxation and tribute, except those customs duties which, like the rain and the dew, fall alike upon the evil and the good.

In the matter of civil and criminal action arising with a fellow countryman every foreigner might be judged by the ambassador of the nation to which he belonged, and the local authorities might be

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BOSPHOROS.

called upon to assist in enforcing the judgment. In general the duties and prerogatives of consuls were the same as those of like officers in the Christian states. The foreigner's domicile was inviolable. Bequests and the administration of intestate estates might be made under the consular seal. Nor might foreign visitants in the Sultan's dominions rightfully complain of any unjust or unnecessary restrictions.

Facts like these tended to emphasize the contradictory opinions which have prevailed respecting the Turks in modern times. The abuses of the administration in the outlying provinces of the Empire gave occasion for constant and bitter criticism. Many of these had their beginning in the abuses themselves, and many more had their origin in the disposition which the modern political nations have all discovered to distract the attention of their subjects by attending to each other's business instead of their own. This is a universal rule which they have all adopted. Almost every modern monarchy rests on a volcano. But the explosion is hindered and postponed by finding crevices deep down in the subterranean structure through which the lava of hatred and discontent may relieve itself by spurting its fire and smoke and scoria into the precincts of some other nation afar. The great historical question of our age is how long this game of deception and profound hypocrisy can be kept up. How long will the peoples of the world continue to be appeased with the story of distant outrages, while the story of black wrong and injustice and cruelty issuing from the hovel near by is unheard, unheeded, or cried down the wind?



REVIVAL OF THE OLD OLYMPIC GAMES—CELEBRATION OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH OLYMPIAD.

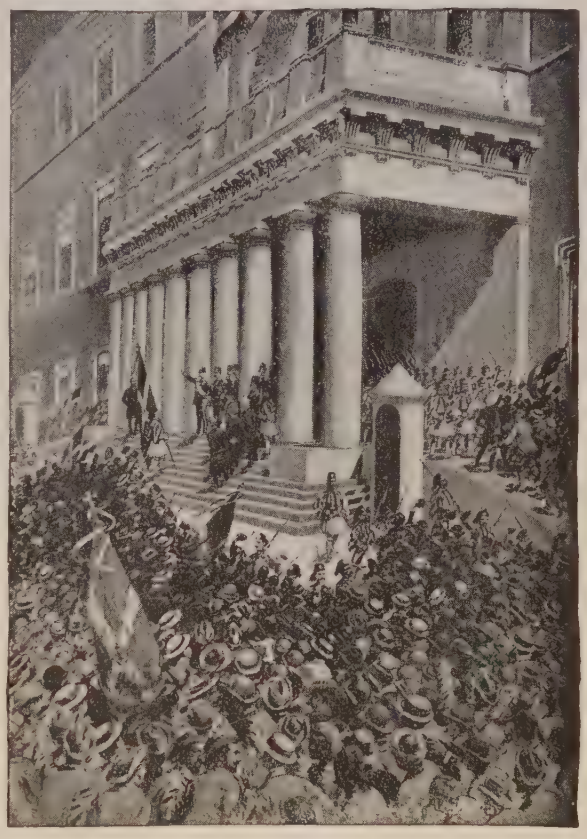
These considerations apply in particular to the Ottoman Empire. In many particulars, the Turks have held their own, and have even made great progress in the last quarter of our century. This was shown in particular by a comparison of the Turkish army, as the same emerged in the Greek war in 1897,

and the army as it was in the Turco-Russian war twenty years previously. It was found that at the later period the army had become, chiefly through the efforts of Osman and Ibrahim Pashas, one of the best equipped and best disciplined in Europe. All the modern appliances and concomitants of intelligent warfare had been found and utilized. The telegraph had been brought into requisition. The countries of Eastern Europe had been studied as to their topography, and war maps produced as accurate, if not as complete, as those of the Prussians. Sanitary regulations had been adopted for the preservation of health, outposts established, and watering places marked out for men and horses, so that the Greek campaign was conducted with a fatal precision and success withal not hitherto known in the history of the Turkish power.

The fall of M. Tricoupis, in 1890, gave the premiership of Greece to Delyannis, who remained at the head of affairs until 1892, when Tricoupis was restored by the general elections. This was brought about by the number of petty difficulties in which the rather bold policy of Greece had involved the country. The apparent character of Tricoupis was one of prudence. He palpably admitted his nation's weakness, and for its strengthening sought the good-will of Europe. The people felt that—for a time, at least—the policy of caution was the wiser, and therefore Delyannis fell. Unfortunately for Greece, the prudent Tricoupis was not in power when Greece, in 1896, began clamoring for war against the Turks, demanding the annexation of Crete, where the Christian inhabitants had risen in revolt against the misrule of the Turkish Governor, declaring that six thousand of their number had been butchered within a few months.

The disaster to the country entailed by the war with Turkey seems closer to the people of the United States, coming as it came soon after the revival of the old Olympic games, the seven hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad having been celebrated with great success at Athens from April 6 to 15, 1896.

To the year 1897 belongs the brief story of the Turco-Grecian war. This conflict, the history of which extends from February to May inclusive of the year just named, brought once more into strong relief the complicated and almost incomprehensible political state of Eastern Europe. The visible difficulty originated, as has been stated, in the island of Crete, but it had for its remoter origins the concert of Europe and a large section of modern history.



DEMONSTRATION BEFORE THE ROYAL PALACE AT ATHENS.

In the first place, Crete was a dependency of the Turkish Empire. There had been a rather strenuous rebellion of the people of the island, as far back as 1867, but the insurrection was suppressed. Eleven years after-

ward, at the Congress of Berlin, there had been a feeble contention that Crete should be united with the Greek monarchy—this on the basis of ethnic and institutional affinities. Crete was essentially a Greek country. It was Greek geographically, in population, and in religion. The Government was Turkish, and to that extent Mohammedan.

When the Greek monarchy was instituted, a number of outlying Hellenic parts, with a population of perhaps six million souls of the Greek stock were omitted from the Kingdom; that is, they were left as fragments of the Ottoman power. Such territories were Chalcis, the Ægean coast of Thrace, the European side of the Sea of Marmora, Smyrna, the western coast of Asia Minor, and the islands of Samothrace, Rhodes, etc., all of which were essentially Greek, though under Turkish dominion.

This gave rise to perpetual broils between the population of such countries and the powers that were over them. In Crete, the Christians who were Greek, and who constituted a great majority, desired to extinguish the Ottoman rule, and to get their island annexed to the Kingdom of the Hellenes. In February of 1897, there was a popular uprising against the Turks, who were accused of oppression and outrages. The Ottoman authorities, on the other hand, charged home upon the rebels that their insurrection was causeless, except in their determination to overthrow the Government and secure annexation to Greece.

FLEET OF THE ALLIED POWERS IN THE HARBOR OF CANEA, CRETE.

This condition of affairs gave rise to the Cretan war. The Greek Government espoused the cause of the rebels, and sent an army, or a division of an army, under Colonel Vassos to their support. The insurrection gathered head, and the Turkish authorities were confined to garrisons and seacoast towns. Hereupon there was an appeal to the great Powers. Foreign fleets were already

in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ægean. Certainly the Ottoman army would soon in turn attack the Greeks. The latter declared their willingness to undertake the government of Crete, but the Sultan had no notion of loosing his hold on that island.

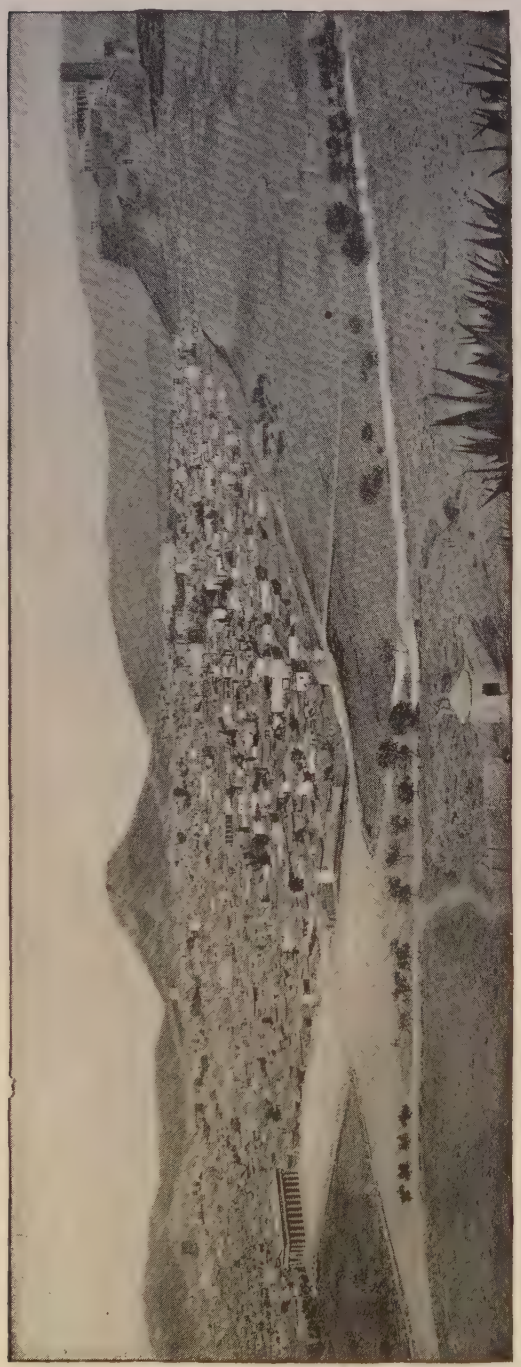
In this situation, the Powers made a manifesto *against* the rebellion; but the Cretans went on with their work. With this, the foreign fleets bore down on Crete and blockaded the island. Then a contingent from several of the foreign armies was sent into Crete as if to keep the peace, until the questions involved could be decided. The Ottoman Government by this time, however, was thoroughly aroused. An army was concentrated on the northern frontier of the Greek Kingdom, and an invasion of the country was undertaken on the side of Thessaly. This country was already claimed by the Greeks on the ground that it had been conceded to them by the Powers in conference at Berlin in 1878; and this was true. But the Turks had never surrendered Thessaly, and that classical country now became the scene of war.

THE PASS OF KASTRAKI, THESSALY.

The Turks advanced from the north under

LARISSA—HEADQUARTERS OF THE GREEK ARMY IN THESSALY.

command of Edhem Pasha. On the 17th of April, this commander was authorized to prosecute hostilities at his discretion. The Greek Minister was ordered from Constantinople, and the Turkish representatives at Athens were withdrawn. Invasion was begun in the direction of Larissa, and the Greeks were not able to stand against their assailants. One division of the Greeks made headway into Epirus, but the rising there was not sufficient to support the movement. In fact, the war in every part of the field went in favor of the Turks.



CITY OF ATHENS.

In less than a month disaster fell thick and fast on the Greek army in Thessaly. The Turks were greatly superior in numbers and discipline. Before long, it was seen that there was a want of union, concentration, and command on the Greek side. The scene of hostilities was in Athens itself, which was only a storm center for the complications of European diplomacy. When disaster came, a counter revolution broke out in the Greek Government. The ministry of Delyannis went to pieces, and the leader of the political revolt, named Ralli, was appointed in his stead; but no successful stand could be made against the Turks.

The Miluna passes which the Greeks had hoped to hold were soon carried by Edhem Pasha, who also gained possession of Valestino and Volo. This broke the Greek base of supplies. At Pharsalia the Greek army made its stand, and a severe battle occurred in which the Turks were completely victorious. The vanquished fell back to Domokos, where on the 17th of May, the decisive battle of the war was fought. The Turks, about fifty thousand strong, stormed the fortified position of the Greeks, drove out the defenders, routed them, and sent them in confusion toward Lamia and Thermopylæ.

In the meanwhile, all kinds of counter complications were pulling at the throne. The Grand Duke Constantine, Commander of the army and Crown Prince of the Kingdom, was denounced as incompetent. The King himself was driven, as well he might be, by all the winds of diplomacy. He was in such relations with the royal courts and families of Europe, that he could not command even himself—to say nothing of

the kingdom over which the Powers had set him. He had for his father and mother the King and Queen of Denmark. His uncle was the Russian Czar. His sister was the Dowager Empress of Russia. Another sister was the Princess of Wales. His wife was daughter of the Russian Grand Duke. His son Constantine, heir apparent to the Crown, had for his wife a sister of the wife of the Emperor Wilhelm of Germany!

With all these relatives, King George that in fact the general concert demanded that the war should end.

Accordingly there was an armistice, to which the beaten Greeks readily assented. The Turks at first made exorbitant demands, but the Powers interfered, and the status in quo was reëstablished. The insurrection in Crete was quieted, and the island was restored to the Sultan. On the whole, the war cast a glimmer of glory over the settling obscuration that was falling on the Ottoman Empire.

MUTINY OF EMIN PASHA'S MEN, 1888.

would fain be on terms of amity and good fellowship. For in case he should be overthrown, he must fall into their arms; therefore, being in war with the unspeakable Turk, he must be advised by them each after his kind, and he must try to please them all. So the Greek cause went to pieces. After the battle of Domokos, the Czar put out his hand, saying that the war had gone far enough. The Sultan was admonished that if he should march on Athens, the Bulgarian army would issue against him, and

Egypt is ostensibly a province of the Ottoman Empire, yet it is in reality a most important factor in the great African puzzle, toward the solution of which the Powers give more attention than to any specific detail of European territory. The British administration in Egypt had, in 1889, proved its worth by the improved financial condition of the country, and the need of its continuance was shown by the spirit of the fierce fanatics of the South, who were waiting with savage impatience for an opportunity to overwhelm the new civiliza-

tion with the devastations of their barbaric fury. Again and again the British forces stationed on the frontier were engaged in sharp contests with the raging natives, and again and again the Dervishes were driven back, until they were subdued for a time by the great victory over them in a battle in August, at Toski, where the English soldiers were led by Sir Francis Grenfell, and where the native chief, Wad el Njumi, was killed.

The concentration of Mahdist power in Khartoum caused disaster beyond the borders of Egypt itself; for in the spring the Abyssinians were defeated by the followers of the Mahdi, and the Negus, King John, was slain. Still further to the south the agitations of the natives finally destroyed the last vestiges of the work accomplished by the victories of Baker, Gordon, and their fellows. Slave-trade and the worst forms of aboriginal lawlessness reigned, too, in all the Soudan; Emin Pasha's equatorial province, after the mutiny of his forces, in 1888, lost every trace of the order instituted by its founder. Indeed, the slave-trade was rampant on the Congo side, and on the Zanzibar side as well; so that there was need of the hope caused by Cardinal Lavigerie's crusade against the evil, and by the resulting Anti-slavery Congress at Brussels.

The constant turmoils of the time did not involve the English alone. The Germans had severe fighting within their sphere of influence, wherein Major Weissman won much renown for the skill and courage he displayed in conducting a successful campaign. Despite victories, however, the whole region remained a prey to contentious sentiments, so that all commercial operations were hazardous and uncertain, and the work of missionaries on the East Coast became fraught with gravest peril.

Portugal at this time showed a disposition to develop into an African power, and to that end began operations that threatened injury to the English interests along the Zambezi and Shiré Rivers. Portugal seized the Delagoa Bay Railway, which an English company was constructing, and gave the continuance of the work to a Portuguese company, supported by German and Dutch capital. This movement indicated an intention to monopolize all the traffic between the Transvaal and the sea. These measures were taken in the early part of the year, and in the autumn they were followed by the establishment of a new Portuguese province inland, on the two banks of the Zambezi, by which other ingress to the interior was barred.

This step portended an early extension of the Portuguese sovereignty over all the territory between the two coasts, and the English Cabinet promptly protested. Diplomatic arguments followed between London and Lisbon, and while these were unfinished, word came of Major Serpa Pinto's attack on the Makololo—British allies—and of his intention to conquer the whole region, even to Lake Nyassa. These announcements fired Lord Salisbury with indignation, and warships were ordered to Delagoa Bay; while Portugal added to the trouble by bringing charges against the British consul and the missionaries.

During the same period, British interests were advancing in South Africa, and became important even in the Transvaal, though denied political expression at the hands of the Boers. At the Cape, the Africander movement was encouraged by the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, in opposition to the views of his Government; hence he was succeeded by Sir H. B. Loch, who had been Governor of Victoria, the governorship in Australia being given to Lord Hopetoun.

Financial affairs in Egypt were so satisfactory in 1890 that England repeated to France the request, refused in 1889, for a conversion of the debt, and France agreed to a three and one-half per cent. stock. Yet England's matters in Egypt were not wholly untroubled. The movements of the Dervishes above Wady Halfa and near Suakin were the source of much alarm, although there was no serious outbreak. The filibustering Portuguese, too, continued to exasperate the British authorities until they were at last recalled by their Government.

The most important event at this time was the Anglo-German agreement, by the terms

of which Germany surrendered Vitu and the region north of the British East African Company's territory and received a recognition of rights over the coast southwest from the Umba River to the Mozambique border. In the Hinterland, to Lake Tanganyika and the Congo State, the German influence was recognized within that vast territory bounded by a line through Victoria Nyanza and the Stevenson Road from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Nyassa. The British influence extended north from its former limit to the equatorial province and the head-waters of the Nile. England also received the right to open the country beyond her South African possessions toward Zambezi, with Ngamiland; while Germany was given access to the upper waters of the Nile by her acquisitions on the West Coast. France raised objections to the British protectorate in Zanzibar, whose Sultan died in 1890; but it was arranged that the English situation in Zanzibar and the French situation should be on the same footing, France gaining a sphere of influence in the Sahara, from the southern borders of Algeria to the upper Niger and Lake Tchad. After long diplomatic controversies, an adjustment with Portugal was reached, by which the Portuguese received all the territory on which they had actually entered; while Great Britain was permitted to colonize the central region to Congo State and the Stevenson Road, with authority over the Shiré Highlands and freedom on the lower Zambezi. When, however, this arrangement came before the Cortes in Lisbon for final consideration, it was defeated, and the ministry offering it was forced to resign.

PALACE OF THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, BEFORE DESTRUCTION BY ENGLISH BOMBARDMENT.

In South Africa, the event that was afterward to be found most important was the appointment of Cecil Rhodes, the head of the British South African Company, to be Prime Minister of Cape Colony.

In 1891 some uprisings were caused by the Dervishes; but the native troops, under

British officers, vanquished their opponents, capturing Tokar, and forcing the Sheiks to submission. The British protectorate was formally established, and an Anglo-Portuguese convention completed the distribution of the spheres of influence. In East Africa the British Company defeated the rebels of Uganda, while a war was waged in the Shiré Highlands against the slave-dealers. The disturbances were not limited to the territory under British control; for the Germans had trouble within their regions, and the French had similar conflicts on the West Coast.

KHEDIVE TEWFIK.

The prosperity of Egypt continued in 1892, when the Khedive Tewfik was succeeded by his son Abbas, a boy of eighteen. In South Africa the same year witnessed a rapid development of the gold-fields in the Transvaal and the diamond-mines in Kimberley, while the operations in Mashonaland and reports from the Zambezi and Nyassaland were encouraging. The most serious troubles were in Uganda, where the British East Africa Company found itself unable to control the natives. In addition, there were feuds and bloodshed between rival factions, which the French journals declared to be caused by English enemies of Catholics and French, and these difficulties continued throughout the following year.

English affairs in Egypt were satisfactory in 1894. Abbas II. yielded readily, though most unwillingly, to the checks on his conduct imposed by the British authorities. In January of this year the French occupied Timbuctoo, thus making another stride toward the accomplishment of their desire for an empire in Africa inclosing the Sahara, Timbuctoo being the chief trade and religious center of the territory.

At the end of December, 1893, a French detachment of troops was destroyed by Tuareg Arabs at Kabara, near Timbuctoo. A French column, under Colonel Bonnier, commander of the French forces on the upper Niger, forthwith marched to Timbuctoo, and seized the city, January 10. Two days later, Colonel Bonnier, leaving Captain Phillippe at Timbuctoo, started to follow the Arabs. On the fifteenth he was surprised, and his force destroyed. Thereupon, M. Casimir-Périer, in Paris, declared that, for the prestige of France, Timbuctoo must be retained, and thus it came about that the most mysterious of cities yielded to the dominion of modern civilization.

England added another stronghold of barbarism, the last on the South African coast, Pondoland, to her Cape Colony. In

the same year, France and Germany finally adjusted their disputed boundaries in the Hinterland of the Cameroons. A matter of general satisfaction was the ending of the long war with the Matabeles, the fugitive King Lobengula dying January 23. A tragic incident marked the close of the conflict, when Captain Wilson and his company were surrounded and killed by the natives. The scene of the soldiers' death was described by a native as appalling and magnificent. The remnant of warriors fought with dauntless bravery to the last, and when the moment of death was almost come, they bared their heads and sang "God Save the Queen!" Then they fell, one by one, under the assagais of the enemy—fell as soldiers should fall, fighting bravely to the end; but the echoes of their song abide.

The years 1896–97 in Egypt were full of incident, yet little was changed in the general condition of the country. English power steadily increased, as was inevitable, being advanced rather than retarded by the development of the Dervish troubles into a war of some magnitude, that caused sharp fighting, and the transport of troops from England to reënforce the native soldiery.

The Italian campaign in Abyssinia resulted in repeated disasters, until Great Britain sent an expedition into the Soudan, whereby Italy was delighted and France was much displeased. The worst catastrophe to the Italian arms in this campaign was that defeat on the mountains near Massowah, when, as already narrated, three thousand men of the Italian army were lost, and two hundred and seven officers out of two hundred and forty-seven. The attitude of Russia in this conflict was shown by the Czar's conferring on King Menelek the Grand Cordon of St. George, the highest military decoration in his gift, and the raising of popular subscriptions in Russia for the relief of Abyssinian soldiers.

KIMBERLY DIAMOND MINE—THE DE BEERS MINE.

PRESIDENT KRÜGER.

A matter of more lasting moment and of more immediate political significance than either the Dervish or Abyssinian war was the filibustering expedition in 1896 that Doctor Jameson, director of the British South African Company, led into the Transvaal. In the light of later developments, it was found that the action of the raider had been under the sanction of Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony. The excuse for it was the persistent refusal of the Boer Republic to permit to foreigners any participation in the Government, despite the fact that they were of prime importance in the region, numerically and industrially.

British craft was never better illustrated than in this effort of Rhodes and Jameson to gain the upper hand of the Dutch.

The leader of the expedition was brought to England, tried and found guilty, and sentenced to punishment. The residents of the Transvaal who were implicated in the plot were tried in the Republic, found guilty, and sentenced—the leaders to death. President Krüger, however, commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life; the others to terms of imprisonment, the inferior offenders being pardoned. Many troubles grew out of the affair, not the least of which was a threatening strain of relations between England and Germany when the Emperor telegraphed congratulations to President Krüger. Cecil Rhodes came to England, and underwent an examination before a Parliamentary committee; but

QUEEN OF ABYSSINIA WITH HER ATTENDANTS.

public sentiment in England inclined to favor his course. In fact, he rose in favor and continued to rise. His influence in Cape Colony became paramount, and History might easily discern between the lines that the Imperial arm was around him. Nor was it long until the whole scheme was out. Rhodes had conceived the purpose of building a railway from Cape Town to Cairo, thus traversing the whole of Eastern Africa—and the Transvaal Republic lay in the path of his ambition. The bluff, honest Krüger might well be astounded at the impudence of an aggression which to him could appear only as a piece of insanity, while to the British brain it seemed no more than an incident in "the spread of Christian Civilization!"

Another of the Persian monarchs died in the way usual to Persian monarchs when, on May 1, the Shah, Nasr-ed-Deen, was assassinated by a fanatic at a shrine in Teheran. He was succeeded by his second son, Muzaffer-ed-Deen, a man of strong Russian sympathies, who, by his autocracy, was able to detach the political influence of his empire from its Turkish and East-Indian affiliations.

SHAH NASR-ED-DEEN.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE ORIENT.

THE year 1889 was a successful one in Lord Lansdowne's Viceregal administration in India. The budget submitted by Sir D. Barbour was the most satisfactory in many years, so that a visit made by Prince Albert Victor to the eastern dependencies of Great Britain occurred at an auspicious time. Although the affairs of the native States caused a great amount of discussion and some anxiety, the only incident worth commemorating was the misrule of the Maharajah of Cashmere, which was so scandalous that the British authorities removed him from active power and vested his functions in a council under the British Resident.

The following year was a prosperous one, the price of silver rising a little, though not so much as had been hoped; and this year, like 1889, was made memorable by a royal visit, that of the Czarewich. In 1891, however, there was much trouble with the natives, caused, according to British suspicions, by Russian workers, who in the guise of explorers penetrated as far as Chitral. In Gilgit, beyond the Cashmere frontier, the risings were extensive, but the victories of Colonel Durand were decisive. In Manipur, Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of An-

nam, was attacked and killed, together with the Resident, Mr. Grimwood, and some officers; but the rashness of the Commissioner, and the blunders of the officers were alone responsible for the massacre. There was, undoubtedly, a feeling of disaffection throughout the land, and to a great extent it found its cause in the sweeping decree of the British authorities against child-marriage and the fixing of an age of consent. This measure, opposed to native institutions, was bitterly denounced by the Hindus, and the vernacular press was filled with violent stormings against the iconoclastic edict. The country was more tranquil in the year following, although there were grave threatenings in Afghanistan, so grave, indeed, that the British attempted to arrange a meeting between Lord Roberts and the Ameer.

The country at this period was most oppressed by the decline in silver. This fall in value of the rupee affected the salaries of all the Anglo-Indian departments, whereupon an association was formed to work for a gold standard, and soon after a committee was appointed in London, with Lord Herschel as chairman, to investigate the whole question of the Indian currency, and to suggest some adequate relief.

Not the least interesting event of the year was the exploring of the Himalayas, by a party under Mr. Conway, who reached altitudes beyond any recorded hitherto. The report of the committee, with Lord Brassey as chairman, to investigate the matter of opium in India, was prepared in 1893, and showed conclusively that the drug served "an excellent purpose as a prophylactic against malaria and fevers, and that its suppression would work a real injury!" In the same year there were serious feuds and some bloodshed between the Hindus and Mohammedans growing out of religious disputes, which were continued with much local bitterness in the following year. In 1893 Lord Elgin was appointed viceroy to succeed Lord Lansdowne. In 1894 a good *entente* was reached with Afghanistan, as the result of an English mission under Sir Mortimer Durand, and the harmonized relations were aided by the occurrence of Russian aggressions. Troubles that had long disturbed the internal peace of Baluchistan were at length adjusted. The chief misfortune of the period came about in the delimitation of Waziristan, when severe fighting was necessary in order to complete the work. More recently the prosperity of the country continued, despite the evils of the financial situation, until 1896, when the horror of famine came upon the land and ravaged it, though every means of succor at home and abroad was put in use to lessen the evils.

The condition of finances in India was so bad that it is difficult to state the cause in detail; but the one great evil was undoubtedly the action of the British Government in 1893, when the free coinage of silver was stopped at the mints, though the mints were kept open for the coinage of rupees by the Government in exchange for gold at a provisional ratio of one shilling and fourpence. Silver was, however, constantly coined in vast quantities in the native States, and imported, and this, with other things, caused disastrous depreciation in the silver currency. Great Britain has found the experiment of stoppage to be of immense expense; but the Government has declared its intention of carrying out the effort to fix a gold standard, whatever the cost, in the belief that the final issue will justify its course.

Of all the questions affecting the welfare of India during the last years of the century, this of the coinage has held the paramount place of importance. From time immemorial, the trade of India had been conducted on a basis of silver, the rupee of that metal being the standard unit of value. To obviate this system and to supplant it has, for about twenty years, been the determined and obstinate policy of the British Government. That Government, knowing no law but its own, has sought every opportunity to insinuate the English system of money in place of the Indian system, though the population of India numbers more than eight to one of the home population of the United Kingdom.

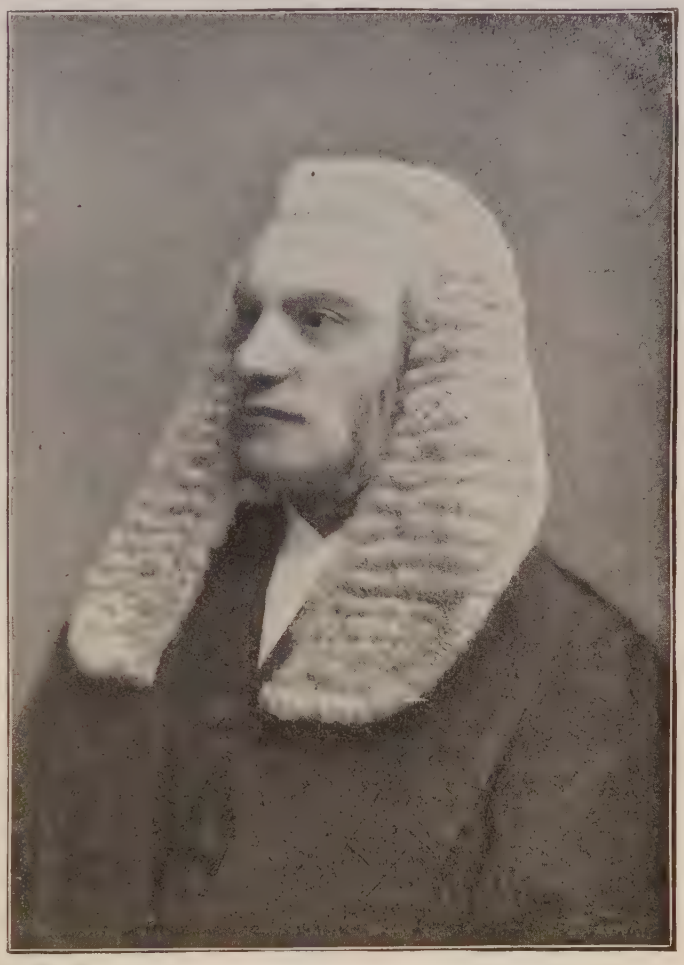
One great stage in this purpose to establish the gold standard of value in India was,

as we have seen, the closing of the mints, in 1893, to the free coinage of silver. With the accomplishment of this design, conditions of hardship began to supervene throughout the great eastern division of the British Empire. Hitherto, the reserve wealth of the Hindus had for generations been held in the form of silver. It was the custom of the people to melt down their overplus of silver coin, and to convert the same into articles of personal adornment, such as bangles, armlets, bracelets, and the like; and these were held as money capital. On the other hand, in times of distress or need, these ornaments would be recoined by the owners into rupees, and be used as money.

The ease with which the two processes of conversion and reconversion were effected, led to the use of the ornaments themselves as a basis of exchange. It was only necessary to weigh them in order to know their purchasing power as well as their exchangeable value. The closing of the Indian mints stopped this process, and at the same time precipitated a catastrophe by reducing the bullion value of silver from more than forty pence per ounce to about twenty-four pence as measured by gold.

The whole people thus suffered a loss of two-fifths of their money. Even this enormous loss was aggravated by other conditions, bringing up the total to about fifty per cent. of the entire savings of the people. The rate of exchange also fell so low that the Indian Government lost a hundred and thirty million rupees annually on this score. Still another loss of ten million rupees a year was entailed by changing the pay-roll of seventy-two thousand troops in India from the silver basis to that of gold. The like change in the case of the civil list, brought with it a loss of about eleven million rupees annually.

The disastrous forces here indicated worked havoc with East Indian interests from 1893 to 1898, when a great rally was made to secure the reöpening of the Indian mints



LORD HERSCHEL.

This movement took place coïncidently with the sending abroad by the United States of the Wolcott Bimetallic Commission. That Commission, though unsupported by the American Government, found on the continent of Europe the premonitions of success. A state of circumstances had supervened in India which would have made the reöpening of the mints imperative in the case of any

other government than that of Great Britain. For, a year before, the great famine had occurred, and vast districts of the East Indian Empire were wasted with hunger and death. This calamity aggravated the economic disaster, and the two together wrought havoc. While the movement for the reöpening of the mints was on, the various steps to be taken in order to secure the desired rehabilitation of silver as one of the money metals of mankind, were discussed in all the three continents interested in the question, and the following conditions were formulated and laid before the Government of Great Britain :

1. Such legislation should be enacted as would create facilities for a greater use of silver in the British isles:

2. The reöpening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver should be ordered.

The first of these steps, it was claimed, could be accomplished by four subordinate measures:

(*a*) Extending the legal-tender of silver in all parts of the Empire from forty shillings to sixty shillings or eighty shillings;

(*b*) Providing that silver should be an alternative basis for bank notes, and if it should be found necessary by lowering the minimum value of bank notes from five pounds sterling to three pounds, or even one pound;

(*c*) By compelling the Bank of England to hold at least one-fifth of its reserve in silver, according to the existing law which had fallen into desuetude;

(*d*) By withdrawing from circulation the gold half-sovereign and letting its place be taken with silver coins.

The reasonableness of these provisions, however, did not appeal to the British administration, and the Government held on its predetermined course. The famine in India was relieved by special efforts and by the better crops of 1898. There were rumors that the Indian Government, or rather the Committee on Currency, would report in favor of reöpening the mints, but such a report was withheld; and the money famine througnout the East prevailed as before. Nor can it be denied that the oppression, exaction, and cruelties, to which the three hundred millions of East Indians are subjected by that great power—which at the best can be said only to be engaged in the work of civilizing them by force—furnish one of the most appalling and indeed melancholy spectacles to be found in the modern history of mankind.

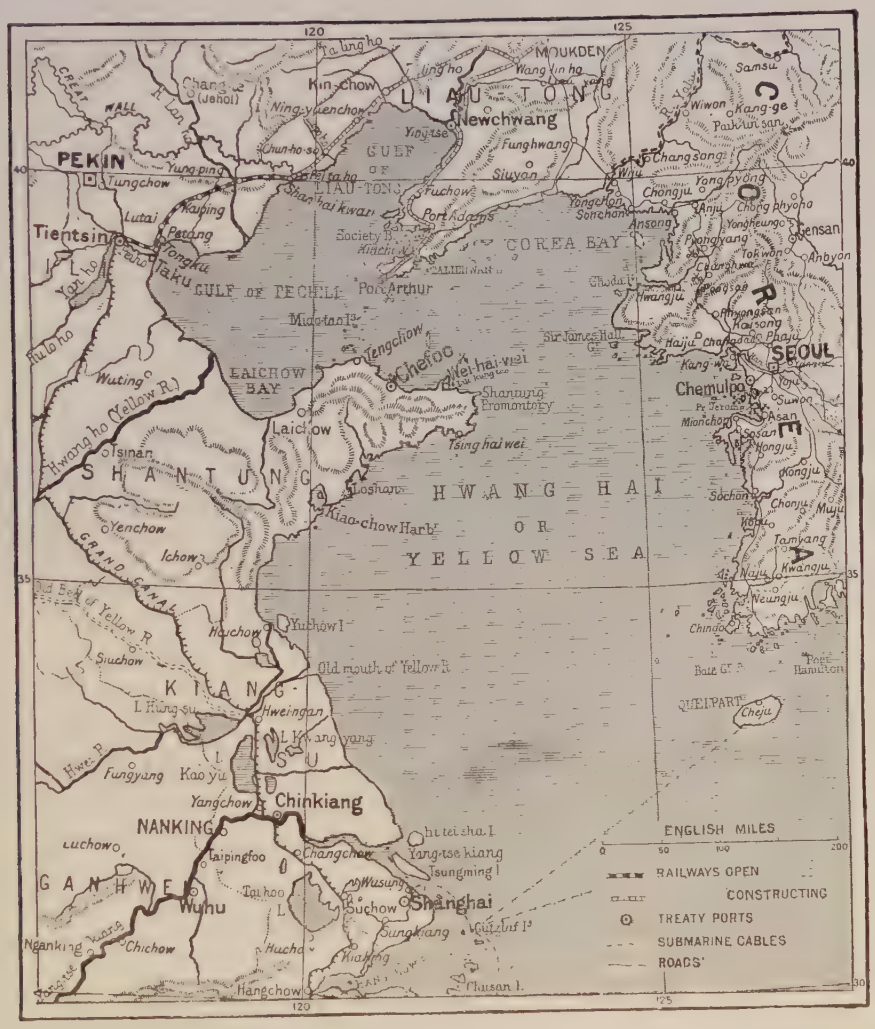
The world was interested in 1889 by a report that officially emanated from China to the effect that conservative prejudice had so far yielded as to permit the Government's contemplation of a scheme to build a railway under native auspices. No active measures, however, were taken toward a realization of the project. Hardly any rumor of it was heard in 1890, or indeed of anything noteworthy, save the death of the Marquis Tseng, who was the best known and the best esteemed diplomatist ever sent from China to Europe.

That China was not really advancing very rapidly toward liberal abandonment of old prejudices was, in fact, demonstrated in 1891, when outbreaks against foreigners were of frequent occurrence, and were unchecked. The outrages on missionaries were so gross that diplomatic protests were many; but the perpetrators were punished little if at all, and the evidences pointed at the possibilities of a general uprising that the Government did not dare to provoke by any harshness against native offenders. The difference between the spirit of the people in China and Japan became daily more marked and more to the credit of the latter. The real strength of the two nations was soon to be put to the test.

After the disastrous war with Japan, the Chinese Empire seemed to fall prostrate before the aggressions of other powers. Now it was that the great nations of the West, more than ever before, began to interfere in the affairs of China and to encroach upon her territory. In the movements which were now made by England, Russia, France, and Germany, having as an end the gaining of foothholds and vantage grounds within the Chinese field, justice and right were never consulted, but policy and diplomacy only

We have already seen how the German Empire secured its footing at Kiao-Chau; also how Great Britain made herself secure at Wai-Hei-Wai, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

Each of the competing powers seemed, in this great contingency, anxious to gain an advantage over the others. In the United States, the imperialist party strove to press forward our Government into the mêlée "in order to secure the interests of American trade." English travelers in the United States sought to inculcate the opinion that the welfare of the Republic required our fleet to precipitate itself upon the Chinese coast, and take its part of the spoils. In March of 1899, Lord Beresford came to the United States and spoke much of the importance of having an American foothold in the Orient. His lordship was greatly concerned. In an address at New York city, he discussed the importance of our trade with China, and in the course of his remarks declared that a single Chinese province was worth more from a commercial point of view than the whole of Africa. The hint of conquest was thrown down without the slightest compunction as to whether or not one nation has a right without cause to despoil another! "American



MAP SHOWING CHINESE PORTS SEIZED BY FOREIGN POWERS.

VIEW OF CANTON, CHINA—OLDEST OF THE TREATY PORTS.

trade in China," said Lord Beresford, "is advancing at a great rate. It will soon become a most important consideration for Americans." The hint thrown out by his lordship was fuel to the rising flame of imperialism.

At this same juncture, came the news that Italy had made an attempt to be in at the disruption of China, and had precipitated herself into San Mun bay, to the great alarm of the Government at Pekin. A request amounting to a demand was made by the Italian minister at Pekin that the Government should concede to Italy a coaling station at San Mun bay. It should be remarked in this connection that the oceanic and transoceanic conquests which the great Powers undertook and accomplished at the close of the century were always undertaken with the specious plea that the given nation required a coaling station on this coast or on that; "the interests of commerce demanded it," etc. When the coaling station was secured, then a certain amount of adjacent territory was necessary for the protection of the station; then the station ought to be regarded as a port of entry; then the demands of trade required lines of communication into the interior; then the unreasonableness of the invaded Government in trying to maintain its independence and the integrity of its territory was a thing most offensive, which ought to be punished with a manifestation of force. The interests of commerce then required a fleet and an army to back up the invasion, and a war was ever kept in reserve for a failure to comply with the demand of "civilization."

In the present instance, the Empress Dowager of China and her Court had the hardihood to refuse at first the demand of the Italian

Government. The minister of the latter was therefore notified to say to the Chinese authorities that their refusal was regarded as an insult. Then the Empress and her Tsung-li-Yamen, finding themselves hectored, hedged against the consequences by apologizing, not indeed for the refusal to give up a port, but for the independent language in which the refusal was expressed. At the same time China sent an appeal to the United States asking that the influence of the Republic should be used to stay the grasping spirit of the European powers, and in particular to prevent Italy from carrying out her purpose. The American department of State declined to interfere, but did so with a reservation that the time might come when the United States might feel called upon to take part in the proceedings of the European nations on the eastern coast of Asia.

Meanwhile, the Government of China, which was little more than the imperial Court, weakened, almost collapsed, under the pressure of increasing responsibilities, emphasized by the recent humiliation at the hands of Japan. In as far as the administration could discern anything, it dimly discovered (while at the same time it dreaded) progress as a necessity of the future. It seemed necessary that there should be immediately at least two manifestations of the progressive spirit; first, the construction of railway communications, and secondly, the institution of an enlightened system of internal taxation.

Incidentally there was need of an immediate reform of all the administrative methods, for they were all hideously corrupt. The offices of the Chinese Government had for a long time been farmed out in a manner as shocking as that employed by British and American politicians in the distribution of patronage. In China, bribery was the notorious rule in obtaining the offices at the disposal of Government. In 1897, Li Hang Chang, acting Viceroy, brother of the distinguished Li Hung Chang, most noted of the Chinese statesmen of the epoch, actually made and published a schedule of prices to be paid for every office in the provinces of Qwang-si and Qwang-tung! All the while, the Western nations were looking on and encouraging rather than staying the universal degradation, to the end that the dissolution might come speedily, and the vultures gather for the feast.

THE YOUNG EMPRESS OF CHINA.

The bottom fact in modern civilization is commercialism in its relation to the political management of the nations. It has come to be believed that the so-called trade of the

world is the one thing to be attained by a state in order that it may prosper. This is the secret of that great fact called the "world system" of nationality. It is also the secret of that appalling fact, the destruction of independence. Nor has any other period in human annals furnished so marvellous an example of a world-wide fact, as that which the closing years of the century have witnessed in the rush of the Western powers to be in at the death and dissolution of the Chinese Empire.

It is foreseen that about four hundred million of human beings in that part of the world are to be fed and supplied—fed and supplied not according to the wants and desires which are natural to the great masses of the East, but fed and supplied according to the artificial wants which the Western nations desire to disseminate in the East for the specific purpose of supplying them after they are created.

A study of the statistical trade-reports of the Chinese Government for the years 1897–98 showed conclusively that the processes to which we have referred were already powerfully at work. In a single year, the total value of the foreign trade of China gave an increase of more than $15,000,000—this, too, when the same report showed that the export trade of the Chinese had declined more than $9,000,000. The statistics thus demonstrated that within a twelvemonth, the value of foreign goods thrown into the Chinese ports had increased by $25,000,000! This sum indicated better than any political bulletin, better than any historical essay, the complete oncoming ascendency of the Western nations in an Empire having a larger population than any five of them combined. And all this is traceable finally to the gain which the commercial life of mankind is making on the producing industries of the world. This fact may, in its turn, be traced to the belief that commercialism is easier, more expeditious, more profitable, more honorable, than the life of production; it is the triumph of the mart over the field.

On the terra firma of China, the great change just described was shown in the extension of foreign railway systems. In the north, great trunk lines of intercommunication were building by the Russians. In 1897, the construction of another system was undertaken by a Belgian company which had been recently chartered. At this period, the French Government completed its arrangements for the extension of its system of lines, reaching out of Cochin China and Tonquin into the adjacent provinces of the Empire. Meanwhile from the west, the trans-Caspian railways were approaching the boundary, while the British Government with its immemorial energy was prosecuting the work of carrying lines from the Malay peninsula northward towards the common center. The approach to Chinese territory of railways from all directions save only from the east was one of the most significant historical signs of the age.

It was out of these conditions that the warlike rumors at the beginning of 1898 were created. In Great Britain, a deep-seated agitation and alarm were produced by the apprehension that British interests on the Chinese coast might suffer. The leaders of the dominant party made warlike speeches, in which they declared their determination to keep open markets in China at whatever hazard. When, however, the British Parliament again came to session, Lord Salisbury allayed the excitement by declaring in the House of Lords that there was no misunderstanding with any of the powers with respect to the Chinese question. Great Britain should have her way. Russia should go on with her railroad. Germany also should keep her footing. The speaker made it appear that the recent alarm about a coälition of the powers against Great Britain in the East had no foundation in fact. These utterances enabled the organs of the Government to resume their proclamations to the effect that commerce and the necessities of its extension had made impossible the idea of a further resort to war by the great nations of Christendom.

All of these changing relations were reflected in the serious embarrassment of the

imperial Government at Pekin. In the court at Pekin, the usual contest was on between the young Emperor and the Dowager Empress, who according to the imperial precedents has great power in the direction of affairs and great influence with the people. At the present juncture the young Emperor, influenced by Li Hung Chang and other "progressive" statesmen, yielded to the tendencies of the age and became a reform sovereign. To him, the representatives of the foreign interests began to look as the wedge which should split wide open the ancient conservatism of the East, and let in the floods of business.

But the Dowager Empress who represented the reäctionary party stood stoutly for the ancient order. Between the two, in 1898, there was a struggle for the direction of affairs. For a while the Dowager Empress was forced into retirement. The obscurity which hangs like a curtain around the Chinese court gave opportunity to the journalism of the world to draw powerfully on its imagination, and to make up a schedule of facts according to the demands of the age. Only thus much was known, namely, that in the latter part of the year referred to, the Dowager Empress regained her station, and it was reported that the young Emperor had conveniently "died." The theory of assassination was promulgated by the representatives of the European governments, until it was found out that the Emperor had *not* died. Nothing more serious had occurred than the repression of the sovereign by the Dowager Empress.

Hereupon, the armed guards at Pekin, representing the Western Governments, were increased, and the prospect of a general European interference was promoted. Meanwhile the London *Punch* expressed the situation in a cartoon entitled the "Artful Dowager." That sublime personage tears from the hand of the Son of Heaven a scroll entitled "reform," and says to him as she thrusts him back with as much temper as an Oriental may be supposed to possess, "Reform, indeed! I'll reform you. Go and stand in the corner till I tell you to come out!"

TSAIT'IEN HWANGTI, THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

In Japan the increasing imitation of European institutions was marked, although the attempt, in 1889, to assassinate Count Okuma, who was Prime Minister until the change of Government in that year, revealed the fact that the advance of thought was not free from bitter antagonisms. In 1891 there was a parliamentary and ministerial crisis that smacked of the European manner; but there was no appearance of change in the liberal

policy, nor was there any political meaning in the attempt of a fanatic to kill the Czarewich, who visited Japan in this year, after traveling through India and China. The general condition of the country was prosperous, though enormous loss of life and great suffering were occasioned in the autumn by earthquake shocks on the coast.

The advance of Japan continued uninterruptedly until 1894, when she was drawn upon to the full extent of her powers by a conflict with conservative China.

The *casus belli* was found in Korea, an old subject of rivalry between the two principal nations. In March, at Shanghai, there was much uproar over the assassination of Kim-ok-Kuin, by order of the King. Kim was the Japanese Minister to Korea. In 1894 he made an attempt to become dictator, and in this effort he was supported by Japanese troops. He then fled to Japan, but was thence lured into China. Immediately upon Kim's death the Japanese began moving soldiers into Korea, and as there were other grounds of offense, Japan formally declared war in August, 1894.

China had continued to inflict outrages on foreigners, with only a desultory system of punishing offenders when the Powers insisted on it; but she was in no wise ready for a war. On Sunday, September 16, the Japanese attacked Ping Yang, and, in a great battle, killed or captured seven thousand of the Chinese. Two days later, in a naval battle at the mouth of the Yalu, the Japanese, in five hours, sank four of the Chinese vessels and damaged others of the fleet. This catastrophe caused the degradation of the Prime Minister, Li Hung Chang. A second Japanese army, under Marshal Oyama, landed and captured Port Arthur, November 21, after sharp fighting and much loss.

THE WALLS OF KOREA.

The Japanese army next advanced into Manchuria. After crossing the Yalu in October, it separated into two divisions of twelve thousand and five hundred men each, the right wing going north, along the Mukden Road, to the Fen-Shai-Ling Pass; the left wing going to the west, in order to establish communication with a second army of twenty-two thousand, sent by sea, under Marshal Oyama, to Pekin.

THE JAPANESE BATTLESHIP AKITSUSHIMA CAPTURING THE CHINESE BATTLESHIP YANG-KIANG—From Painting by Japanese Artist.

The line of advance was pursued, with constant defeats of the Chinese, until, in December, Hai-Tcheng was reached, and the communication with Oyama was accomplished at Foochow by extending the line south to Kiao-Chau. At this time the united armies had opposed to them sixty thousand Chinese, guarding the roads to China proper. The Japanese, after severe fighting, captured Kaiphing, and there remained. The delay gave new courage to the Chinese. The Premier, Prince Kung, taking counsel with the disgraced Li Hung Chang, placed Liu-Kun-Yih in command of all the forces; and in January, 1895, fourteen thousand soldiers were sent to attack the Japanese at Hai-Tcheng.

Again and again, with repeated reënforcements, the baffled Chinese vainly returned to the attack; in every instance they were repulsed. Early in February, other twenty-five thousand Japanese landed on the Shan-Tung Peninsula, and after a series of engagements succeeded in seizing Wai-Hei-Wai, the nine thousand Chinese troops fleeing, though the fleet in the harbor continued the fight for a number of days.

LI HUNG CHANG.

On February 16, the fleet surrendered, Admiral Ting, Commodore Liu, and General Chong of the garrison, all committing suicide. On March 1, the Japanese armies captured Niuchuang, and on March 6, Ying-Kow, thus joining all their forces.

General Nodzu, now appointed a field marshal, pursued the retreating troops, and finally scattered and destroyed them at Thien-Chuiang-Thai, burning the city to the ground, March 9. This calamity was put wholly on Li Hung Chang, who was deprived of every honor he had ever possessed save the viceroyalty of Chili. It soon appeared, however, that some one must be sent to negotiate terms of peace with Japan; whereupon Li was restored to sufficient dig-

nity to be intrusted with this most delicate task, which he discharged with the best grace possible, his mission made striking by the wound inflicted upon him by a Japanese fanatic named Koyama.

According to the terms of peace, signed April 17, and for which Li was once again disgraced, Korea was to be independent, the south part of the Feng Tien territory was to belong to Japan, together with part of the country between the Yalu and the Liao, with the island of Formosa and the Pescadore group, together with an indemnity of two hundred million *kuping taels*. Unfortunately for Japan, Russia, Germany, and France objected to the ceding of the Liao Tung Peninsula, and Japan was constrained to accept, in lieu of the region, an additional indemnity of thirty million taels. Japan did not find her way clear in all other respects. In Formosa there was much fighting on the part of the natives when they heard that the island had been yielded to the Japanese; but order was at last obtained.

China, too, had additional troubles of her own. The result of the war only served to intensify the usual hatred of foreigners, and this expressed itself against aliens who chanced to be at hand, especially against the Christian missionaries. In July, 1895, eight of the English missionary force at Whasang, near Kucheng, were slain by members of a secret order, the Vegetarians. Great Britain protested with such force that all the officers implicated were degraded, and twenty-four of the natives were put to death. The most creditable part in China's history since that time was the restoration of honors to Li Hung Chang, and the sending of him on a tour about the world with a special mission.

Japan had one more bout at arms in 1896, when a brief struggle with the Koreans took place in March. The Koreans were repulsed, after several days' fighting, near Fusan, the Korean King seeking the protection of the Russian legation at Seoul. In this year, Japan lost thousands of inhabitants by violent earthquake shocks at the end of August.

One of the most important actions taken by the Japanese Government at the close of her war with China, was the adoption of the gold standard of money and account. This was done in the early part of 1897, but the act was made to go into effect on the first of the following October. The adoption of the new policy led to a wide discussion in the United States and Europe; for the controversy between silver and gold was on, and the significance of the course taken by Japan was carefully inquired into. The advocates of the gold standard said that the Japanese financiers had discovered the inevitable trend of affairs and had accepted the inevitable ere the evil day should come. But the advocates of silver currency ascribed the change to the imitativeness of the Japanese character.

Nor could it be denied that one of the prevailing influences in the case was the desire of the Japanese authorities to flatter—by adopting—the policy of Great Britain. The maintenance of the silver standard in Japan had secured a high range of prices. But it was believed by the Japanese that the alleged increasing supply of gold would lead very soon to a future era of high prices like that enjoyed in the United States, between the years 1850 and 1870, as a result of the great gold discoveries in California and Australia. Oddly enough, the Japanese financiers ascribed as the principal reason for the change the desire to secure and maintain *a high range of prices*—this in the face of the fact that prices in America and Europe were suffering a great and long continued depression as a result of the substitution of the monometallic gold standard for the bimetallic standard which had hitherto prevailed.

The modernization of Japan at this period gave opportunity for a closer observation of her social and economic condition. There was in this period a strong disposition of Japanese publicists and writers to make the systems and civilization of their country known to the world. Industry was in particular examined and discussed. It was found that the condition of the Japanese masses was hard and precarious. The rule among them was not abundance, but penury. There was strong competition for employ-

ment, and the working people were found to be, for the most part, ignorant and near to the doors of want.

This, however, was more true in the great cities than in the outside districts. The population of Tokio had now reached a million and a half of souls. The manufacturing industries absorbed the energies of the greater number. It was found that one sation. These trades absorbed the energies of about twenty thousand laborers in Tokio. The period of apprenticeship, however, was ten years in the case of builders, six years for printing, and for shoemaking five years. Of course such a discipline afforded few opportunities for the education of the young people of the laboring classes.

Another incident in Japanese history which

STREET SCENE IN TOKIO—MITSUI BANK.—From a Photograph.

of the principal hardships of the industrial life was the long hours of day labor. Thus, for example, the cotton mills ran twenty-two hours out of twenty-four, and each operative was compelled to work eleven hours daily besides taking his turn at night work.

Generally the operatives were under contract for a period of from three to five years. Most of them were boarded in lodging houses connected with the mills. Child labor was largely employed. The building trades had less hardship and better compen-

immediately succeeded the war with China was the adoption and promulgation of a new civil code. For a long time the progressive party in Japan had striven to secure a code more in conformity with the jurisprudence of Europe and America. After the abolition of the feudal system in 1869, the Japanese statesmen, with more than the usual alertness of their kind, perceived the necessity of recodifying the laws of the Empire. In undertaking such a work, they must needs look abroad for models of jurisprudence.

In 1872, Yeto-Shimpei, the Minister of Justice, called to his aid several eminent French jurists—since he had a preference for the civil code of France. He also instituted in Tokio a new law school, in which Henry T. Terry, a graduate of Yale University, was one of the instructors. By him, a book on jurisprudence, entitled "Leading Principles of Anglo-American Law," was published, and this became a kind of Japanese Blackstone. About the same time, the new code of the German Empire attracted the attention of the lawyers of Japan, and became a factor in their new system.

A committee was appointed in 1870 to prepare a draft of a code for the Empire. The committee reported in 1890, and the report, with amendments and much debating, was adopted as the fundamental civil law, of which the first three divisions are analagous to those of Blackstone, while parts IV and V are devoted to family law and the law of succession, both of which divisions were carried over, so to speak, from the old order of society which prevailed before the revolution.

It was soon after the final acceptance of the new code in 1896, that a serious complication arose between Japan and the United States relative to the Hawaiian annexation. When the question of getting Hawaii became a policy with the dominant political party, Japan suddenly laid down the treaty which existed between her and the islands, holding that her compact with them was of a kind to place a limitation upon the national sovereignty of Hawaii. Besides, her intercourse with the islands had carried to them not only a large amount of trade products, but also more than thirty thousand people holding allegiance to the Empire. Japan, therefore, forbade the bans, claiming a guarantee for her subjects and for her trade the same as that which had been agreed to by the Hawaiians themselves. However, the friendliness between Japan and the United States soon led to a peaceable adjustment of the difficulty; but the terms of settlement were virtually dictated by the might of the stronger.

From this time forth, Japan was regarded as one of the great powers of the world.

COUNT ITO,
Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

This was shown in the after part of 1897 by the invitation which was extended to the Japanese Government to participate on terms of equality with Russia and the United States in the negotiations that were then on relative to the seal-fisheries in the northwestern waters. In the International Sealing Conference of the year referred to, two Japanese representatives, Shiro Fujika and Kakichi Matsukiri, ably represented the Imperial Government and were not disparaged by the eminent men who composed the majority of that body.

Soon after this episode, the question was raised of an international alliance between Japan and Great Britain. It was at this time that the relations of Great Britain and Russia were, according to the international busybodies, somewhat strained. The danger of a conflict between Japan and Russia was also recognized; for it was Russia who compelled Japan to stay her hand in the exactions which she was making of China at the end of the war. There was therefore reason why Japan and Great Britain should be at one.

Count Ito, the famous Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, went to England and had a conference of six hours' duration with Lord Salisbury; and it was alleged that they agreed as to what should be done in case of an outbreak between Great Britain and Russia. But the worst never came, and the alliance, if alliance it was, was therefore of small importance. Strangely enough, at this very period, there were those among the leaders of the Radical party in Great Britain, who held it to be the true policy to have a quarrel and an outbreak with Japan, to the end that the war fleet of that country might be destroyed before it should become a menace to the universal dominion of Great Britain.

In the meanwhile, the progressive ambition of Russia in Northern China, and the alleged project of the Czar to annex Korea, aroused the alarm of Japan; but when the trans-Siberian railway was deflected and it was understood that Talien-wan would be made a free port, Japan became somewhat reconciled. Besides, she was hardly as yet in a condition of emergence and power to administer a menace to so mighty a State as Russia. It was her policy rather to promote the peaceable development of her industries, to extend her trade, to enlarge her navy, and secure countenance from all the great nations as a member of the group.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.—AUSTRALIA.

IN Australia, federation, both imperial and internal, was much discussed in 1889; but its practical development was greatly hindered by the political rivalry between Victoria and New South Wales. In 1890, however, it had so far progressed that a conference of all the colonies was held in Melbourne in the spring, and a resolution was passed favoring the formation of a union under one Legislature and one Executive.

In this Federal Conference, West Australia was represented, it having been granted a responsible government and full control over a territory of vast extent. The same year was marked by political events of particular importance in Victoria. There was a change in the ministry, hurried to a culmination by the labor representatives because support had been refused to the large shipping strike. The other and graver causes that conspired to make a Cabinet change rested in the generally unsatisfactory policy of the ministers. A number of opposing factions looked with distrust on the construction of numerous lines of railways, on which money was lavishly expended, while the returns failed to show any profit, and it was believed that the roads were built for purposes mainly political.

The strike, which furnished the final ground of complaint to the representatives of labor, was an endeavor to shut out non-union men, and it spread throughout all the colonies, being fermented and aided by the organization in England. The owners, nevertheless, persisted in a firm denial of all demands, and the strike ultimately failed, chiefly owing to the fact that public sympathy was alienated by the sweeping policy of the strikers, whose restrictions on various interests caused general disturbance.

In April, 1891, a convention at Sydney

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THE JAPANESE EMPIRE.
KOREA, CHINA, INDO-CHINA,
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND THE
INTERNATIONAL NEUTRAL ZONES.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Longitude East 120 from Greenwich
110
130
Tropic of Cancer
CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
EMPIRE
JAPAN
FORMOSA
LUZON
MINDANAO
PHILIPPINE (UNITED STATES) ISLANDS
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
BORNEO
SIAM
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
HONGKONG (BR.)
MACAO (PORT.)
HAINAN I.
TONKING GULF
GULF OF SIAM
MALAY PENINSULA
Bashi Channel
Balintang Channel
Formosa Channel
Van Diemen Strait
Mindoro Strait
Basilan Str.
Sulu Sea
Celebes Sea
Java Sea
Hongkong
Canton
Amoy
Foochow
Shanghai
Hankow
Nanking
Chinkiang
Tientsin
Peking
Kiaochau
Weihaiwei
Port Arthur
Dalny
Chemulpo
Fusan
Gensan
Vladivostok
Nagasaki
Kagoshima
Yokohama
Tokio
Hakodate
Aomori
Sendai
Niigata
Kanazawa
Osaka
Kobe
Kioto
Nagoya
Shizuoka
Yokkaichi
Hiogo
Okayama
Hiroshima
Shimonoseki
Moji
Kokura
Nagasaki
Kagoshima
Naha
Okinawa
Miyako
Hachijo
Ogasawara
Iwo
Bonin Is.
Volcano Is.
Marcus I.
Wake I.
Midway Is.
Hawaiian Is.
Honolulu
Guam
Saipan
Yap
Palau Is.
Caroline Is.
Marshall Is.
Gilbert Is.
Ellice Is.
Fiji Is.
Samoa
Tonga Is.
Solomon Is.
New Britain
New Ireland
New Guinea
Bismarck Archipelago
Admiralty Is.
Borodino I.
Rasa I.
Parece Vela or Douglass Rk.
Lots Wife or Rico de O.
Linshoten I.
Sanbok Is.
Hope Pass.
Deep B.
Great Riu-Kiu
Riu-Kiu Islands
Tu-sima
Komibang
Kawa I.
Pa-chu-san
Kokien (to Japan)
Majico-sima Group
Ty-pin-san
Agincourt Sh.
Pescadores
Botel Tobago Is.
Batan Is.
Prata I.
Balintang Channel
Babuyan I.
Babuyanes Is.
Camiguin I.
Calayan I.
Dalupiri I.
Pt. Pata
C. Engano
C. Bojeador
Labao
Apari
Tuguegarao
Vigan
Camaral
Casiguran
Port Tumango
S. Fernando
Lingayen B.
C. Bolinao
Subic
Lingayen
Baler
Bayombong
Ibe
Marlao
Polillo I.
Manila
Subig B.
Bay L.
Cavite
Lubang I.
Tayabas
Batangas
Calapan
Mindoro
Burias
Ticao
Masbate
Catanduanes
Lagonoy G.
Sorsogon
Albay
Napo
Samar
Catbalogan
Tacloban
Dinagat
Siargao
Leyte
Cebu
Bohol
Negros
Panay
Capiz
Iloilo
Guimaras
Cuyos Is.
Taitai
Cumaran
Himamaylan
Calamianes Is.
Busuanga
Paragua
Puerto Princesa
Palawan B.
Cagayan Is.
Tolon
Dapitan
Misamis
Iligan
Iligan B.
Cagayan
Bislig
Butuan
Caraga
Pujada B.
Davao
Davao B.
Cottabato
Mt. Apo
Pt. Gorda
Sta. Maria
Zamboanga
Illana B.
Ligatan I.
Basilan
Sulu
Sarangani B.
Pt. Tinaca
Sarangani Is.
C. S. Augustin
Jolo or Sulu
Tawitawi
Sibutu
Sibutu Passage
Balabac I.
Balambangan
Banguey
Cagayan Sulu
Kudat
Marudu B.
Sugut C.
Labuk B.
Sandakan
Bongon
Abai
Kina Balu Mt. (British)
Friendship Bk.
Pr. of Wales Bk.
Investigators Rocks
Half Moon Bk.
Pt. Bulilluyan
Tubetabatah Is.
Ababo
Calasian
Mindoro Str.
Subig B.
Manila B.
Lubang I.
Cavite
Corregidor I.
Mariveles
Bataan
Subic
Lingayen
Dagupan
Bolinao
Agoo
San Fernando
Baguio
Aparri
Tuguegarao
Ilagan
Cauayan
Santiago
Bayombong
Solano
Bambang
Aritao
Dupax
Bagabag
Cabarroguis
Echague
Ilagan
Tumauini
Cabagan
Santa Maria

adopted a Federal Constitution of the Commonwealth, designed to be ratified by the Legislatures of the colonies, and then to be submitted for sanction to the Imperial Parliament. The same year, in New South Wales, witnessed the defeat of Sir Henry Parkes in an appeal to the constituencies, and he was driven from office by the combined attacks of the organized Labor party and his Protectionist enemies, Mr. Dibbs forming a Protectionist Ministry. At the same time, the condition was one of much uncertainty in Victoria, although the Labor party had suffered much from the defeat of the shipping and dock strike. In Queensland the strikers resorted to violence, and were reduced to order only by the presence of troops.

The general effect of these severe labor agitations and the extravagance of governmental expenditures was to injure the credit of all the colonies, and the financial condition of the country was regarded with mistrust. This was justified in 1892 by the failure of some of the building societies and banks in Melbourne. The panic was partially averted by the forming of an alliance of the banks, whereby they were pledged to mutual support. In labor circles the unrest was manifested chiefly in a great strike at the Broken Hill mines, which failed.

In February, 1892, the Parliament of Queensland passed an act to allow the importation of Kanaka laborers, to continue for a period of ten years. This measure was bitterly opposed, on the ground that the condition of these Polynesian islanders on the plantations was really one of slavery, and on the ground that such importation of workers was prejudicial to the interests of the white laborers. The success of the measure was due to the fact that no white man could be found willing or able to endure the sun's heat on the sugar tracts; so that

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA.

without the Kanaka natives the plantations must be abandoned, to the great injury of Queensland's commercial importance.

In 1892 the Earl of Glasgow was made Governor of New Zealand, and in 1893 the Earl of Jersey resigned the governorship of New South Wales, being succeeded by Sir R. W. Duff, with Sir George R. Dibbs as Premier. In the latter year the Shiels Ministry was overthrown in Victoria, and a new Cabinet formed, with Mr. J. B. Patterson as Premier. In Queensland Sir Samuel Griffith took the chief justiceship of the colony, and Sir Thomas McIlwraith became Premier.

VIEW IN DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND.

The year 1894 showed a remarkable success for woman suffrage in New Zealand, the first elections under the new law having eighty per cent. voting from the total of women on the rolls. In New South Wales, Mr. George Houston Reid became Premier. In March there was a conference of the colonies in Wellington, New Zealand, that made arrangements for the securing of a cable system. By far the most important action of the year grew out of the delay of the Legislatures to ratify the proposed Constitution of Federation. In order to prosecute the work of union along other lines an Australasian Federation League was formed in Victoria and New South Wales. The results of this action appeared in 1894, when a programme was issued. According to the published propositions, the Victorian branch of the League suggested that the Federal Constitution should be drafted by a popular convention, and then be submitted to the direct vote of the people.

This scheme with some important alterations in details, was accepted by the branch of the League in New South Wales. Early in the following year there was a meeting of the premiers of all the colonies at Hobart, where the Federal Council was holding its sessions at the same time. The Victoria plan was then submitted and fully discussed. In spite of much objection to some of its features, it was finally approved. It was decided that a convention should be held, to which ten representatives of each colony should be chosen directly by the people. This convention should frame a constitution, and this constitution should be submitted directly to the people for the action of the electors without any intermediates. In the event of the acceptance of this constitution by three or more of the colonies, it should be forthwith sent to the Queen, accompanied by an address from the Parliaments of the colonies asking for the necessary legislative enactment on the part of the Imperial Government. Meantime a bill should be submitted to each of the colonial Legislatures looking toward indorsing and making efficacious the whole scheme.

South Australia displayed a spirit more advanced than that of New Zealand; for in 1895 it not only gave to women the right of suffrage, but also made them eligible to sit as members of the legislative body. In South Australia the Earl of Kintore ended the period of his governorship, while in Queensland a change placed Mr. H. M. Nelson in the premiership. The discoveries of gold continued to be made, the immigrants, in May, numbering five hundred weekly. The export of gold for the year ending June 30, 1895, was two hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred and ninety-four ounces.

VIEW OF HOBART, TASMANIA.

The year 1895 found the Australian colonies much relieved from the financial crisis that, beginning in 1892, had culminated in 1893, and had burdened the country with distress and alarm through 1894. The floods in 1893 had aided the panic occasioned by the folly of the banks in loaning their whole capital to debtors unable to make payment on demand. Now, however, the condition of the agricultural and the industrial activities was excellent, and the prompt and judicious aid rendered the banks by the Government gave to those institutions a stability they had formerly lacked.

The Federal Enabling Act, devised at Hobart in 1895, was passed in the Parliaments of New South Wales, of Victoria, of South Australia, and of Tasmania, in 1896. The general sentiment grew much stronger in favor of federation in this year, from the fact that the foreign complications of Great Britain made war threatening, and the Imperial Government directed special investigations in Australia as to the colonial system of defences. In the examination of these defences it was made clearly apparent that only by federation could the colonies hope to utilize to the best all their powers in military operations.

The question, however, of carrying the federal scheme into complete success still

remained to be decided by a subsequent convention. The second session of the constitution-makers was held in Sydney in September, 1897, and the scheme was still further matured. A petition from Queensland to be admitted into the federation was received and then an adjournment was taken until January of 1898—this, in order to enable the voters of Queensland to choose their federal delegate.

Thus the scheme was carried forward by successive stages until March of 1898, when the convention, which had been in session for two months in Melbourne, completed its work under the title of a Commonwealth Bill, the object being the creation of an Australian Union. The instrument thus prepared had to be again submitted to the people for ratification. The condition was almost completely analagous to that present in the Old Thirteen Colonies of North America after the formation, but before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

The Australian Union, which was provided for, was well nigh identical in character with our American Union, save only that the executive power was derived from the British Crown instead of being constituted by the decision of the people. The Australian instrument provided that as soon as three of the colonies should ratify the federation, the same should go into effect—but this provision contemplated, of course, the ultimate acceptance of the constitution by all the colonies.

Meanwhile, the stress of European affairs in the Pacific and the oncoming contest for the ascendency in China made it more and more desirable that the Australian Union should become effective as a barrier against the possible encroachments and disruptive influence of other nations.

It was at this period in Australian history, that the voting reform was carried to a high measure of completeness and success. No sooner had the "Australian system" been adopted, than it began to be praised and imitated. The merits of it were discovered in the United States, and in no other country was there greater need. The new method of determining the choice of the electors, of protecting that choice, and of casting a ballot uninfluenced by corrupt machinations was adopted by many states in the Union, but never completely. The jealousy of American political parties prevented them from conceding at once and fully the absolute right of the voters to independence of choice and individual responsibility in making it.

The result was that in none of the countries into which the Australian system made its way was the reform carried out as it was in Australia. In that country, the elections were simplified and made so easy that it was not considered necessary or desirable to convert election days into holidays. A few of the features by which the reform was effected may here be noticed as they distinguish the election system in Australia from that in other countries.

The first great point of distinction is that in an Australian election, no two issues are ever mixed together and submitted for decision on a single ballot. Neither are any candidates for diverse functions presented as if the one were a rider on the influence of the other. A roll of candidates without party names or emblems, is presented to the intending voter, and it is his business simply to erase from the lists the names of all persons for whom he does not wish to vote. The whole matter is simplified. The privacy of the ballot is completely preserved, and the intelligence required is only such as every competent elector may be supposed and should be presumed to possess. The extension of such a system completely and finally through all the countries in which democratic principles survive, must needs bring about one of the greatest improvements ever witnessed in the civil society of modern times.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—CANADA, MEXICO, AND THE MINOR AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

THE Conservatives managed at the end of the ninth decennium to hold their majority in Canada, aided thereto by the disputes with the United States as to fishing rights in Behring Sea and on the Atlantic seaboard, which caused a reäction against the Radical policy. In 1891, however, the Conservatives received a severe shock, though not disastrous, by the revelation of administrative corruption, and Sir Hector Langevin, a member of the Cabinet, was forced to resign, although not suspected of personal malversation. The Radicals could not boast much of the affair, nevertheless, inasmuch as a like scandal implicated Mr. Mercier, the Radical premier of the Provincial Government of Quebec.

A loss that was felt by Conservatives and Radicals alike was the death, on the 6th of June, 1891, of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Prime Minister of the Dominion. A calamity of another sort came in 1892, when the greater part of St. John's, Newfoundland, was destroyed by fire. In 1893 the Earl of Aberdeen succeeded Lord Stanley, of Preston—who had inherited the earldom of Derby and retired—in the governor-generalship of the Dominion. The official visit of the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen to Ottawa and Montreal was the occasion of general festivals throughout the country.

Political circles were profoundly shocked in 1894 by the death of Sir John Thompson, the Premier, who died, December 12, at Windsor, just after he had taken the oath as member of the Queen's Privy Council. The new Cabinet was formed by the Honorable Mackenzie Bowell. The next year witnessed a remarkable turn in the strength of parties. For the first time since confederation, the Liberals won in the Canadian elections, the chief issue being Home Rule. The Honorable Wilfrid Laurier's majority in Quebec was thirty-four, and in all Canada, twenty-four.

It was at this juncture that the long delayed census of Canada, her people and resources, was published. The work had been undertaken as far back as 1881, that being the date of the completion of the last census. The new enumeration was completed in 1891, but the results were long under consideration and arrangement before they could be published. When at last the work was done, the outcome was exceedingly disappointing.

During the decennium, the population of the Dominion had increased by only five hundred and eight thousand souls. This was less than twelve per cent. The census of 1881 had shown for the preceding ten years an increase of more than seventeen per cent. One of the strange symptoms of the age was shown in the fact that Canada, during the period covered by the last census, had received more than eight hundred and fifty thousand immigrants. It was estimated that in the same period about seven hundred and fifty thousand native Canadians had been born. The deduction was inevitable that more than a million of the Canadians had been lost by emigration, and this outgoing stream had flowed almost exclusively into the United States.

Financially, the census showed that Canada was plodding her way in the wake of her greater sisters in the matter of expenditure and debt. The report of June 30, 1895, placed the net federal debt at the figure of $253,074,927, nearly one-half of which had been incurred since 1878. Already the annual interest and sinking fund charges against the treasury amounted to $12,750,000. This was more than one-third of the entire revenue. The annual expenditure for

the fiscal year, 1895, was more than $38,000,000. The debt per capita was $50, being a little over three times as much as that in the United States at the same period, and $34 less than the corresponding charge in Great Britain. It was claimed by the leaders of the dominant party that the great increase of indebtedness was attributable to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but it was noted by the opposition that the completion of the railway and of other public works did not lessen the rate of increase in the burdens which the financial management continued to impose the same as before.

The intimate relations between Canada and the United States were shown at this period by the conformity of the business fluctuation of the former with that of the latter. The panic which occurred in the United States in 1893–94 carried havoc into the financial circles of the Dominion. There ensued a great depression of business. Both the Liberal and the Conservative party declared themselves in favor of a revival of prosperity. This, according to the political prescription of the time, was to be brought about by "Unrestricted Reciprocity"—that is, free trade with the United States.

ON THE LINE OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY—THE SELKIRK RANGE.—From a Photograph.

But a large class of influential leaders held to the policy of revival by a protective system. The situation of the Canadians, with a sparse population and a limitless territory, strongly suggested the laying of protective duties on the articles manufactured or produced within the country; but the influence of the home empire with its restricted area, its vast accumulations of capital and its limitless resources of labor, was constantly

exerted to keep the people of the Dominion in line with the old-world policy of free trade. Thus the Canadians were beaten between two forces, but were constantly pressed in the direction of the commercial policy of Great Britain.

At this epoch, several important questions, industrial, economic, and international, confronted the statesmen of Canada. One was the school question. The Legislature of Manitoba in creating a system of public instruction, abandoned the parochial or separate schools and instituted a purely secular system—this in the year 1890. Hereupon a pressure was brought to bear upon the province by the Dominion Government to induce a restoration of the parochial schools. The Catholics claimed to be greatly aggrieved because they were taxed for the support of the common schools, at the same time that they felt constrained to patronize and support their own church schools. In this situation was found the germs of a long-continued and not yet (1899) wholly decided controversy as to the Manitoban system of education.

Another question of much importance was the establishment and improvement of waterways. The grain-growers of the West demanded facilities for transportation from the head of Lake Superior to the Atlantic seaboard. This involved large additional expenditures on the Welland and St. Lawrence canals; also for the completion of a new canal at Sault Ste. Marie. To consider and promote these enterprises, a great convention was held at Toronto in the summer of 1894, and this was followed by a like convention in Cleveland, and still a third in Detroit, in 1896. The discussions were directed to the construction of such waterways between Buffalo and Montreal or New York as would permit the passage of vessels drawing twenty feet of water—just as such ways

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MONTREAL.—From a Photograph.

had already been secured either naturally or artificially from Duluth to Chicago and from Chicago to Buffalo.

A third question of importance was the improvement of the ocean-mail service. To this end an annual subsidy of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars was granted by the Canadian Government to supplement a subsidy five times as great which had been granted by the Imperial Government. It was thought by this means to add four steamships of first-class construction and equipment, able to make twenty knots an hour, to the existing fleet of vessels between the mother country and the Dominion ports. A Pacific telegraph cable was also projected; for this was necessary to complete the girdle of the world by supplying a line from Victoria to the ports and footings of Great Britain in Eastern Asia.

Still other questions were those relating to the admission of Newfoundland into the Canadian Dominion; the settlement of the Alaskan boundary; the completion of the organization of the so-called Territories in the vast Northwest, with their area of more than nine hundred thousand square miles; the perfecting of a Canadian copyright; and the maintenance of cordial relations with the United States.

When near the close of the administration of President Cleveland the peace of the United States and Great Britain seemed to be threatened on the score of the Venezuelan complication, the reflex effects of the controversy were strongly felt in Canada. The attitude of the Dominion at that juncture was sufficient to dispel all illusion as to Canadian preferences for our country. As matter of fact, Canada stood stoutly and with virtual unanimity for Great Britain. Her publicists and writers voiced the opinion of the people, and it is likely that the victorious outcome of the American contention produced a feeling of greater humiliation and regret in Canada than anywhere else.

It had been hinted that the crisis would be a good opportunity to promote annexation, but the proposal met with no favor. On the contrary, one of the leading writers of Canada set forth, in a reply to Mr. Goldwin Smith, the true sentiments of his countrymen. "Last Christmas," said he, "when Mr. Cleveland's message threatened invasion in connection with the Venezuela dispute, doubtless we could have arranged by negotiation for peace with the States, and have kept entirely out of the quarrel. The thought did occur to one man, and he was quietly ignored. I know of only two newspapers, among our thousands, which advocated separation. The tone of those two was as stout and calm as that of all the others. Like the Scots round their King at Flodden, no one failed the Old Mother. Every man and woman accepted the necessity, and without a word of complaint began to prepare for war. Homes in England were safe and ours in peril. What of that! Britain had been threatened, and therefore we, as part of the British Empire, accepted our responsibilities. Already the scare has cost us three millions of dollars, and no one has uttered a murmur against the expenditure."[1]

The loyalty of the Canadian Government and people to the imperial crown was still further shown in 1897, when the mother country undertook to relieve the sufferers from the famine in India. From Canada came liberal subscriptions to what was called the "Mansion House Fund" in London. In all matters, the Dominion Government made common cause with the Empire.

In the year just named, a profound interest was felt in Canada in the course of the tariff legislation at Washington City. At that time, the Dingley tariff scheme was before the House of Representatives, and the Canadians were anxious that the proposed legislation should be reciprocal so far as Canadian trade was concerned. At the same time, the Government under conduct of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was disturbed by an agitation for the adoption of a prohibitory liquor law. The issue was obviated by the usual shift of politicians, namely, an agreement to submit the question to a popular vote of the

[1] Principal Grant in the "National Review" for August, 1896.

whole Dominion. This was done, and the proposition to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors was negatived by a tremendous majority.

Prime Minister Laurier was still more seriously embarrassed, in 1897, by the necessity of deciding the school controversy in Manitoba. This, he at length did by directing the legislation in favor of the Protestant contention; that is, the attitude of the Manitobans in favor of free secular schools supported by public taxation. Hereupon the Catholic Bishops in Quebec bitterly attacked the policy of the Government, and did not spare Mr. Laurier or his supporters. It was given out that Archbishop Merry del Val would be sent as ablegate by the Pope to investigate the whole question at issue, and to report to Rome. At the same juncture, the Canadians were greatly excited by that part of Senator Lodge's bill known as the Restricted Immigration Bill which would prevent the workingmen of Canada from passing and repassing the international line on business of employment. To this the opposition was so great as to induce a threat of retaliation.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER, PRIME MINISTER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

When the Government of Laurier went fairly into operation, it did so under what was known as the "Ottawa Programme." This was the platform of principles on which the Liberals had come into power in 1896. The scheme included a demand for the abolition of the Dominion electoral franchise which had been in operation since 1887. This involved a return to the old system of provincial franchises, even in the case of general elections. The next item was the demand for a tariff for revenue only; also for closer trade relations with Great Britain and the United States; also a reform of the Canadian Senate; a plebiscite on the question of prohibition; the settlement of the Manitoba school question, etc. The Liberals found themselves with a good working majority, amounting to thirty-four over all, in the House of Commons, but in the Senate, which consisted of seventy-eight members, the Government, after appointing the Speaker—as it was authorized to do—could muster only sixteen votes. There was thus at the outset, constant danger of a deadlock in legislation.

When it came to amending the tariff, the Liberal Minister was as much embarrassed as if he had been an American Congressman in carrying out his programme. The Canadian manufacturers demanded more and more. Hitherto, they had insisted that they should

be "protected" against the manufacturers of Great Britain as much as against the goods of other countries. All that the new scheme now proposed was to remove a part of the customs duties on English made goods; that is, a discrimination in favor of the mother country. One-eighth of the duties chargeable on the general list was accordingly struck off from the goods of Great Britain imported into the Dominion.

At the outset, it was proposed in the Parliament of 1897 to retaliate against the United States on account of the Lodge Restricted Immigration Bill. A measure was accordingly prepared which was a duplicate of the Lodge law—a measure manifestly dictated by justice and by the self-respect of the Canadians. But as soon as the bill was brought forward, it was so amended as to change its character, and to make it finally much less aggressive and retaliatory than the original measure.

The legislation of 1897 bearing on the great question of transportation was most important of all. Four schemes were carried through Parliament. One of these was the extension of the intercolonial railway to Montreal. This measure, however, was finally stranded by an adverse vote in the Senate. The second measure provided for the establishment of a line of fast-going steamers between the Canadian ports and Liverpool. The third bill provided for a line to transport Canadian perishable products in cold storage to Great Britain. While the fourth measure provided for the construction of a branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Crow's Nest Pass to Nelson in British Columbia, a distance of three hundred and thirty miles. And this line was subsidized by the Government to the extent of $11,000 per mile.

In the latter part of 1897, Prime Minister Laurier, and his colleague, Sir Louis Davies, Minister of Marine, visited the capital of the United States with a view to securing better conditions of trade between the two countries. Many commodities of the greatest commercial importance were involved in the discussion of the question. First of all, there was the sealing trade. Then there was the trade in lumber, barley, hay, potatoes, eggs, and dairy products. On the side of the United States there was the desire to export into Canada farming implements, mining machinery, leather goods, fruits, and textile fabrics.

In general, Sir Wilfrid wished to promote reciprocity, but when he sought to gain the privilege of exporting Canadian lumber duty free into the United States, and when the United States sought correlative advantage in sending farm machinery and textile fabrics duty free into Canada, then the Canadian manufacturers cried out that Sir Wilfrid would break down the "infant industries" of his own country. It was the same old complication revived.

Nor may we pass from this attempt to establish reciprocal freedom in trade between the Dominion and the United States without remarking upon the essential and ineradicable vice in the whole question. Commerce is a process of getting an advantage. Trade is waged on both sides with this end in view. Trade is not philanthropy, but gain. Trade does not go abroad to scatter blessings, but to gather sheaves. Little difference does it make about the interests of those who produce the sheaves, and yet it is the cant of commerce that it is engaged in scattering benefits. Its forerunners declare in whatever region they penetrate that they have come to benefit the people of that region—to make them great and wealthy.

To penetrate this thin pretense is easy, for any one who is not willfully blind. Nations trade with each other to get the advantage. Competition is accepted as the law of exchange, and competition means to get everything that may be got at the smallest cost that may be incurred. The attitude of the Canadian and American Governments in the year 1897 fully illustrated the impossibility of two nations, under the prevailing system of economics, coming to an equitable and concessive arrangement for international commerce.

The questions at issue affecting the mutual interests of Canada and our Republic remained for the time undetermined, but at

T. Jefferson Coolidge. John A. Kasson. George Gray. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Louis Davies. Sir James Winter.

John W. Foster. Nelson Dingley. Charles W. Fairbanks. Lord Herschel, *Chairman*. Sir Richard Cartwright. John Charlton.

JOINT HIGH AMERICAN-CANADIAN COMMISSION, 1898.

length it was decided by the two Governments to constitute a Canadian-American Commission to convene at Quebec in August of 1898 and pass upon all matters which were at issue. On the part of the Canadian Government, the commissioners appointed were: Baron Herschel, Lord High Chancellor, as representative of Great Britain; Sir Wilfrid Laurier and two members of his Cabinet, namely, Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Commerce, and Sir Louis Davies, Minister of Marine; also Mr. John Charlton, one of the leaders of the Canadian Parliament. On the side of the United States were appointed Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana, Senator Gray of Delaware, Hon. Nelson Dingley of Maine, Hon. John W. Foster, Hon. John A. Casson, and Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge.

The questions to be considered by the conference were: first, the boundary line between Alaska and British Columbia; the conclusion of the controversy about pelagic sealing; the transshipment in bond from the one country to the other; the relation of Canadian railroads to the American interstate commerce law; and finally, the question of a reciprocal tariff arrangement between the two nations. These issues, however, were of so great importance and the outbreak of the Spanish-American war so much distracted the attention of the American people that slow progress was made by the commission in its work.

In Mexico little of permanent interest has occurred. The decline in the price of silver as measured by gold at first plunged the country into distress; but the final effect has not been wholly injurious, since it forced business enterprise to seek and to establish some new forms of industrial activity, so that the development of business is now far beyond anything Mexico has known in past years.

The history of the Republic in this period furnishes a striking contrast to that of any other Spanish-American State. The contrast seems to have been effected by the appearance of statesmanship in the conduct of public affairs. The change from revolutionary Mexico to the Mexico of Republican steadfastness began as far back as the time when Benito Pablo Juarez became President, in 1861. There was a period of confused struggle extending as far as the death of Juarez, in 1872. Four years afterward, the tendency to settled and statesmanlike habits in the Republic was accentuated by the election of General Porfirio Diaz to the presidency.

General Diaz first served one term in the presidency, and Mexican prosperity came with him. According to the existing order, he was ineligible to reëlection in 1880, but four years later he was again chosen, and when his term expired, the statutes were altered in his favor, and he was chosen for a third term, and this became a fourth term in 1892, and a fifth in 1896. Nor did it appear that this unprecedented term of service was coupled with any growth of monarchism or any loss of popular liberties among the Mexicans.

Industrial prosperity prevailed during the whole period under consideration. The threatened failure of the Baring Brothers did not affect Mexico, and the panic of 1893, which prostrated the industries of the United States, went by without harm beyond the Rio Grande. The Government was administered with steady common sense and patriotism which redeemed the reputation of the Republic from the charge of faction and instability.

Two or three times during the long administration of Diaz, the constitution of the Republic had to be amended as if in his favor; but this was done with the overwhelming consent and purpose of the people. The opposition party, however, was not suppressed or persecuted. There was an element of broadmindness and justice in the President's policy that disarmed the criticism of the minority. The opposition leaders were able to complain that General Diaz had overthrown constitutional liberty and had put down a free press. But these charges were not justified by the facts. The truth was that Mexico in this period became a more respectable and equal nation than ever before in her history.

In the year 1897, one of the remedies sug-

gested for the deplorable state of affairs in Cuba was a proposed annexation of that island to Mexico. It was said that the Cubans and the Mexicans are of a common race and a common religion. The constitution of the Mexican Republic made it possible for semi-autonomous States to be joined therewith territorially and politically. It was urged that should a course such as this be taken in the case of Cuba, the States of Central America would perhaps follow the example. The scheme contemplated nothing less than the creation of a single great Republic stretching from the Rio Grande to the Isthmus of Darien. Such projects, however, rarely indicate the actual course of events. The latter are determined by causes that are in themselves, and not by the invented plan of publicists and statesmen.

Among the peaceable enterprises of this period was the more definite determination of the international boundary between Mexico and the United States. The work was prosecuted by an international commission appointed by the two Governments. Not able to complete its work in 1897, the commission was continued into the following year. Meanwhile the boundary dispute with Guatemala was satisfactorily settled.

GENERAL PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO.

Mexico having decided to make her national development from within and to follow lines of strict independence in her economic and political career, avoiding all complications with foreign Powers, found herself in the closing years of the century in a better condition as to peace and prosperity than did any other nation of the earth. Not another State of the New World or the Old, all of which were attempting to increase the international entanglement and each concerning itself with the other's business more than its own,—was equally peaceable within or equally flattered with the hope of perpetuity. More particularly should it be said of Mexico that the end of the century found her more advanced, more prosperous, more comfortable in the essentials of the civilized life, than was any other State or Kingdom controlled by the Latin races.

Central America has continued in the closing years of the century its fame as the most turbulent country in the whole world. In March, 1893, a revolution broke out in Honduras, at Cholutica, the troops of Presi-

dent Leiva being dispersed by rebels under General Borilla. General Vasquez ultimately defeated General Borilla, and was elected in the place of Leiva. Another revolution was undertaken in Costa Rica, but it failed completely. In San Salvador there was a revolution in July of the same year, but President Ezeta conquered his enemies. Nicaragua also had a small unsuccessful revolution at about the same time. In 1894 the fickle temper of the people was displayed in an unsuccessful attempt to kill President Iglesia, of Costa Rica, and another equally fruitless effort to overcome the President in Guatemala. In Honduras the presidency was obtained by force, and the customary revolution in San Salvador ensued.

In the Mosquito Territory serious troubles arose in 1894, growing out of Nicaragua's claim to sovereignty and British demands. In August, General Ortiz, of Nicaragua, and three hundred men defeated the natives, and occupied the heights commanding Bluefields. A party of marines was landed from the British war vessel to protect British property and lives, and another party was sent on shore from a United States ship. In November the United States recognized the sovereignty of Nicaragua. The matter did not, however, end here. The fact that the British Vice-Consul Hatch and nine other British traders had been excluded from the country because of their unsuccessful effort to restore Chief Clarence in the Mosquito Reserve, was made the ground of a demand for indemnity from Nicaragua to Great Britain. Nicaragua resisted the demand, whereupon the British Government issued an ultimatum, and followed it by occupying the Port of Corinto for the avowed purpose of collecting the customs to the amount asked for the indemnity. President Zelama ordered the port closed and declared all goods delivered there to be contraband. San Salvador, however, guaranteed the payment of the indemnity, and the affair was thus ended.

The ground of the British claims was that there had been no trial of the alleged offenders, and that, therefore, the dignity of the English people had been injured unwarrantably. In this view Great Britain seemed to have the countenance of the best thought as to international courtesy. A settlement was reached in 1895. Its immediate effect was the formation in the same year of the Central American Union, a confederation of five of the Central American States. A conference was called in June, by President Guttierez, of San Salvador, and the Presidents of Nicaragua and Honduras met with him. A compact for permanent peace was signed. By this arrangement the nations were to retain their internal independence, but were to act as one nation in all concerns of external political and commercial relations. The Republics that originally joined in the confederation were to be known as the Greater Republic of Central America. The incoming of Guatemala and Costa Rica were to change this name to the Republic of Central America.

In South America the years contained much that was of particular moment in the time and place, little of permanent interest, except the success of the revolution in Brazil and the Venezuela boundary dispute, which continued in shifting phases until 1896, when Venezuela, through the good offices of the United States, at last paid the damages done to British property by Venezuelan officials when they were asserting their supposed territorial rights. This incident involved the United States, and the attitude of the Washington Government was so dignified, and yet so positive, that its course gave new prestige to America both at home and abroad.

Despite the bloodlessness of Brazil's metamorphosis into a Republic, there was much internal strife there for the first years under the new Government. A naval revolt occurred in 1890, with a financial panic, the result of redundant paper money. President Marshal Fonseca, in 1891, quarreled with the Congress, and autocratically rid himself of his adversaries by the aid of the army. His dictatorship was, however, challenged by several of the provinces, and a disintegration of the country seemed inevitable.

This was avoided by a counter-insurrection originating in the navy, which restored

JOSÉ DA MORAES, PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL.

the Congress almost without a blow, and put Peixoto in Fonseca's place. Fonseca died in the following year, a few months after the death of the ex-emperor. In July, 1893, there was another and most surprising revolution. Admiral Woldenkolk, with one hundred armed passengers, seized the merchantman *Jupiter*, after leaving the port of Buenos Ayres, and sailed to the port of Rio Grande, where the usual revolutionary and supposititiously patriotic manifesto was issued against the alleged tyrant Peixoto. The admiral was, however, promptly captured and court-martialed by the Government.

Another military episode, more lengthy and yet more curious, was the naval revolt led by Rear-Admiral Custodio de Mello, who, with a fleet of one iron-clad cruiser, two torpedo boats, and some merchant vessels, seized the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. This war continued until the election in March of the following year, and all that time the naval force was unable to land, as it was repeatedly driven back by the Government troops on shore. No more could it escape from the harbor; for the passage was raked by Government guns. On the other hand, the naval force was impregnable in its position, owing to the fact that there was no navy ready to oppose it. The Government was obliged, therefore, to set about getting a navy; and when it had accomplished that task, early in 1894, the naval revolution of 1893 was immediately at an end. The cessation of hostilities was very soon followed by the election in March of José da Moraes to the presidency of the Republic. His administration marked the beginning of an era of more peaceful conditions in the political life of Brazil.

The year 1890 was a revolutionary one in the Argentine Confederation. The war was not very serious as far as slaughter was concerned, but it was vastly disastrous to the

GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, BUENOS AYRES.

public credit. The President, Dr. Celman, was accused of misuse of the Government revenues, and a military revolt was the result. Then there was civil war in Buenos Ayres, and the nation's credit went tottering. The President at first triumphed over his enemies; but soon even his fellow-officials abandoned him, and he was forced to resign. This restored tranquillity; but the recouping from the financial loss was a matter not so easily accomplished. The importance of the whole affair is better appreciated when we reflect that the London panic of 1890 found in this strife one proximate cause. The history of Argentina in the years since reveals little accomplished toward establishing a system of sound finances.

Chile retained as a souvenir of the Peruvian war the curse of militarism. By means of the military power, President Balmaceda, in 1891, assumed despotic authority, and expelled a hostile majority from the Congress, and packed a new body with his own adherents. The Congressionals revolted, and drew with them the better class of citizens and the larger part of the navy. These revolting forces fought the dictator; but the issue was long doubtful, especially as Balmaceda controlled most of the points whence news of the conflicts could be transmitted. The naval engagements that occurred were of much liveliness; but at last the dictator was defeated in a great battle near Valparaiso, and immediately afterward shot himself.

Then followed the disturbance with the United States, brought out by the attack of the populace on some sailors from one of the United States warships. The cause of this was, that the United States minister at the time, who was Patrick Egan, throughout the civil struggle, seemed to espouse the cause of the dictator, and thereby gave to the opponents of Balmaceda the impression that the United States desired the President's success.

A petty state was added to the great system of Republics in the West by the Hawaiian revolution in 1893. The insurrection was brought about by the follies of the Queen Liliuokalani, the widow of John O. Dominis, an American, who came to the throne in 1891. She developed into a political tyrant, and her Cabinet, at a crisis forced by her, was compelled to resign in January, 1893.

A new Cabinet was formed, and this, too, refused to obey the Queen's unconstitutional requirements. On January 14 an attempt was made to introduce a new constitution, favoring the natives; but the Cabinet refused to sanction the measure, and fomented a bloodless revolt instead. The rebellion was effected on January 16, the Queen was deposed, and an Executive Council formed, consisting of Judge S. B. Dole, president; J. A. King, P. C. Jones, and W. O. Smith,—all Americans. A volunteer force was organized, and the Government entered on a supposedly temporary discharge of State functions, looking toward annexation to the United States, although the outcome of events decreed that the protection of the larger country was to be for a time only informally extended, the Government becoming established July 4, 1894.

There was much suspicion that the ex-Queen hoped for a restoration of her powers, and these suspicions were confirmed by a royalist revolt in December, 1894. The revolt was quite harmless to the Republic, but most injurious to the Queen; for she was arrested in January, 1895, tried, and found guilty of high treason. She was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of five thousand dollars. She made a formal abandonment of her claims and an oath of allegiance to the Republic, and her sentence was afterward suspended.

The course taken by the Venezuelan question was surprising in the last degree. Just at the close of his administration, President Cleveland took a stand of unequivocal firmness with respect to the Monroe doctrine, demanding that the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain should be submitted to arbitration. Great Britain was little disposed to arbitrate.

The question became so large that the interests of Venezuela in maintaining he boundary line was wholly overlooked in the international complication. At one time

hostility seemed to be threatened between the United States and Great Britain. Then came the proposition to arbitrate, and then followed the still larger scheme of universal arbitration between the American Republic and Great Britain. To this effect a treaty between the two nations was negotiated; but when it came to the rub, the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the treaty.

Meanwhile an American commission had been appointed to determine for the benefit of the administration the actual facts respecting the Schomburgk line. But before the commission could accomplish its work, the Spanish complication came into the landscape, and it was suddenly discovered that Great Britain, instead of being the traditional enemy of the American Republic, was according to appearances the best of all friends! Therefore the Monroe doctrine must give way to an Anglo-American alliance. Therefore the Venezuelan question was no question at all. The whole matter was allowed to sink into the earth, while the international waltz whirled on to exhaust itself in conflicts and war.

In March of 1897, Great Britain resumed her diplomatical relations with Venezuela. The suspension of intercourse had lasted for ten years. Hereupon, Señor Pietri who had been the Venezuelan Minister at Berlin was transferred to London and nothing further was heard of the Schomburgk line.

In the meantime a measure of interest was excited in the affairs of Bolivia. That country, about 1880, had, as a result of her war with Chili, lost her sea coast, which had gone to the conqueror as an indemnity. She now began to assert her claims. The general map of South America showed at this period that only Bolivia and Paraguay were excluded territorially from the sea coast. The former accordingly reässerted her rights, but not successfully; for Chili had, in the meantime, become the most aggressive and warlike of all the South American states. Her

THE ROYAL PALACE AT HONOLULU, NOW THE CAPITOL BUILDING.

Government had also become regular and effective. The general elections in March of 1897, resulted favorably to the administration, and it was conducted in a manner so legal and correct as to indicate the order and permanence of institutions.

In Central America at this period, two signs of a better order might be noted and remarked upon. The first of these was the constantly recurring effort of the states to form a federal union. The other was emphasized, in March of 1897, by the holding in the city of Guatemala of an exhibition of arts and industries—a fact which could but signify the improving condition of Central America in respect to the industrial and economic welfare of the people. It was anticipated that a successful exposition of the kind would tend powerfully to allay the revolutionary spirit which had become chronic throughout the country. And it was at this time that the Central Americans more seriously than ever before took up the question of the interoceanic waterway, which had long been advocated in the United States.

Another matter of historical importance belonging to this period was the extension and confirmation of British financial influence in several of the South American Republics. Great Britain had never been satisfied with her failure to secure, in the first place, a better footing in the Equatorial and South Temperate regions of our hemisphere. She had never been content with the Spanish ascendency in two of the three Americas. Accordingly, after dominating the seas and falling upon the coast of nearly all other regions, with a display of force and conquering aggression, she sought in the after half of the nineteenth century to accomplish the rest by means of her accumulated capital. In the last decade of the century, she threw out her resources, first, into the Argentine Republic, where she invested in railways and lands about $1,000,000,000.

To a limited extent, a British population followed the line of this development; but the sequel showed that the subjects of her Majesty's Empire were not greatly disposed to venture among a population overwhelmingly Latin and Catholic. The same policy was pursued in Chili. In this country, the gold mines of the Rainless Coast, attracted the cupidity of the dominant race, and there was a considerable immigration. Other enterprises also, such as railways, harbors, lands, and factories, attracted the capital of Great Britain, and little nests of foreign industry were established in many places.

Viewing the South American Republics as a whole, their character at the close of the century had greatly improved. The holding of Presidential elections in these countries was no longer regarded as a signal for revolution. The elections began to pass by in a quiet and orderly way, and the minority generally acquiesced. Thus it was in Venezuela, where in 1898, Señor Ignacio Andrade was elected to the presidency.

In Honduras at this period, a company of New York capitalists got a footing and induced the Republic to grant them full control of the banking business and customs revenues of the country. In some parts, however, adverse conditions and the ancient methods still prevailed. Thus in Uruguay, in August of 1897, when the people were celebrating their Independence Day, the President, Señor Idiarte Borda, was shot and instantly killed. In Guatemala about the same time, the brother of President Barrios was assassinated.

ISTHMUS OF PANAMA
AND THE
UNITED STATES CANAL ZONE
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
The United States Canal Zone, under perpetual lease from the Republic of Panama, is under the control of the U. S. Department of War. It is bounded by lines, not yet permanently surveyed, running parallel to and five miles from the proposed canal route on either side. It extends three marine miles into the sea at each end, and takes in several small islands, for naval stations, in the Bay of Panama. The city limits of Panama and Colon are excepted from the zone.
The level of the Caribbean Sea at Chagres is 6ft. 6 ins. higher than the level of the Bay of Panama at low water. This fact will always compel at least one lock in the Canal, even were a sea-level canal to be decided upon.
CARIBBEAN SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
PANAMA
COSTA RICA
COLOMBIA
MOSQUITO GULF
GULF OF PANAMA
ISTHMUS OF PANAMA
CHAGRES RIVER
CHAGRES RANGE
ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC
Manzanillo Pt.
PUERTO BELLO (PORTOBELO)
NOMBRE DE DIOS
RIO CIDRA
PALENQUE
San Blas Pt.
San Blas Gulf
Muletas Archipelago
Ratones Cays
PLAYON
ESCORES
CARETA
Pt. Careta
Pt. Gorda
S. ALEJO
ZARAGOZA
COLON (ASPINWALL)
Toro Point
Limon Bay
Chagres River
CHAGRES
MONKEY HILL
LA SOLEDAD
SANTA RITA
GATUN
TIGER HILL
RIO PINA
Pt. Diego
SALUD
CALLE BRUJA
AGUA CLARA
PALO HORQUETA
LION HILL
LAGARTER
ALHAJUELA
STA. BARBARA
JAPADERA
CHEPO
CHEMAN
JUAN DIAZ
Rio Chepo
Rio Bayano
Sabana
Alajuela
San Jose
Limon
C. Mona
Sanson Lagoon
Boca del Drago
Columbus Isl.
Boca del Toro
Boca del Tigre
C. Valiente
Old Bess Pt.
Veragua I.
Rio Sixaola
Bocas
Chiriqui Lagoon
Chiriqui Mts.
Chiriqui Volcano
Mt. Horquita
Dulce Bay
Gualaca
David
Bugaba
Tole
S. Lorenzo
S. Felix
Burica Pt.
Davila Bay
Sevilla Isl.
Pueblo Nuevo
Parida Isl.
Contreras Isls.
Coiba Isl.
Jicaron Isl.
Jicarita Isl.
Montijo Bay
Cebaco Isl.
Mariato Pt.
Veraguas Mineral Pt.
Belen
Salud
Pt. Diego
Limon Bay
Chagres
Pina
Colon (Aspinwall)
Pt. Gorda
Manzanillo Pt.
Puerto Bello
Nombre de Dios
San Blas Pt.
Palenque
Archipelago
Muletas
Playon
Escores
Careta
Caledonia Bay
C. Tiburon
G. of Darien
Urabi
P. Arboletos
Catalina Hills
Santiago Peak
Santiago de Veragua
Canaza
Chargins
Chiriqui Lagoon
Chame
Chepo
Cheman
Chorrera
Bay of Panama
Otoque I.
Pearl Is.
S. Carlos
Anton
Prieto Pt.
S. Jose I.
Gulf of S. Miguel
Garachine Pt.
Garachine
Chimiana
Coral
Taboga
Canal
Rey
Delicia
Palmas
Tolo
Chapira
Natá
Parita Bay
Parita
Santiago
Las Palmas
Montijo
Mina
Los Santos
Las Tablas
Pedasi
Macaraca
Tablas
Azuero Peninsula
C. Mala
Pinas Bay
Guanico Pt.
Puercos Pt.
Humboldt Bay
C. Marzo
Murindo
E. Atrato
SCALE
0 25 50 100
Longitude West from Greenwich.
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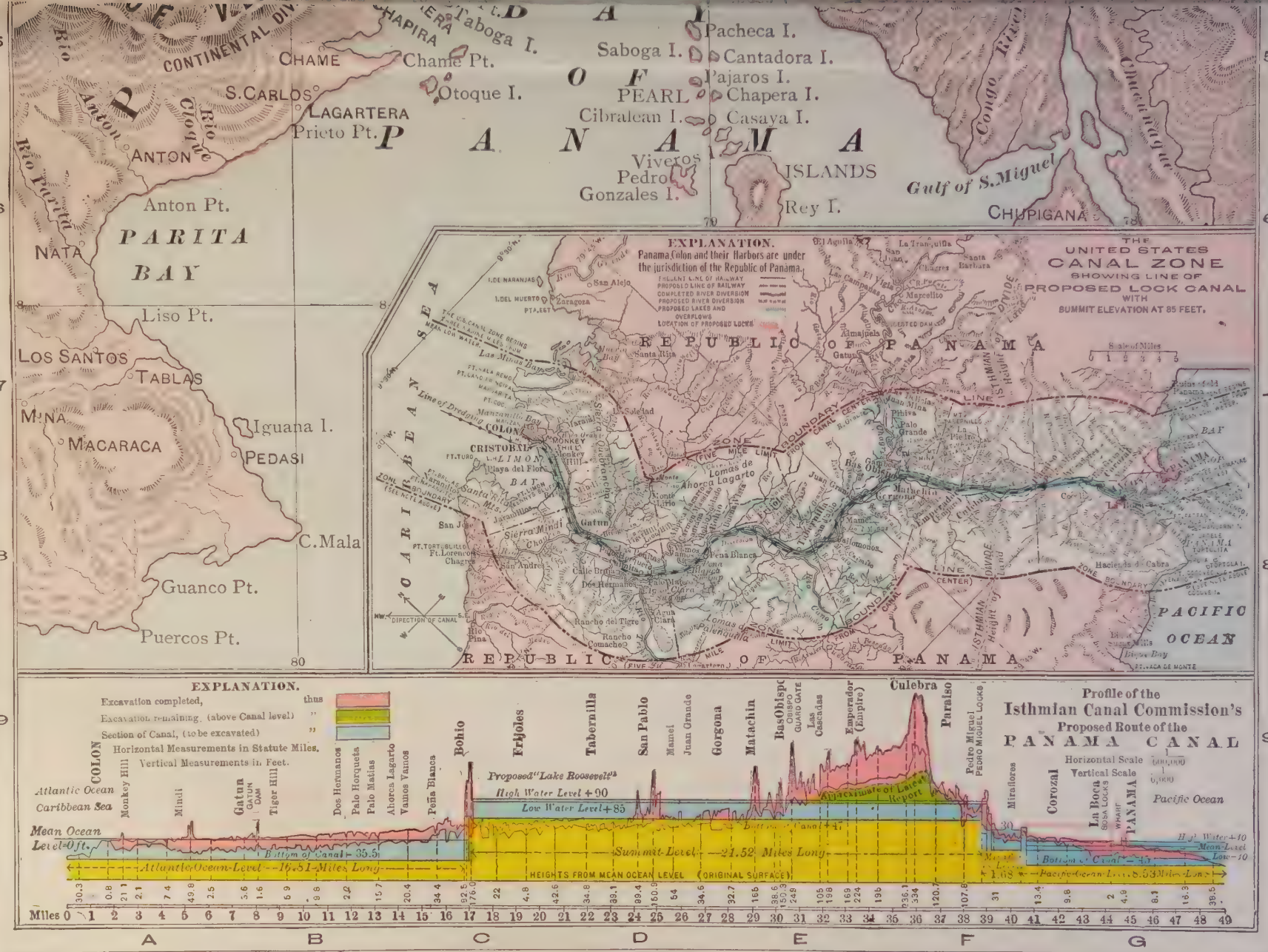

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CHAPTER CLXX.—THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

REPUBLICANISM in South Africa represents an international tragedy.

Eccentricity of disposition makes William of Germany a picturesque character. His proneness to act on sudden impulse causes him to do many strange things, not the least of which was the sending of the following congratulatory dispatch to President Krüger soon after the inglorious termination of the Jameson raid:

"To PRESIDENT KRUGER, Pretoria:

"I tender you my sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of friendly Powers, you and your people have been successful in opposing, with your own forces, the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without. WILHELM, I. R."

This peculiar dispatch is not dated, but it was marked by President Krüger, "Received January 3d, 1896. From Wilhelm, I. R., Berlin," and it was thereafter treasured by the bluff old Afrikander as one of his most precious documents. It led him and his people to believe that in case of war with England they would have an active friend in Germany, and this belief had much to do in shaping the course of future events.

There were two significant features connected with this note. First, the German Emperor was a grandson of the Queen of England; and in the second place, the sentence, "Without appealing to the help of friendly Powers," could not be construed to mean anything but an assurance of help in case of need. It was so understood by President Krüger and his people, and this belief gave them courage to beard the British lion when the time came.

But there was another, and a broader and better view to be taken of the matter. At the time of the Jameson raid, and on down to the beginning of hostilities in 1899, the respectable English sentiment was almost wholly on the side of the Boers. There was no war party worth considering. The conspirators at London and in South Africa had no influential following at home. The Queen was for peace and justice, as shown by her public utterances and the prompt action which she compelled her ministers to take in disclaiming any responsibility for the raid. Mr. Chamberlain's "strictly confidential" telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, High Commissioner for South Africa, dated December 29th, 1895—the same day that Dr. Jameson started on his raid—shows very clearly that the Colonial Secretary knew where British sentiment stood at that time. He was not ready to enforce the demands of the Rhodes party. British feeling had not yet been wrought up to the standard of war, and the Secretary accordingly cabled Sir Hercules as follows:

"Strictly Confidential.—It has been suggested, although I do not think it probable, that an endeavor might be made to *force matters at Johannesburg to a head* by some one in the service of the Company advancing from Bechuanaland Protectorate with police. Were this to be done, I should have to take action under Articles 22 and 8 of the Charter. Therefore, if necessary, but not otherwise, remind Rhodes of these Articles, and intimate to him that, *in your opinion*, he would not have my support, and point out the consequences that would follow."

It requires but little reading between the lines of this telegram to be convinced that

it meant more than it said. It appears to have been a communication between parties on the basis of a previous understanding. The sentences expressed in italics are the most significant. The British pulse had been felt, the condition of English sentiment had been diagnosed, and it was found to be unripe for aggression. Accordingly, the acting principal was notified that if he went forward it would be at his own risk.

Even if the Jameson expedition had been strong enough to be respectable, it could not have succeeded at that time. The sentiment of the world was against it, and British soldiers would have crushed it. But Dr. Jameson felt sure of his footing. He had not been long enough in public life to know when it is safe to trust politicians. In compliance with Mr. Chamberlain's instructions, a swift messenger hastened after the Jameson party, and overtook them near the Elan River. They had started from Mafeking, in Bechuanaland, and were making for Johannesburg. After reading the warning dispatch, the leader of the expedition "coolly replied to the messenger that he might report that the order had been received and would be attended to, and then the raiders rode on." The sequel has already been told. Jameson and his party rode into an ambuscade near Krügersdorp and were captured by the Boers. Sixty-five were killed and many wounded in the preceding battle. The wounded received the utmost kindness at the hands of their captors. It would have been worse for the party, but the Boers had no desire to kill. On the contrary, they shot the raiders' horses in order that they might capture the men.

MAJUBA HILL.—From a Recent Photograph.

The prisoners were brought to Pretoria, and there the leaders might have received harsh treatment from the enraged farmers, except for the firmness and humanity of Paul Krüger. They were tried by the High Court of the South African Republic, and

Dr. Jameson and his principal associates were condemned to be shot. The leaders among the Boers, including General Joubert, demanded the immediate execution of the sentence; but the President refused to sign the death warrant, and ordered the prisoners to be turned over to the British authorities on the Natal frontier. The offending cubs were delivered to the old lion to be chastised! What might have been an international tragedy ended as a farce.

This characteristic story of President Krüger is related in connection with the trial and surrender of the raiders: Shortly after the prisoners were brought to Pretoria, the President called a meeting of about twenty of the Boer commanders at his house, for consultation. The burghers were greatly excited, and the presence of the men who had invaded the Republic with arms in their hands aggravated the situation. The President was deeply affected, but counseled moderation and discretion. Some of the more excitable members of the conference demanded that Jameson and his men should be shot immediately, while one man, with a rare streak of humor in his composition, suggested that this would be too lenient a punishment for such desperate characters. "Let us cut off their ears," he said, "and prolong their sufferings." This remark was cabled to Europe and America and published as evidence of the inhumanity of the Boers.

General Joubert argued that it was advisable, in the interest of the public safety, to carry out the sentence of the court and execute the prisoners.

"My friends," said President Krüger, at this juncture, "I will ask you to listen patiently to me for several minutes. I will tell you the story of the farmer and the neighbor's dog. Suppose that near your farm lives a man whose valuable dogs attack your sheep and kill many. Will you shoot the dogs as soon as you see them, and in that way make yourself liable for damages greater than the value of the sheep that were destroyed? Or will you catch the dogs when you are able to do so, and, carrying them to your neighbor, say to him: 'I have got your dogs; now pay me for the damage they have done me, and they shall be returned to you.'"

General Joubert saw the point of the story. His face lighted up, and he exclaimed: "We have the neighbor's dogs in the jail. What shall we do with them?" The meeting decided, without further argument, to surrender them to their own people, to be dealt with as they thought best.

Dr. Jameson knew in whom he had placed his trust. As soon as the news of his capture reached England, the Colonial Secretary telegraphed President Krüger, begging him to show magnanimity in the hour of victory. The appeal was promptly heeded. The prisoners were taken to London for trial, and were there treated to an ovation by that portion of the populace which thinks but little and is always ready to fight. At the beginning of the Transvaal war Dr. Jameson was among the first in the saddle and was mentioned in the dispatches as one of the prominent leaders opposed to the Boers. Evidently his punishment in England had not been so severe as to alienate his affections from the mother country!

When Wilhelm of Germany sent his congratulatory message to Uncle Paul, he knew the feeling of the worthy elements in England, and particularly of the royal family, or he would not have so boldly jeopardized the good will of a friendly nation. At any rate, he had his fighting feathers on, and did not hesitate to proclaim his sentiments, even at the risk of precipitating a general European war. It was an indiscreet act, and led to deplorable results. It played into the hands of the English anti-Boer party, by giving them the desired pretext for arousing a war spirit against the little Dutch Republics. And it imbued the latter with a confidence built on false hopes, a courage in excess of their strength, the one destined to bitter disap-

pointment and the other to crushing defeat by the weight of numbers.

The German Emperor's note was resented with peculiar bitterness by a portion of the British press, which accused him of violating international courtesy! And the German press, as usual in such cases, replied with similar acrimony in defense of their imperial ruler; so that it seemed for awhile as if this erratic, but well-meaning, young

CAPE TOWN.—ONE OF LORD ROBERTS' INDIAN BODY-GUARDS.

man would be the cause of war between the two great nations.

The party of English extremists was not slow to perceive its opportunity. It made haste to arouse British pugnacity and to create a war spirit that should sweep away reason and justice and open a channel for the destruction of the Dutch Republics. A crusade of misrepresentation was begun against the Boers. They were lampooned and caricatured in the grossest manner by some of the leading British newspapers. They were represented as an ignorant, uncouth and brutal people, unfit for self-government and wholly incompetent to govern others. One writer, after drawing a fancy picture of what he called the "Boer of fiction," said:

"The Boer of fact is a creature of another clay. He is a dull, lumpish, lazy animal, with a capacity for ignorance, superstition and tyranny unsurpassed by any white race. * * * * His piety is apt to degenerate into superstition and sanctimonious Pharisaism. Love of independence has begot in him hate of everything that might tend to disturb his reverence for the past, and suspicion of the stranger who threatens to 'tread him to death,' in the solitude of the veldt. * * * * Few of them can read, and still fewer are able to write. Yet the Boer will tolerate nothing that would dispel his ignorance or

contradict his superstitions. He is still convinced that the sun moves around the earth, and that the earth is a flat and solid substance, resting on unseen foundations."

This description is so absurd as to be almost amusing. Any self-satisfied foreigner might find enough in the independent character and social and religious customs of intelligent American farmers to justify him in applying similar caricatures to them. In fact, certain portions of our own press, notably the so-called comic weeklies, do misrepresent the American farmer precisely as a section of the British press did the Boers. Human nature is so peculiarly constituted that every man seems eccentric to his neighbor. If a dweller of the veldt should visit London he would find many things to laugh at, and perhaps others that would make him sad.

The same writer quoted above continues:

"There is nothing the Boer is not capable of doing with a good conscience. He will beat a Kaffir to death, yet will never believe that the native is not his loyal and devoted friend. * * * * This confidence in his destiny and consciousness of superiority over every created thing would be sublime were it not ridiculous. * * * * As a family man, the Boer's reputation would justify him in becoming a candidate for the Dunmow Flitch. Surly and suspicious in manner, heavy and uncouth in his ways, shy and reserved among strangers, you may win him to a gruff cordiality, if you are a husband and father, and care to listen to the details of his domestic life. But, although the Boer certainly cherishes, with deep affection, his wife and children, he treats them according to Oriental rather than European ideas. The women always stand until the men are seated, and are not served until the wants of their lords and masters are satisfied. I am describing the customs of the farmer who lives on the veldt, and has no acquaintance with Western manners. Such a man is little removed from a state of barbarism, and his surroundings are often as squalid as those of a Kaffir. Despite this patriarchal rule, the vrouw has great influence over her man, and is credited with having, on more than one occasion, screwed his courage up to the fighting point. The Boer vrouw is not a beauty, notwithstanding the care with which she preserves her complexion from the effects of the sun. Her ambition, like that of the fishwives at Scheveningen, is to become as fat as an ox, though, unlike the Dutch wife, she is not an example of scrupulous cleanliness. The Boer is not hospitable. He resents the presence of strangers, and, being too lazy to cultivate more than is necessary for the immediate wants of his family, he has nothing to spare for uninvited guests."

And yet this sarcastic Englishman ought to have known that any decent, well-behaved stranger could travel from one end of the Republics to the other without a shilling in his pocket, and be everywhere a welcome guest. So great and so free was the hospitality of this estimable people that there were no inns or public houses in their country, because none were needed. Their life was ideal. It was the life that philosophers have dreamed about, and despaired of ever beholding. Out of the great veldts of Southeastern Africa each burgher was authorized to carve for himself a farm of three thousand acres, if he desired so much. In the midst of these broad acres he built an unpretentious home, better than the average American farm-house; while his herds of cattle and sheep grazed and waxed fat on the green grasses of the valleys and the rolling hills that made up the picturesque landscape. Here these people lived, close to nature. The father was a patriarch, and the mother an idealized character to be loved and reverenced as the mothers of Israel were. The family instinct was strong among them, and their domestic affection, next to their religion, was their ruling passion. The father never went on a journey to the market town or engaged in

the annual hunt without taking his family with him, on account of the "homesickness" that possessed him when separated from those whom he loved. The several "treks" to which they had been driven accustomed them to living much of the time in their great wagons, that had been both home and fortress while they redeemed the wilderness from wild animals and savage men. The sons grew up to be stalwart hunters and tenders of flocks, and the daughters bloomed into fair matrons. Paul Krüger himself was a famous lion-hunter before he became a kind-hearted but shrewd statesman. While still a mere boy, single-handed and without weapons of any kind, he slew a panther and saved the life of his little sister, whom his father had entrusted to his care. The scars of this battle are still visible on his aged person, indelible marks of his heroic spirit, more honorable than the tinsel and spangles of royal favor. The Boers knew neither want nor care, for their growing herds and their thrift and industry assured them an abundance of the comforts of life. Their forms were not stunted or bent by the labor of necessity; the attention required by their flocks was nothing more than healthy recreation. Their frugal mode of life and isolation from large cities and dense populations gave them exemption from disease, so that fathers and mothers lived to be honored by two and three generations of their offspring. There are authentic instances of grandfathers, and even great-grandfathers, leading their descendants into battle against the British.

The home life of the Boers is represented as having been very beautiful. Parents exercised no harshness of discipline over their children, while perfect confidence and companionship prevailed among them. At the same time, the younger people were silent and respectful in the presence of their elders. It is said that in the Boer country there were more pianos, melodeons, organs and other musical instruments than among any other people in the world, of equal numbers; and sacred songs, in which all the family took part, constituted a regular feature of their morning and evening devotions. They never partook of food without asking a blessing, and returning thanks after having eaten. On their marches, whether they ate a full meal from a well-supplied table, or leaped from their horses to snatch a hasty lunch of biltong and bread, they reverently bowed their heads in acknowledgment of an overruling Providence, before and after eating. In all their laagers they held religious services at daybreak and after sunset each day, whether they were near the enemy or at a distance; and before retiring to sleep they made their camps resound with Dutch hymns and psalms of praise and thanksgiving. An instance is related where, after a hard night's march, a party of Boers had come into the vicinity of a large body of British, and, concealing themselves behind some kopjes and the banks of a stream, lay down to await the dawn before beginning an attack. No sooner were they settled than some of the men began to sing a hymn, and ceased only at the stern command of their superior officer.

The Boers did not go into battle to satisfy a thirst for blood, for they abhorred the slaughter of men; and it is asserted on the authority of Americans who fought with them that it was no unusual thing to see a burgher weeping beside the corpse of a British soldier. After the battle of Spion Kop, where the cannons of the African farmers wrought such havoc in the ranks of their enemies, scores of bareheaded Boers were heard to deplore the war, and, with ejaculations of "Poor Tommy!" brushed away the tears that rolled down their brown cheeks and over their long beards. They never rejoiced over a victory, or indulged in shouting or other modes of expressing their satisfaction. After a Spion Kop or a Magersfontein they might be heard to say, quietly, "That is good," or, "God gave us the victory;" but that was the limit of their exultation. Foreigners serving in their

army were sometimes wild with joy after victories, but the Boers looked stolidly on, smiling perhaps, but taking no part in the demonstrations.

Their religion was to them a sacred and holy sentiment, but it was neither severe nor obtrusive. They went quietly about their devotions, regardless of what others might think or do. It was not a formal or morose religion, but more nearly resembled the faith of a little child in the goodness and mercy of his father. Every Boer soldier, from the oldest to the youngest, carried his Bible or Testament as a part of his regular accoutrements, and these were sedulously perused at every convenient opportunity; not as a duty, but as a chief pleasure. Notwithstanding their profoundly religious character, they were a light-hearted, merry people, fond of sports and ever ready to turn a disaster into a frolic. Following the four days' fight at Paardeburg and the surrender of General Cronje's army, it was necessary for them to wade the Modder River, a feat that was accompanied by shouting and splashing like a lot of merry school boys out for a lark.

They were the freest people the world has yet seen. Their equality of citizenship was so complete that the humblest burgher came unannounced into the presence of the President and counseled with him about affairs of state. The spirit of independence was carried to such an extreme as to preclude anything like military discipline in their armies. The soldiers went into battle or remained in laager as they pleased.

AN OUTDOOR MEETING OF BOERS.

Cronje was the only one of their commanders who exercised any semblance of military authority over them, and he was by no means a disciplinarian. Their camps were unprotected by any system of outposts or pickets, as it is understood in trained armies. This duty was usually performed by volunteers secured by the corporal, who was responsible to his field cornet for a certain number of men each night. These men were designated as the "brandwacht," or "fire guard." There was no compulsion about the service, but it was not regarded

as irksome and there were always volunteers enough to perform the work. The "brandwacht" carried his blanket and kettle with him, and on reaching his station proceeded to make himself comfortable for the night, by kindling his fire, making his coffee and lighting his pipe. If the army occupied an exposed position, he remained awake as a matter of personal safety; but if he believed there was no danger of immediate attack, he tethered his horse to one of his feet, rolled himself in his blanket and slept soundly until break of day. The sleeping Boer sentinel had no dread of a court-martial or a firing party. His punishment was usually of the mildest character, merely requiring him to carry a stone or a box of biscuits on his head for an hour or two, and, if he chose to disregard the sentence, there was no one to enforce its execution. As a rule, the culprit made a joke of the punishment for the amusement of his fellow-burghers. But, in spite of their independent carelessness and want of discipline, the Boers proved themselves the most watchful scouts and effective pickets that ever protected an army or uncovered the purposes of an enemy. Free to come and go as they pleased, it was their custom to wander over the veldt singly or in small parties, and as soon as they observed any suspicious circumstance, or obtained information which they believed to be important, they dashed away and reported it to the nearest commanding officer. So numerous and watchful were these independent scouts that it was extremely difficult for any person not having the appearance of a burgher to ride across the veldt, even for a mile or two, without being challenged by Boer sentinels, who seemed to rise up out of the earth in the most unexpected places. In addition to this, every Boer woman and boy, and each old man too aged or feeble to carry a gun and fight, was an efficient spy, constantly on the alert and quick to report every piece of news that came to them regarding the British. In this way the Boer generals were always thoroughly well informed, and ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might arise.

But lack of discipline in their armies, more than weight of numbers opposed to them, proved their ruin. The commanders could not make an important movement, or order a battle, without the consent of the Krijgsraad, which was composed of all the officers, from corporal to general, and in numerous instances the opinions of the corporals and field cornets were allowed to outweigh the superior judgment of the generals. Under such conditions there could be neither strategy nor quick concert of action, two essential features of every successful military campaign. There was practically no discipline in the army. Each burgher was his own commander, and he marched and fought, or remained in camp, according to the approval of his individual judgment. There is no record of precisely similar conditions in the entire history of the world. The nearest approach to them was among the independent German tribes who battled with the armies of the Roman Empire, and even these had their chiefs and kings, whose commands during a campaign were generally obeyed without question.

The Boers are a very remarkable people, and the better we know them the more admirable do they appear. They are unique in all their characteristics. In every essential feature conducive to human happiness their civilization was the highest and best that has yet been achieved. No one can study their history, or their present stage of advancement, without a constantly increasing admiration for their many excellent qualities.

They abhorred war and everything connected with it. They despised the paid soldier who barters his liberty and hires himself out to kill men at so much per month. They detested the slave's badge of a military uniform, and, with a few exceptions during their recent struggle, they refused to wear any distinguishing mark

except the beard on their faces, which nature had given them. They had observed that British soldiers were generally clean shaven, and they accordingly permitted their beards to grow, in order that friend and foe might be more readily distinguished at a distance. Hence the wearing of a full beard became an infallible mark of Boer citizenship, and to this fact is due their shaggy appearance.

The Boer who has done much, in his innocent way, to create a low estimate of his people abroad is called by his countrymen a "Takhaar." The term has a meaning similar to "country cousin" with us, but the good-natured resident of the remote sections of the veldt does not object to the application; on the contrary, he is rather proud of the distinction which it confers upon him. The Takhaar is the modern representative of the old Voortrekker, who, in 1836, left all he possessed in Cape Colony, except his family and his big wagon and oxen, and with these "trekked" into the wilderness and across the Kathlamba Mountains, in search of that ideal liberty which was denied him in the colony.

A BOER "TREKKING" WAGON.—From a Photograph.

The Takhaar is a big-hearted, bearded and profoundly religious countryman, whose personal experience, added to that which he has inherited from his ancestors, makes him suspicious of all strangers, especially those who speak the English language. But after his confidence has been gained he remains a true friend for life. The Takhaar will walk the veldt in order that his friend may ride his horse. If he does not speak your language, he will learn a few words, which he repeats over and over as an evidence of his good intentions, while he presses upon you coffee, beef and mutton, and all the other good things that his well-supplied laager contains.

The Takhaar is also a humorist, who

never loses an opportunity to get off his joke. It is related that after the battle of Dundee, where many Hussars were captured, one of the British officers inquired what regiment he had been fighting. "We have no regiments," replied the Takhaar to whom the question was addressed. "Our army is divided into three brigades, the Afrikanders, the Boers and the Takhaars, a distinction, however, which carries but a slight difference. The Afrikanders fight like demons, and when they are all killed the Boers take the field. The Boers fight twice as hard as the Afrikanders, and when they are all killed then come the Takhaars, and they would rather fight than eat." The Briton accepted the joke as literal truth, and, addressing a brother officer, remarked, "Well, then, our job is bigger than I thought it was."

Hand-shaking is a universal habit among the Boers, and so completely does it possess them that many of the soldiers could not refrain from shaking hands with their prisoners, much to the astonishment of the latter. It was a rare thing for a burgher to touch his hat, or salute, before addressing an officer, but he invariably shook hands with him at meeting and parting. When Joubert and the other generals were moving about in their camps, they shook hands with every man who approached them; and whenever either of the Boer Presidents went to the commandos, they grasped the hands of all the burghers who came within their reach. So cordial were the greetings that a stranger might have supposed they were personally acquainted with every man in the army. Usually there was no mark to distinguish an officer from a private, and every officer, from general to corporal, carried his rifle and bandolier. There was absolute equality among officers and men, each addressing the other, as a rule, by their Christian names. General Botha swapped tobacco with his burghers, and General Meyer joined his men in games of quoits when they were not otherwise engaged.

But their religious devotion was their chief characteristic. The religious sentiment pervaded the entire army, and the Boer soldier placed as much faith in his prayers and his Testament as he did in his rifle. They not only asked a blessing and returned thanks before and after each meal, but they prayed fervently before going into battle, and again when the victory was won. After reaching their stations on the battlefield, every burgher knelt on the ground and prayed for the speedy ending of the war. Hymns were sung, and the hills resounded with patriotic and sacred songs as the men went forward to kill or be killed. As soon as the battle was over, all animosity disappeared, and each Boer busied himself helping to succor the wounded or bury the dead.

The Boer dislike for everything English dates back to the beginning of British rule in Africa; but it received a special incentive about the middle of the second decennial of the nineteenth century. The incident referred to occurred during the administration of Lord Charles Somerset, a man of great energy and more than average ability, but seriously lacking in that suavity of character which is so essential in winning the respect of an alien or hostile people. Following the example of all European nations of that period, the Dutch, on their arrival in South Africa, in the seventeenth century, proceeded to subdue and enslave the adjacent tribes of natives, regarding them as an inferior race and fit only for servitude. At that time the native African was looked upon as legitimate prey for any of the stronger races who could catch and enslave him, and the Dutch were no worse in that respect than the rest of their fellows. It was deemed not only a commendable enterprise, but a laudable and philanthropic mission, to capture the wild African and compel him to do your work whilst you taught him the saving grace of the Christian religion! But

the African often took a different view of the matter, and in his crude and savage fashion fought desperately for his liberty. In this way the natural antipathy of the races deepened into a bitter and sullen hatred on the one side and a contemptuous indifference or repugnance on the other.

When Sir Charles came, he decided to carry out the usual British policy of arming and drilling a portion of the natives and placing them under English officers as a colonial guard. Accordingly, in spite of the protests of the Dutchmen, he organized a regiment or two from among the despised Hottentots, who were especially disliked by the white residents, and put them in control of the country as British soldiers. Quite naturally, the act was deeply resented, and there were serious indications of revolt, just as there would have been in South Carolina, or any of our Southern States, if an army of negroes had been quartered on them any time during the era of slavery.

At that time there lived in the Baviaans River valley a staunch Dutch farmer named Frederick Bezuidenhout, a man who had always opposed British sovereignty and smarted under the rule of the English. This man having, one day, in the heat of passion, struck a Hottentot—an act which he by no means regarded as an offense—was summoned to appear before the Landdrost. He refused to obey, and a squad of Hottentot soldiers under a British lieutenant were sent to arrest him. When they reached the house, the officer in command ordered Bezuidenhout to surrender in the name of King George III., of England—a name detested not only by the Dutchmen of South Africa, but cordially disliked in America as well. The Hollander replied by firing his gun at the squad, but hurt no one. He then ran through his house, and crossing the river at its back, climbed onto a krantz, or precipice, where he bid defiance to his assailants. The Hottentots, however, crossed the river and, ascending the hill above and below his position, came upon Bezuidenhout from the rear. They now called out to him to surrender, but he refused, and declared he would never be taken alive by Hottentots. Their reply was a volley of musketry, and he fell dead on the cliff. They left his body where it had fallen, but that evening his brother, Jan Bezuidenhout, and some neighbors carried the body away and buried it the following day.

Several impassioned speeches were made on this occasion, and Jan Bezuidenhout, in particular, declared that he would not rest until the Hottentot soldiers were driven out of the country and his brother's murder avenged.

This was the beginning of the small uprising of 1815. A number of Dutchmen banded together at a place subsequently called "Slachter's Nek" (Butcher's Nek), a ridge of stony ground uniting two mountains, and bound themselves by an oath to drive the English, as well as the Hottentots, out of the land. But the rebellion lacked force, and was soon quelled. Thirty-six persons who had taken the oath were tried, and six were sentenced to be hanged, lighter punishments being assigned to the others. The sentence of one of the six was commuted, and an appeal for mercy was made to the governor in behalf of the other five, on the ground that no blood had been shed by them. But the appeal was unheeded, and on the 9th of March, 1816, they were led forth to be executed, on a scaffold which had been erected at Slachter's Nek for that purpose. A great crowd of people stood about, weeping, hoping and feeling convinced that the men would be reprieved, for a report leading to that belief had been circulated; but no reprieve came. As the dread moment approached an awful silence brooded over the crowd, which was suddenly broken by a shriek of horror, as the men were swung from the scaffold and the beam which supported the ropes gave way under their united weight. They fell to the ground limp and gasping, but still alive. A wild, passionate cry arose from

the people. Wives, mothers and sisters of the condemned men rushed toward the scaffold, crying out that God himself had intervened to save them. But their appeals were unheeded. The people were pressed back by bayonets in the hands of the Hottentots; the scaffold was quickly repaired, and the unfortunate victims were finally executed. The memory of this event sank deep into the hearts of the people, and it had much to do with the antipathy that has ever since existed between the Dutch and the English in South Africa.

Nothing was more admirable in the Boer character than the earnest patriotism of the women. In their earlier struggles with the black savages of the Dark Continent, the Boer women had fought by the side of their husbands and brothers, often saving a forlorn hope, or protecting themselves after their male companions had been disabled or slain; and the fine spirit of these Voortrekker mothers and sisters was emulated by their worthy descendants in the final death-grapple with the British. When these devoted women saw that the inevitable contest was at hand, they not only prepared the necessary outfits for the men, and hurried them off to the front, but many of them, with rifles in their hands, accompanied their male relatives and fought beside them on the kopjes and in the trenches. Never were greater devotion and spirit displayed by the women of any nation. The Spartan mothers of old were not more courageous than these simple-hearted women of the African veldt. And their deeds were not inspired by any fondness for strife and bloodshed, for the Boer women are even more peace-loving than the men. It was a sublime manifestation of lofty patriotism by heroic souls, who preferred death to the domination of an alien power, let that power be ever so advanced and liberal. Their example affords pleasing evidence of the fact that the love of liberty still flourishes fresh and green in the human heart, and that while it may for a time be crushed by numbers, or stifled by luxury and love of ease, it will eventually rise again and assert its unconquerable might. There were scores, if not hundreds, of Boer women who won the distinction of taking part in some of the bloodiest battles of the war, and many of them gave up their lives in defense of the cause so dear to their hearts, whilst others will carry the scars of bullet wounds to the grave. One of the most affecting incidents of the battle of Spion Kop was the finding of the bodies of two husbands and their wives, lying side by side on the brow of the hill, where they had died fighting for their country. During a rush of the British forces at Pieter's Hill, on the 28th of February, they captured a Boer girl only nineteen years of age, who had been mortally wounded. Before dying she explained that she had been fighting in the trenches with her husband, who had fallen but a few moments before she herself was stricken down by the fatal bullet. She died with a smile on her lips, and more than one rough soldier brushed away a tear as he gazed upon her beautiful but silent form.

As a rule the women did not go into battle from choice. A majority of those who took part in the engagements happened to be present with their husbands or relatives when the battles began, and, being unable to escape, they yielded to the inspiration of the moment and fought with a courage worthy of their race. The burghers objected to their presence within the firing lines, and every effort was made to keep them in places of safety; but when no other alternative remained they were supplied with rifles, in order that they might defend themselves. When Cronje and his little band of warriors were surrounded at Paardeberg, there were more than fifty women with them, and before the fighting began General Roberts humanely offered them safe conduct to places of security; but they chose to remain and share the danger with their husbands and brothers. They were in no wise an impediment to the burghers, for they not only nursed the wounded and encouraged

the men with prayers and words of hope, but they wielded their rifles as effectively as any of their male relatives. Several instances are related of Boer women who joined the ranks in the disguise of male attire and fought through the greater part of the war. Three such women were captured at the battle of Colesburg, and so perfect was their disguise that the deception was not suspected until after they had been quartered for several weeks in a prison ship at Cape Town. No scene of the entire war was more inspiring than the spectacle of refined Boer women riding about the laagers, and by words and example instilling fresh courage and renewed hope into the despondent men. On the 15th of May, when the people saw that the end of the struggle was approaching, and that the capital would either have to be abandoned or surrendered, more than a thousand women assembled in the Government buildings in Pretoria, for the purpose of deciding upon a course of action in the crisis then so near at hand. It was the gravest assemblage that ever congregated in a large city. There was but little talking, for every heart was full, and tears were more plentiful than speech. It was a veritable conclave of Spartan mothers, and the women of the famous Grecian city never acted with greater wisdom or patriotic courage. Those Boer women decided to ask the Government to send to the front all the men who were employed in the commissariat, the red cross, the schools—for these were kept open during the whole of the war—the telegraph and the post offices, and to fill their places with members of their own sex. They then prepared a memorial to the Government, which contained these two patriotic clauses:

1. "A message of encouragement will be sent to our burghers who are at the front, beseeching them to present a determined stand against the enemy in the defense of our sacred cause, and pointing out to those who are losing heart the terrible consequences which will follow should they prove weak and wanting in courage at the present crisis in our affairs.

2. "The women throughout the whole state are requested to provide themselves with weapons, in the first instance to be employed in self-defense, and secondly so that they may be in position to place themselves entirely at the disposition of the Government."

The second memorial had reference particularly to the thousands of British prisoners who were then confined at Pretoria. They were guarded by only a few old men and boys and convalescent soldiers recovering from wounds or sickness, and it was feared they might learn of the near approach of the English army, and, overpowering their guards, loot the city, or perhaps commit other and greater outrages, sometimes indulged in by soldiers of the regular service when not under the restraint of their officers. The British prisoners who were then quartered within the city numbered nearly as many as the resident population, the latter being composed very largely of women and children. The apprehended danger was therefore imminent and appalling; but it was averted by the wisdom of the Government, which conferred with General Roberts and secured from him an assignment of officers to take charge of the prisoners and restore them to discipline. A shooting club, however, was organized among the women, who met and practiced daily, in order that they might be prepared should the worst come to pass.

Throughout the war there was no manifestation of hysteria among the Boer women. There were no frantic outbursts of grief over the death of relatives, or extravagant exultations when the news of victory came. The only noticeable difference in their usual demeanor was that they prayed more fervently, and performed their duties with a quiet earnestness that meant far more than words could express. These devoted women of the veldt were desperately in earnest, and their example was a splendid inspiration to

their loved ones in the field. Every man and boy who could carry a gun was in the army. There were no tailors, bakers or artisans at home, and the whole burden of feeding and clothing the soldiers fell upon the women, in addition to the work of attending to the stock and keeping up the repairs about the farms. Every house, therefore, became an eating-place for the marching armies and the scouts who were constantly scouring the country. Women from the farms assisted in the hospitals, nursing the sick and wounded of both sides without distinction; school girls left their books and took their places beside their mothers and older sisters, and the British working people, who had been left at the mines without food or means of support, were fed and cared for by these noble-hearted Boer women. They asked no questions, they manifested no resentment. The fact that these poor English people were hungry and friendless was the moving incentive, and their wants were relieved without ostentation or complaint.

BOER WOMEN AND SERVANTS IN HOME WRECKED BY A SHELL.—From a Photograph.

The Boer women were the angels of mercy who comforted and encouraged their own people, relieved the wants of their enemies in distress, and nursed the sick and wounded, regardless of the side on which they were arrayed. And it was all done so gently, so naturally, and with such tender delicacy, as to win the respect and love of all who witnessed their devotion. An instance is given of a little girl, only ten years of age, who timidly approached a British prisoner on the platform of a railway station, and, presenting him with a bottle of fresh milk, ran away so quickly that he had no time to express his gratitude. Her sympathy for his distress made her bold in relieving his wants, but she so feared him as a soldier and hated him as an enemy of her country, that she could not endure to remain in his presence.

The Boer's appreciation of humor, and his respectful silence in the midst of

affliction, were two remarkable features of his peculiar disposition. If a burgher were so unfortunate as to see his nearest neighbor torn and slaughtered on the battlefield, he rarely spoke of it afterward; but if, in the same battle, he happened to witness a ludicrous runaway, or any other incident of a laughable nature, he was sure to relate it for the amusement of his companions as soon as they assembled around the campfire. At the end of almost every battle there was some conspicuously amusing incident that was told and retold, and laughed about, until something else came up to take its place; while the sad features of such occasions were scarcely mentioned. During the fight at Sannaspost, a company of burghers who were firing from behind the crest of a kopje, were charged by a large body of British, and compelled to flee to another line of kopjes half a mile or so in the rear. One of the party, who had not observed the movement in time to go with the rest, attempted to hide in a ravine, but, finding himself uncomfortably close to the English, he spurred his horse out upon the veldt and started on a dead run to join his comrades. His maneuvers in jumping gullies and swaying from side to side in his efforts to dodge the bullets seemed so ludicrous to his companions that they cheered and laughed at his predicament, and Pietrus' escape was a subject of mirth for weeks thereafter.

At the second battle of Colenso, a body of Boers swam the river and captured a party of about forty Highlanders, who had lost their way and taken refuge in a spruit. Before entering the water an old Takhaar had divested himself of all his clothing except a single garment, and he presented an amusing spectacle, clad only in his shirt and carrying a rifle and bandolier. One of the Highlanders, whose national uniform was not greatly dissimilar from that of the Boer, approached him, and, saluting respectfully, inquired, "To what regiment do you belong, sir?" The burgher gravely returned the salute, and with feigned dignity replied, "I am one of Cecil Rhodes' uncivilized Boers, sir." The Scot accepted the statement as sincere, and will doubtless believe during the remainder of his life that at least one Boer went to the war in uniform.

At the siege of Ladysmith, the "Long Tom" cannon on Bulwana Hill was operated by a company of Boer boys, who fired only when they were in the mood; but occasionally, for the sake of amusement, they would serve the gun for a few minutes as rapidly as its mechanism would permit. This mischievous irregularity annoyed the British, and it was their custom to reply viciously whenever these spasms of industry seized the youthful Boer gunners. After each explosion of "Long Tom" the boys would climb on top of the sand-bags to watch the effect of the shot in Ladysmith, and remain until they saw the answering flash of the British guns, when they would shout, "I spy!" and jump down in time to dodge the shell. It was dangerous amusement, but the boys enjoyed it immensely, and none were hurt.

During one of the days' fighting at Magersfontein, a party of Boer boys who were in their first battle allowed a company of Highlanders to approach within about one hundred yards of the trench where they were concealed, when they suddenly sprang out with presented rifles and shouted, "Hands up!" The Scotchmen, being taken by surprise, and not knowing the character or size of the force opposed to them, threw down their guns and obeyed. The boys were then at a loss what to do with their prisoners, but, after consulting among themselves, decided to let them go. The Highlanders were both pleased and astonished at the decision, and gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to return to their own side; but the older Boers joked the boys unmercifully when they brought in the captured guns and bandoliers and reported their adventure at headquarters.

Instances of personal daring among the Boers were so numerous that a large volume could easily be filled with descriptions of them; but no burgher ever recounted his own deeds, or those of his personal friends, except in a general way. If any humorous or ludicrous feature were connected with the incident, it was sure to be related; but each burgher was so intensely absorbed in the defense of his home, and in planning ways to beat the enemy, that mere deeds of daring were hardly considered. Their expert horsemanship, and the fact that every Boer was mounted, enabled them to move rapidly from point to point; and this mobility of action gave them an immense advantage, compensating, in some measure, for the disparity in the numbers of the opposing forces. The Boer and his horse came as near being a centaur as any historical character ever approached to that fabled beast. During the fighting that took place along the Tugela River, when General Buller crossed and recrossed that stream so frequently as to win for himself the cognomen of the "Flying Ferryman," his army of thirty thousand men was opposed by less than three thousand mounted Boers. These dashed from place to place along the line of territory to be defended, frequently marching at the rate of ten and twelve miles an hour, and always appearing unheralded at the right time and location. These sudden and unexpected rushes enabled them to cut off and capture many detached bodies of infantry, and this explains how they secured so large a number of prisoners in proportion to their own numbers. Almost every Boor had two horses, and while one was in active service the other was relieved and led, or allowed to rest and feed in the laager, so that the burghers were always mounted on comparatively fresh animals. In this way they were enabled to make some amazing marches.

The Boers were but meagerly provided with cannon, but they had plenty of rifles, and knew how to make the best use of them. The British could sweep the level stretches of the veldt for several miles with their rapid-firing guns, and render such localities untenable for any living creature. But trenches and the opposite slopes of kopjes afforded perfect safety from shell fire; and in repelling attacks it was the custom of the Boers to remain quiet and make no reply to the British cannon, until the attacking columns approached within several hundred yards of their position, when they would pour a withering rifle-fire into their ranks and drive them back in confusion. On several occasions the British officers mistook their silence for an indication that the Boers had abandoned their trenches, and sent forward bodies of infantry to occupy the positions. But as soon as these columns came within the firing zone they were usually met with a terrific storm of Mauser bullets that no troops could face, let them be ever so daring. The heaviest British losses occurred in this manner.

The Boers rarely carried a flag or other insignia into battle with them. It was their custom for each individual to fight on his own initiative, and get as close to the enemy and do him as much damage as possible. If the fight became too hot for endurance, they fled to a place of safety and renewed the battle there. They needed no standards to inspire their courage, or to indicate the positions of the commandos, for a common inspiration filled every breast, and each one knew that his place was in shooting distance of the enemy. They had no battle-cry or shout of revenge; but on their hatbands, and carved on the stocks of their guns, many of them bore the motto, "For God, Country and Independence." Except when they sang hymns, they went as silently into battle as they would have gone to work on their farms. Fighting was a solemn business with them.

The flag of the Orange Free State was rectangular in shape, with seven alternate horizontal bars of white and yellow, the field being composed of a small square with three

bars of red, white and blue. That of the Transvaal Republic was peculiar. It consisted of a broad vertical bar next to the pole, and three horizontal bars of red, white and blue, the red being at the top. It was the flag of Holland, except that the latter has the vertical bar in green. Their motto was, "*Een Draght Maakt Magt*"—"Right Makes Might"—a most excellent motto for any country. The dominant feature of their coat-of-arms was a vulture, on the left quarter a lion couchant, on the right a Boer armed with a rifle, an ox-wagon filling the remaining half of the picture, in the center of which was an anchor. Some years before the late war with England, a die was made in Holland for a government official of the Transvaal, but he refused to accept it because the wagon was represented with a pair of shafts instead of a "desselboom," or single pole. This incident affords a striking example of the strict rectitude of these people. They would not deceive, even in the smallest of things.

The distinctive feature of the arms of the Orange Free State was an orange tree in full fruit. Beneath the tree on one side was a lion, and on the other a number of oxen, the whole design being completed by an ox-wagon similar to that on the Transvaal arms, and three suspended horns.

After the battle of Majuba Hill it was the custom of the Boers to assemble once every five years and renew their oath of fealty to their flag and the principles of their government. Such a meeting took place on the plain near the famous hill a short time before the commencement of hostilities, in October, 1899, on which occasion more than ten thousand farmers stood uncovered, raised their eyes toward heaven, and solemnly repeated the Boer oath, which bound them as firmly to one another as the Declaration of Independence did our fathers of the Revolution:

"In the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, and praying for His gracious assistance and mercy, we, burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed for us and our children to unite in a holy covenant, which we confirm with a solemn oath. It is now forty years since our fathers left the Cape Colony to become a free and independent people. These forty years were forty years of sorrow and suffering. We have founded the Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, and three times has the English Government trampled on our liberty, and our flag, baptised with the blood and tears of our fathers, has been pulled down. As by a thief in the night has our free Republic been stolen from us. We cannot suffer this, and we may not. It is the will of God that the unity of our fathers and the love to our children shall oblige us to deliver unto our children, unblemished, the heritage of our fathers. It is for this reason that we here unite, and give each other the hand as men and brethren, solemnly promising to be faithful to our country and people, and, looking unto God, to work together unto death for the restoration of the liberty of our Republic. So truly help us, God Almighty."

When it is remembered that these earnest men felt and meant every word of this solemn declaration, we no longer wonder at the prodigies of valor which they subsequently displayed. It is a reminder of the stern obligations of the old Scotch Covenanters, and neither they nor Cromwell's Ironsides ever displayed greater courage on the field of battle than was subsequently manifested by these sturdy Dutchmen of the African plains.

Their cause may be briefly stated. For American readers this would be unnecessary, since every American believes that all men are entitled to freedom as an inalienable right. The question of capacity for self-government is not to be considered. Let a doubt regarding that principle be once admitted, and it would subvert all liberty, since each nation would claim that it possessed the highest knowledge of the science

of government, and was therefore entitled to rule by the law of fitness. No man can justly claim the right to govern another on the ground of superiority; and the principle applies with as much force to nations as it does to individuals. The people themselves are the true sovereigns; they alone are qualified to determine who shall govern them. If men are not capable of governing themselves, where will they find beings wise and good enough to establish and maintain governments for them? Liberty is not only an inalienable right, but it is inherent in each individual, acquired by all men in the simple act of birth. It cannot be taken from them except by unlawful force, which is tyranny; whereupon revolution becomes a sacred duty. This is the American idea, as expressed by our great Lincoln, when he declared that "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent." On another occasion, in a speech delivered in the city of Chicago, on the 10th of July, 1858, he amplified the same sentiment in these words:

"Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying—that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people—not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden."

But this fundamental principle is not confined to America. It is as universal as human thought. It permeates the whole family of mankind, and has been the impelling motive in every struggle for liberty that has taken place since the beginning of history. In one of his famous speeches in Parliament, on the American question, Mr. Burke said: "If any ask me what a free government is, I answer that, for any practical purpose, it is what the people think it ought to be; and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful and competent judges of this matter." The idea is still more clearly expressed by England's great historian, Macaulay, who, in his essay on Milton, declared that "many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty until they become wise and good in slavery, they indeed wait forever."

This inherent principle of human rights, however, is not so clearly understood in Europe as it is with us, and a brief statement of England's position will therefore not be out of place. It is fair to admit, also, that, from the Englishman's point of view, his country was fully justified in making war on the Transvaal. It will not do to condemn England without hearing her cause; for, aside from her absurdity in adhering to an outgrown monarchy, and a ridiculous system of nobility that does not ennoble, there is not a more democratic government in existence, or a nation more disposed to be just. The impediments that she ought to discard are the only clogs to her greatness.

The story begins with the early years of the century now drawing to a close. The history of the settlement of the Dutch and French Huguenots at the Cape of Good Hope has already been recorded, and it will not be repeated here; but a brief resumé of some of the later events will be necessary to a clear understanding of the subject. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, the emigrants at the Cape were undisturbed by the turmoil of European politics for more than a century, and during this long period they flourished and grew into a prosperous and important community; a little nation, whose isolation gave it peculiarities that were unique when compared

with other civilized countries. In 1797, while Holland and England were at war with France, a British force seized the Cape settlement in the name of the allies, to prevent its occupation by the French, who had already overrun Holland, the mother country. England's action in this instance was honorable to the nation and faithful to her allies. Her course, however, has been criticised by some historians, probably under a misapprehension of the facts. This was the beginning of British domination in South Africa. England retained control of the Cape settlement until 1802, when it was restored to Holland by the Treaty of Amiens, which treaty also granted to the English the right to an open port at Cape Town. In 1806, during the Napoleonic struggle that shortly followed the treaty of Amiens, a second English expedition recaptured the Cape, again to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. For several years thereafter England held the settlement as the temporary conquest of a belligerent, an act which has always been regarded as admissible under the rules of war. In 1814, after the first abdication of Napoleon, she acquired permanent possession under a treaty with Holland, whereby the latter transferred her sovereignty to England; and Cape Colony has ever since remained English territory. The legality of this title will hardly be disputed.

At the beginning, and for some years afterward, the colonists were restive under English government. They resented their abandonment by Holland, and it was a long time before the new yoke became fitted to their necks without galling. There were several ineffectual attempts at revolution, and much bitterness was engendered by the methods used in their suppression, as previously noted.

Finally, in 1836, the abolition of slavery produced an open rupture. At that time slaves were regarded as legitimate property, and the Dutch felt that they had been greatly wronged in having the value of this species of property destroyed by governmental action without just compensation. Moreover, a social feature entered into the transaction, for a dangerous and only partly civilized element was suddenly set at liberty among the rest of the population, without adequate safeguards against disturbance. It seems strange now to be told that there ever was, or could have been, a moral feature connected with slavery; but it was so at that time in Cape Colony, as well as elsewhere, for the horrors of Hayti were still fresh in the memory of the people.

A strange thing in the history of nations now took place. A large portion of the Dutch population hitched their oxen to their great covered wagons, abandoned their homes and possessions, and "trekked" into the wilderness. They established themselves first in the plains between the Cathlamba and Drakensberg Mountains and the Indian Ocean, and organized a government which they called the Republic of Natalia. Here they opened up farms, built cities and towns, and flourished amazingly. Durban was their principal seaport, but Pietermaritzberg, some distance inland, was their capital. Several years later, that is to say, in 1843, the English put in a claim to the territory occupied by the Dutch, on the ground that the latter could not voluntarily renounce their allegiance as British subjects. "Once a British subject, always a British subject," was the cry then. An expedition was sent to enforce the claim, and the city of Durban was captured. The Boers thereupon gathered in defense of their capital at Pietermaritzberg, but they were soon forced to capitulate, and the Republic was annexed to the British crown as the Colony of Natal.

Deprived thus for the second time of their independence, the Dutch trekked again, this time across the mountains to the elevated plateau since known as the Orange Free State. Here they once more established a republic, for these Dutchmen loved liberty next to their religion. But five years later, in 1848, they were again followed by

the British, who, after an ineffectual resistance by the Boers, annexed the Orange country. It seems, however, that by this time the English themselves had begun to doubt their right to sovereignty over the Flying Dutchmen, for in 1854 they restored the Orange territory to its inhabitants. The latter immediately organized the government of the Orange Free State, which remained a Boer Republic from that time

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF BOERS IN THE ORANGE RIVER COUNTRY.

until 1900, when it was finally annexed to the British Empire by Lord Roberts.

During the brief period of British sovereignty over the Orange River country, from 1848 to 1854, large numbers of dissatisfied Boers, under the leadership of Andries Willem Pretorius, made their third trek, going this time across the Vaal River, and settling on the high tablelands of the Transvaal. Here they battled with lions and tigers and the savage natives, until, gradually overcoming these adverse circumstances, they succeeded in establishing another Boer Republic. The soil was fairly fertile, consisting of sand, clay and loam, with a climate about like that of Southern Europe. The conditions were favorable to cattle and sheep-raising, industries which were peculiarly adapted to the Boer disposition; and in the course of a few years a large and flourishing community had sprung into existence on these African plains. In 1852 England entered into the most cordial and friendly relations with the Boer farmers of the Transvaal Republic, and a treaty, expressed in the following terms, was signed at what was known as the Sand River Convention:

"The assistant commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves, without any interference on the part of Her Majesty the Queen's Government, and that no encroachments shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal River, with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting, or who may hereafter inhabit their country, it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties."

This was a clear and definite recognition of the independence of the Transvaal Republic, and it was accepted by the farmers as a final settlement of their troubles with England.

But the Republic had no seaport, and was obliged to carry on its ocean commerce, which had become quite large, through foreign territory. The British colony of Natal offered the most convenient facilities in this respect, and in passing to and fro through this region the Transvaalers also met and renewed acquaintance with their old friends and associates, which was an added inducement for them to reach the sea

in that direction. But the duties imposed on their trade by the British Government were felt to be excessive, and these so materially increased the prices of their goods purchased in foreign countries, that the Transvaalers eventually secured the right, by treaty with Portugal, to use the harbor at Delagoa Bay. Accordingly, they began the construction of highways toward that place, north of the Natal line. It happened that some portions of these highways were projected through the territory of an independent and powerful native chief named Secocoeni, and the Dutch became involved in a war with him and his people. The struggle was so fierce, and lasted so long, that the Transvaalers had almost reached the point of exhaustion, when some of the frightened citizens appealed to the British authorities in Natal for assistance. The appeal was neither authorized nor sanctioned by the Transvaal Government, but on the contrary it was emphatically repudiated by the executive officers of the Republic, as well as a large majority of the citizens. It was, however, heeded by the British authorities, who were, no doubt, in a large measure actuated by humane motives. At any rate, there suddenly appeared in Pretoria, one day, a British officer, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, at the head of a body of Cape cavalry, and astounded the citizens by reading to them a proclamation to the effect that the Transvaal Republic was to be thenceforth a possession of Her Majesty the Queen. His action, however, was not approved by the English people, although out of it grew England's claim to suzerainty over the Transvaal. Mr. Justin McCarthy, the most famous of modern British historians, writing of this transaction and the condition of the Dutch Republic at that time, says, in his "History of Our Own Times:"

"There seemed hardly any chance of maintaining order within its frontier, and the prospect appeared at the time that its South African enemies would overrun the whole of the Republic; would thus come up to the borders of the English states, and possibly might soon involve the English settlers themselves in war. Under these conditions a certain number of disappointed or alarmed inhabitants of the Transvaal made some kind of indirect proposition to England that the Republic should be annexed to English territory. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent out by England to ascertain whether this offer was genuine or national. He seems to have been entirely mistaken in his appreciation of the condition of things. Acting under the impression that the Boers were willing to accept English authority, he boldly, one might say lawlessly, declared the Republic a portion of the dominions of Great Britain."

A large majority of the Afrikanders protested vigorously against what they conceived to be an unwarranted act, and which has been designated by Mr. McCarthy as "bold and lawless." "England is strong," said the Transvaalers, "but God is stronger," and they began to concentrate their energies for a struggle with the great Empire. But they were so nearly exhausted in their contest with Secocoeni and his people that they were unable to accomplish anything for a period of nearly four years. At the end of that time they had partly regained their former strength, and, with the stubborn determination for which they were so famous, they immediately announced their intention to fight for their independence.

A series of little battles now took place between the Boers and the British, culminating in a decisive engagement at Majuba Hill, in the extreme northern point of Natal. The hill was defended by 400 as brave soldiers as ever wore the red, but the result proved that they could not withstand the deadly aim of the Dutch riflemen. After an hour spent in prayer and the singing of hymns on the adjacent plain, 120 Boers climbed the hill, and, killing the British commander and 300 of his men, routed the remainder. The memory of this battle is still cherished by the Boers.

England was profoundly moved by these events, and a large army was already on the way to South Africa, for the purpose of overwhelming the presumptuous Dutchmen, when Gladstone assumed the reins of government and made peace with the Boers. It required a man of strong convictions and great moral courage to do such a thing, but Gladstone proved himself equal to the occasion. He risked his popularity and official position, and with these the opportunity to carry out long-cherished reforms, to do what he believed to be a simple act of justice to a weak and despised people. And it may be said, in passing, that he lost nothing in fame or opportunity by obeying the dictates of his manly conscience.

A new treaty—that which is referred to as the treaty of 1881—was now entered into between the great Empire and the little Republic. It restored self-government to the Transvaal in her domestic affairs, but reserved to Great Britain, as "suzerain," the management of external matters. The meaning of the term suzerain was never clearly understood, and this fact was taken advantage of by Mr. Chamberlain, in the negotiations that preceded the war of 1899, to press the Dutch Republicans beyond the point of reasonable endurance. It was claimed that the treaty would have had the same force, by reason of its plain and undisputed provisions, if the word had not been used. It was an unfortunate diplomatic phrase. Some light is thrown on the subject by the letter of instructions from the British Government to Lord Kimberly, preceding the treaty negotiations, in which this clause occurs:

"Entire freedom of action will be accorded to the Transvaal Government so far as is not inconsistent with the rights expressly reserved to the suzerain power. The term 'suzerainty' has been chosen as most conveniently describing superiority over a state possessing independent rights of government subject to reservations with reference to certain specified matters."

The language is very diplomatic, and might be construed to mean anything or nothing, according to the desire of either of the contracting parties. But the specific terms of the treaty itself were plain enough. These recognized the independence of the Transvaal, which was designated as the "Transvaal State," and a guarantee was given, on behalf of Great Britain, that "from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, *complete self-government*, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory," etc. The only reservation was the right of Great Britain to supervise and pass upon all treaties made by the Transvaal State with foreign nations. This was specifically set forth in the agreement, and the Boers always claimed, with apparent justice, that suzerainty meant nothing more. Any other definition would have been inconsistent with the term, "complete self-government."

But the discussion is useless, since in 1884 a new treaty was entered into, which, according to the well-established principles of law and contracts, superseded all previous agreements in conflict with its provisions. The treaty of 1884 recognized the Transvaal Government by the name of the South African Republic, and made no reservations of a suzerain character regarding its domestic concerns. It did, however, reserve the right to England to veto all treaties that the Republic might make, except with the Orange Free State. In all other respects the Republic was recognized as sovereign. This was the last treaty made between the two nations, and it was the one under which the Boers contended for their independence. Its terms were clearly understood, even by Mr. Chamberlain himself, who, in a speech in the House of Commons in 1896, said:

"A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be a long war, a bitter war and a costly war, and, as I have pointed out already, I believe generations would

hardly be able to blot out the memory of it; and to go to war with President Krüger, to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his state, in which secretaries of state, standing in their place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be

GROUP OF UITLANDERS AT THE MINES NEAR JOHANNESBURG.

a course of action which would be immoral."

At a later date, however, the moral aspects of the case did not so seriously impress him.

Meanwhile a marvelous change had come over the face of things. The discovery and development of the almost fabulously rich gold mines of the Witwaters Rand had brought vast hordes of restless and enterprising foreigners into the Transvaal. By the time of the Jameson raid, and perhaps previous to that date, the alien population had increased to such an extent that it numbered twice as many as the native inhabitants — some authorities claim, three times as many. In certain localities the disproportion was even greater. In Johannesburg, with a population of 50,000, there were only about 3,000 Boers; and yet the

suffrage laws were such that this insignificant minority held nearly all the offices, and governed the municipality. Most of the foreigners (who were called Uitlanders) were English, many of whom were men of large influence and great wealth, and they were quite naturally very restive under the domination of a lot of "stupid farmers," as they designated their Boer rulers. The old animosity between the two races was intensified by indiscreet acts on both sides, especially after the Jameson raid, when the Uitlanders saw that the vast sums wrung from them by burdensome taxation were being used to arm and fortify the Republic in anticipation of trouble with their native country. They therefore made strenuous demands for easier terms of citizenship and equal representation in the government of the Republic. The Boers, however, stood on the defensive, for it was a matter of self-preservation with them. Prior to the gold-mining excitement, naturalization in the Transvaal had been open to foreigners upon one year's residence; but when the alien population became so great as to threaten the engulfment of the natives, the laws were so amended that no foreigner could obtain full voting rights until after a residence of fourteen years, during twelve of which he must have been naturalized; and he could not then vote without the special consent of the Boer Senate. These conditions amounted in effect to a permanent exclusion of foreigners from the franchise, and consequent taxation without representation. This was the complaint of the Uitlanders.

It will be remembered, however, that the Transvaal Republic was a sovereign state, whose independence had been specifically acknowledged by Great Britain in solemn treaties. It therefore had a right to make such laws as it deemed best for the protection of its own citizens. If it had excluded the Uitlanders altogether from the Transvaal, England would have had no cause for complaint. The United States, for instance, exclude the Chinese, and also foreign paupers and certain classes of immigrants, but none of the countries affected have ever ventured to assert the right to protect their subjects from the operations of this adverse legislation. There are numbers of wealthy Englishmen who own large estates within the limits of this country, and who, without having any voice in our government, are taxed equally with our own citizens. This is precisely the same injustice that was complained of in the Transvaal, but England has made no effort to protect her subjects in this country from the operations of our laws; neither has she presumed to dictate the character of our suffrage requirements. If we should enact a law making it impossible for Englishmen ever to secure any of the privileges of citizenship in the United States, it is hardly probable that England would utter even a diplomatic protest. Our right to enact such legislation would be silently acquiesced in as one of the attributes of sovereignty, however unjust and impolitic it might be. Certain English writers recognized the soundness of this contention at the beginning of the trouble with the Transvaal; but, carried off their feet by the splendors of imperial greatness, they at the same time argued that their country was justified in subduing and ruling the little Republic, under nature's law of the survival of the fittest. This is a fallacy, however, which governments can hardly afford to recognize, since it would leave all the weak nations a prey to the stronger ones.

In the beginning of 1899 the attention of the English Government was called to the condition of affairs in the Transvaal, by a monster petition from 21,000 British subjects, residing in the Republic, addressed to the Queen. The substance of the petition was to the effect that a majority of the Uitlanders were British subjects, that they were denied representation and taxed beyond the limits of justice or the needs of the government. The allegations were in the main true, but the petition itself was an anomalous instrument. Its inappropriate-

ness was so apparent that it aroused no sympathy among fair-minded Englishmen. The strong sense of justice which pervades the great mass of English people prevented them from being moved by this appeal to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state, whose independence had been recognized in solemn treaties by their own best statesmen. The speculative classes, who had longed for a pretext to cover their intended aggression, were the only ones affected by the incident. It was charged, and generally believed at the time, that the movement was inspired by speculators whose stock interests would be enhanced by British supremacy in the Transvaal. Many of the names of working miners attached to the instrument, it was asserted, were obtained by coercion, threats of discharge, etc., and a counter-petition of about equal proportions was soon afterward sent to England, but it was ignored.

If aliens residing in the United States should appeal to their home governments to secure for them the rights of suffrage in this country and a reduction in the rate of taxation, their conduct would be exactly parallel to that of the petitioning Uitlanders of the Transvaal. The movement was absurd on its face; but the petition fell in fertile soil, and it was fruitful of startling events in the immediate future.

Under the treaty of 1884, the British Government had no authority to interfere with the suffrage regulations, or any of the other domestic affairs of the Republic. The provisions of that treaty were perfectly clear and well understood, and consequently the Government was powerless to correct the evils complained of by its subjects. But a way was opened. The Colonial Secretary hit upon the brilliant scheme of reviving the shadowy and defunct claim of suzerainty. It was a desperate expedient of diplomacy, but it served the purpose. A bold declaration of the right of conquest would have been more admirable, and perhaps just as effective; but it might have resulted in international complications. These, of course, it was the part of wisdom and of prudence to avoid. No diplomat could tell precisely what was meant by the word suzerainty in the treaty of 1881, and this indefiniteness made it serve present purposes all the better.

But, instead of going directly at the main question, the British Government chose first to demand the abolition of the dynamite monopoly, of which the miners of the Rand had frequently complained. The Transvaal trade in explosives had been farmed out to a private company, or concessionaire. The scheme was susceptible of extortion, like the "company" stores of some of the large industrial concerns in the United States. That may have been one of the objects of its creation, for quite naturally there was but little love among the burghers for Uitlanders of English nativity. And to make the monopoly all the more galling, the money extorted by that means was employed in arming and fortifying the Republic, with the ill-disguised purpose of getting ready for England. But, in any event, it was a purely domestic affair. The Dutchmen had the same justification for creating a dynamite monopoly for their own benefit that other nations have for protecting their industries with high tariffs; and in this particular instance the tax was actually paid by the foreigner! Mr. Chamberlain himself officially admitted that if made "in good faith, to benefit the state generally, and not simply to favor the concessionaires, the monopoly was consistent with the treaty," and the Dutchmen replied, with unanswerable logic, that, such being actually the case, "only the Republic itself could and would judge what was best for it." Whereupon the dynamite monopoly was allowed to drop out of the controversy.

The British Government now arranged for a conference, which met at the capital of the Orange Free State on the 31st of May, 1899. But it accomplished nothing. The whole discussion turned upon the question of suffrage. England demanded the suf-

frage for her subjects in the Transvaal on the same conditions that she extended to the Dutch in Cape Colony, which were almost identical with those enjoyed by Englishmen themselves. Mr. Chamberlain made a great point of this proposition, and pressed it with all the forcefulness of his character. But the Transvaalers reminded him that the Cape Dutch were British subjects by birth, and were naturally entitled to all the privileges of other subjects. Moreover, their numbers did not constitute an overwhelming majority, like the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. Hence, their enfranchisement did not mean the absorption and control of the government, as that of the Uitlanders would in the Transvaal. England's demand also embraced the enfranchisement of her subjects without the renunciation of their allegiance to the mother country. They were to be British subjects and citizens of the Republic at the same time. Such a requirement does not appear so extravagant to Englishmen as it does to us, since an alien residing in their country may acquire the right to vote for members of the House of Commons without renouncing his allegiance to the land of his birth. This provision is peculiar to the British Government.

The issue of the suffrage would no doubt have been arranged at this conference, for the Transvaalers manifested a compliant disposition; but in yielding the right of suffrage they demanded that England should agree to arbitrate other questions at variance between them. The English commissioners, however, positively declined to consider the principle of arbitration; and the conference ended without practical results.

Notwithstanding the failure of the May conference, the Boers took up the matter in their own Legislature, and in July passed a naturalization voting law, which was so far satisfactory to English sentiment that the London *Times* editorially wrote of it at the time as "practically ending the crisis." This law authorized the full enfranchisement of foreigners after seven years' residence in the Republic, making the concession retroactive, so that those who had already resided there for that length of time might secure enfranchisement at once. It furthermore accorded to sons of foreigners naturalization at sixteen, with full enfranchisement five years thereafter.

But the yielding of the right of suffrage did not satisfy the British extremists. Their action indicated that they had pressed that point merely as a subterfuge. Now that it was gained, they advanced another step. What they really wanted was absolute control—paramountcy—and some wanted revenge for Majuba Hill.

Still, the great mass of Englishmen stood for justice and fairness to the Boers. They were loth to see their country use its tremendous power in crushing the little Dutch Republic, a struggle in which there could be neither honor nor glory.

Mr. Chamberlain and his party therefore found it necessary to bring forward some other pretext. If the Boers were going to yield without an effort, there would be nothing wherewith to fire the national heart, and England never would consent to a simple, cold-blooded conquest. Suzerainty was the pretext decided upon. But there stood the treaty of 1884, in which the term did not occur. The old treaty had been superseded by the new. This was an obstacle which would have been regarded as insuperable by a less versatile statesman than the Colonial Secretary. But he boldly claimed that the very absence of the word from the new treaty was proof positive that England had reserved her suzerain rights.

Mr. Chamberlain now proposed a conference to ascertain the meaning and effect of the new naturalization law. The Republican Legislature very naturally declined the proposal. The law was plain enough to be readily understood; and the suggested conference would be an unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign

state. But while denying England's right to confer with the Republic on such a matter, the Transvaal Government, in August, made a still further advance toward conciliation. In this last effort it is not difficult to see how great was the dread of war which possessed the souls of the Transvaalers. They offered (1) to recommend a five years' retroactive franchise; (2) to recommend the establishment of eight new seats in the Senate, and also in the House, if necessary, for the population of the gold fields, and a guarantee that the representation from the gold fields should not be allowed to fall below one-fourth of the entire representation in the Legislature; (3) the new citizens to be entitled, equally with the old, to vote for President and Commandant-General; (4) friendly suggestions from Great Britain as to the details of the Transvaal franchise to be always invited.

These proposals, however, were based on certain conditions, set forth in a fifth clause, which was expressed in the following language:

"5. In putting forward the above proposals, the Government of the South African Republic assumes (*a*) that Her Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place; (*b*) that Her Majesty's Government will not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty, the controversy on the subject being allowed tacitly to drop; (*c*) that arbitration (from which foreign element other than the Orange Free State is to be excluded) will be conceded as soon as the franchise scheme has become a law."

Provision was also made for the immediate adjournment of the Legislature and the submission of this proposition to the people of the Republic, in order that prompt action might be had on receipt of the British acceptance. The Boer dispatches embracing these proposals were dated August 19th and 21st, 1899, and the British reply bore date of the 28th of the same month. In this reply the Government waived its request for a conference, but insisted that its agents should be permitted to make an investigation into the force and effect of the proposed suffrage reforms, aided by such persons as the Republic might appoint; and advised that, until the British Government could submit suggestions based upon such investigation, no new franchise law be submitted to the Legislature or the people. The British reply was addressed to Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of Cape Colony, and on the vital points at issue it was couched in the following language:

"With regard to the conditions of the Government of the South African Republic—first, as regards intervention, Her Majesty's Government hope that the fulfillment of the promises made and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future will render unnecessary any further intervention on their behalf; but Her Majesty's Government cannot, of course, debar themselves from their rights under the conventions, nor divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of a civilized power to protect its subjects in a foreign country from injustice; secondly, with regard to suzerainty, Her Majesty's Government would refer the Government of the South African Republic to the second paragraph of my dispatch of the 13th of July; thirdly, Her Majesty's Government agree to a discussion of the form and scope of a tribunal of arbitration from which foreigners and foreign influences are excluded. Such a discussion, which will be of the highest importance to the future relations of the two countries, should be carried on between the President and yourself; and for this purpose it appears to be necessary that a further conference, which Her Majesty's Government suggest should be held at Cape Town, be at once arranged. Her Majesty's Government also desire to remind the Government of the South African Republic that there are other matters of difference between the two

governments which will not be settled by the grant of political representation to the Uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the proposed conference."

The clause referred to above as being in the dispatch of July 13th declares that "the British Government have no intention of continuing to discuss this question (the political status of the South African Republic in reference to Great Britain) with the Government of the Republic, whose contention that the South African Republic is a sovereign international state is not, in their opinion, warranted either by law or history, and is wholly inadmissible."

This was a bold declaration of British paramountcy over the Republic, in the face of two treaties declaring and guaranteeing its sovereignty and independence. In subsequent correspondence the Colonial Secretary submitted new proposals, including a demand for the use of English as well as Dutch in the Legislature. The Republic was likewise warned that if its reply proved unsatisfactory, the British Government would reserve the right "to consider the whole question anew and formulate its own proposals for a final settlement."

Thereupon the Republic withdrew its proposals of August 19th and 21st, with reference to reforms in the franchise, and declined to consider the adoption of the English language. It furthermore declared that the proposals had been made for the purpose of securing a cessation of the British claim to suzerainty, the action having been taken under a semi-official assurance from the British Government that this claim would be abandoned in case the elective reforms were granted. The incident was closed by a brief note from the British Government, dated September 22d, in which the declaration was made that it would now be "compelled to consider the situation afresh and formulate its own proposals for a final settlement."

This note, in conjunction with active military preparations that had been under way for some time previous, was accepted by the Boers as a virtual declaration of war. Early in the summer, and during the progress of the negotiations, the South African contingent of British troops had been largely augmented, and measures for a further increase were active at home. Detachments had been sent over from India; and at the very date of the closing of the correspondence transports were on their way to South Africa loaded with troops from England and India. Other detachments were moved into Natal, and stationed at strategic points near the Transvaal border. Following these sinister movements the reserves were called out, and on the 6th of October Parliament was summoned to meet on the 17th.

The Boers felt that the crisis was at hand, and accordingly, on the 7th, they delivered their ultimatum, which was received in England with amazement and incredulity.

Notwithstanding the dangers that threatened them, and the apparent purpose of the English extremists to force a conflict, the ultimatum was an ill-advised measure. It prevented the European intervention that would surely have succeeded any overt act on the part of the British forces; and when it was followed, two days later, by a Boer invasion of British territory, all England blazed with military ardor. If a stick had been thrust into a nest of hornets the resulting commotion would not have been more ominous. In an instant the peace party in England disappeared, being absorbed by the war party, which exulted in the fact that its long-desired opportunity had come. The inconsiderate action of the Boers was adroitly used to make it appear to the world that they were wholly responsible for the conflict. The Queen in her speech to Parliament said:

"Except for the difficulties that have been caused by the action of the South African Republic, the condition of the world continues to be peaceful."

The Liberal party, under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, now assured the Ministry that, inasmuch as "the demands made by the Government of the South African Republic were such as to make it impossible for the government of any self-respecting country ever to take them into consideration, and since actual hostilities had begun, there would be no disposition on the part of the Liberals to obstruct the voting of military supplies and powers for a vigorous prosecution of the war." But, he added:

"It does appear to me that the Government is engaged in a game of bluff, which is not a very worthy one for a great country like this. The raising of the suzerainty question was utterly unnecessary, and did more than anything else to remove all chance of success from the negotiations."

This was as moderate a view as any prominent public man in England ventured to express. There was an almost complete revulsion of public sentiment, as shown by the fate of a resolution introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Dillon, of the Irish Nationalist party, and seconded by Mr. Labouchere, the great English Liberal. The resolution was as follows:

"We humbly represent to Her Majesty that the state of war now existing between Great Britain and the South African Republic has been caused by the assertion of claims which interfere with the internal government of the Republic, in direct violation of the terms of the convention of 1884, and by massing large bodies of British troops on the frontier of the Republic. We humbly submit that before more bloodshed takes place a proposal be made, in the spirit of the recent conference at The Hague, with a view of finding in independent arbitration a settlement of the difference between the two governments, and in order that an ignominious war be thus avoided between the overwhelming forces of Her Majesty's empire and those of two small nations numbering altogether less than 200,000 souls."

This conciliatory and reasonable measure was lost by the decisive vote of 322 to 54. The English people were profoundly agitated, and nothing but the most determined course would appease the wrath of the nation. From that time onward the prosecution of the war to its bitter and ruthless conclusion became a fixed purpose.

The Boers were the authors of their own undoing; and yet it seemed impossible for them to pursue any other course. They were environed by a fate that was inexorable. The ultimatum, which was the immediate cause of the explosion, declared the principle that nothing could justify British interference in the domestic affairs of the Transvaal except a violation by the Republic of the rights guaranteed to aliens by the treaty of 1884, namely:

"That all persons other than natives, on conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and other premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce, either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (*d*) they shall not be subject, in respect to their premises or property, or in respect to their commerce and industry, to any taxes other than those which are or may be imposed upon the citizens of the said Republic."

As not one of these rights had been impaired or disregarded, there was no ground for interference. The ultimatum furthermore declared that while the questions of voting and representation were exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Republic, by the express terms of the treaty, the Transvaal Government had not only expressed a willingness to, but had actually discussed

these measures in a friendly way with the British Government. But as the latter had broken off friendly correspondence and announced its intention of formulating its own proposals for final settlement, and had in the meantime, even in the midst of friendly correspondence, largely increased its military force in South Africa, thereby forcing the Transvaal to assume an attitude of defense, the Republic was constrained to insist upon immediate assurances—

"1. That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government and Her Majesty's Government.

"2. That all troops on the border of this Republic shall be instantly withdrawn.

"3. That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since June 1, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this Government, and with the mutual assurance and guaranty on the part of this Government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British Government shall be made by this Republic during the further negotiations, within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the governments, and this Government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this Republic from the borders.

"4. That Her Majesty's troops which are now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa."

These were the principal features of the ultimatum, and in conveying the peremptory demands to the British Government the Republic gave notice that in the event of no satisfactory assurances being received within forty-eight hours, or of any further movement of British troops in the direction of the Transvaal border, such silence or movement would be regarded as a formal declaration of war by Great Britain against the Republic. The ultimatum, as previously stated, was promulgated on the 9th of October. Before midnight of the 10th the British reply was cabled to Sir Alfred Milner, in the following terms:

"Her Majesty's Government have received with great regret the peremptory demands of the South African Republic, conveyed in your telegram of October 9th. You will inform the Government of the South African Republic, in reply, that the conditions demanded by the South African Republic are such as Her Majesty's Government deem it impossible to discuss."

Within less than six hours after this reply had been given to the telegraph operator at London, namely, at five o'clock on the morning of October 11th, Boer troops crossed the border into British territory, and the war, so fraught with momentous events for the two nations, had begun.

The first decisive movement was made by troops from the Orange Free State. This Republic, recognizing that its fate would be identical with that of the Transvaal, had resolved to cast its lot with the latter. The resolution by which this concert of action between the two nations was accomplished, after reciting the conditions then existing, was expressed in the following language:

"*Resolved*, That we instruct the Government to still use every means to maintain and insure peace, and, in a peaceful manner, contribute toward the solution of the existing difficulties, provided it be done without violating the honor and independence of the Free State and the Transvaal; and that we advise the ministry to make known its opinion that there exists no cause for war, and that war against the Transvaal as now undertaken or occasioned by the Imperial Government will morally be a war against the whole white population of Africa, and, in its consequences, criminal; for, come what may, the Free State will honestly and faithfully fulfill its obligations toward the Transvaal, by virtue of the political alliance between the two Republics."

It is gratifying to note that just about this time Queen Victoria wrote to the young Queen of Holland, deeply deploring the crisis in the Transvaal, and assuring her that she had exerted her influence to the utmost constitutional limit in favor of a peaceful settlement. But after the ultimatum and the invasion of British territory, public sentiment took the bit in its teeth and refused to be controlled by anything in the nature of conservatism.

Reference to the map of Southeastern Africa will now be helpful in understanding the military operations of the war. There are three main lines of railway converging toward Pretoria from the seacoast. The first runs northeasterly through the center of the Orange Free State, with several important connections in Cape Colony. This road and its connections served as bases of supplies for Gen. Roberts' great army in its march to Pretoria. The second important road extends from Durban to Pretoria, with a branch from Ladysmith across the Drakensberg Mountains to Bethlehem, in the Free State. General Buller's army operated along the main line of this road. The third road connects Delagoa Bay with Pretoria, and it afforded a means of escape to President Krüger and the Transvaal officials after the capture of their capital. A fourth road runs northward from Cape Town, through Cape Colony, Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, to Bulawayo, skirting close to both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal without entering the territory of either. This road was also of immense value to General Roberts. The operations under General Cronje took place along its line, his surrender occurring on the Modder River near Paardeberg, where he was surrounded in his effort to reach Bloemfontein.

The branch road from Ladysmith to Bethlehem crosses the mountains at Van Reenan's Pass. The first movement of the war was the occupation of this pass by troops of the Free State. At the same time an advance was made eastward into Natal, toward Ladysmith, while other detachments marched southward toward Pietermaritzburg. Still further south another detachment of Free State troops pressed toward the Cape Colony town of Aliwal North, but this subsequently proved to be a feint to cover the real movement on Ladysmith.

In concert with these movements, and simultaneously with them, the Transvaal Boers took possession of Laing's Nek, near the famous Majuba Hill, in the extreme northern part of Natal, and pushed southward on the railroad leading to Ladysmith.

Into British territory on the west the Boers also swarmed, acting in quick concert with those to the east and southeast. Their first manifestation in the west was the capture of a British armored train near Kraaipan, on the railroad south of Mafeking. The train was on its way to the relief of the British garrison at the latter place. Mafeking and Kimberly, away to the south, were invested about the same time. Spyfontein, a station south of Kimberly, was seized and fortified, and a British garrison at Lobatsi, north of Mafeking, was surrounded.

These various movements were made with such celerity and concert of action, and followed up with such vigor, as to amaze the British commanders and arouse the war spirit at home to the highest pitch.

Immediately following these initiatory movements, Vryburg, about half way between Mafeking and Kimberly, was captured, and both of the latter places were invested and besieged. At Kimberly are located the great diamond mines of South Africa, so rich in these precious stones that the owners are compelled to cease work at intervals to avoid overstocking the market and seriously reducing prices.

The first important battle of the war was fought at Glencoe, a railroad station about fifty miles north of Ladysmith, and at the junction of a short road running eastward to and beyond Dundee. This action began at daybreak on the 20th of October, and lasted eight hours. It was claimed as a vic-

tory for the British, but subsequent events indicated that it was a disaster. The losses were not heavy on either side, though Gen. Symonds, a brave officer and an accomplished gentleman, who was in command of the British forces, was mortally wounded, and captured by the Boers. He died a few days later.

On October 21st, the day after the battle at Glencoe, an engagement took place at Elands Laagte, the next station on the railroad north of Ladysmith. The battle lasted four hours, and resulted in the Boers withdrawing, apparently to place themselves in line with other sections of their army advancing on Ladysmith. Their commander, Gen. Kock, was wounded and captured by the British.

The British losses in the two battles of Glencoe and Elands Laagte were 16 officers and 62 men killed, and 51 officers and 268 men wounded.

Gen. Yule succeeded Gen. Symonds in command at Glencoe, and withdrew his forces to Dundee, which the Boers commenced shelling the following day. On the 24th Gen. Yule hastily evacuated Dundee, abandoning his wounded and prisoners, and marched rapidly southward by wagon road, to the east of the railroad, in order to avoid heavy detachments of Boers along the line of the latter. On the 25th he effected a junction with Gen. White at Ladysmith, who had moved out to meet and protect him. This retreat was regarded as a piece of brilliant military strategy.

The Boers were now in possession of all that portion of Natal north of Ladysmith, and on the 30th and 31st severe fighting occurred near the latter place. On October 30th the Boers made an important capture, which is thus described in Gen. White's official report:

"I have to report a disaster to the column sent by me to take a position on a hill to guard the left flank of the troops. In these operations to-day the Royal Irish Fusileers, No. 10 Mountain Battery and the Gloucestershire Regiment were surrounded in the hills, and, after losing heavily, had to capitulate. The casualties have not yet been ascertained. A man of the Fusileers employed as a hospital orderly came in under a flag of truce with a letter from the survivors of the column, who asked for assistance to bury the dead. I fear there is no doubt of the truth of the report. I formed a plan in the carrying out of which the disaster occurred, and I am alone responsible for the plan. There is no blame whatever to the troops, as the position was untenable."

The unfortunate expedition was commanded by Gen. French, who, however, was exonerated from all blame. The disaster was attributed principally to a stampede of mules attached to the battery, the frightened animals carrying the guns and some of the small arms within the Boer lines. Gen. White was highly commended for his manliness in acknowledging the mistake of the movement, and personally assuming the blame for its results.

The Boers now closed in on Ladysmith, and on October 31st began to shell the town. They also captured Colenso, fifteen miles south, where the railroad crosses the Tugela River, the British forces at that point retiring to Estcourt, around which the Boers swarmed in all directions, advancing, 6,000 strong, to within a few miles of Pietermaritzburg.

About the same time important movements were made in the vicinity of Stormberg, southwest of Aliwal North, where the British had concentrated a considerable force with the intention of invading the Free State. Parties of Boers moved out from the direction of Aliwal North, from Colesburg to the west, and Burghersdorp to the east, converging toward Stormberg, and thus compelling the evacuation of that place.

Following the capture of these and other places in British territory, the Government of the Orange Free State issued proclamations annexing them to the Republic. They

also annexed the whole of Griqualand West, except the cities of Mafeking and Kimberly, which continued in the possession of the British. These annexations were made for the purpose of releasing the Dutch inhabitants from their allegiance to the British Empire and enabling them to join the Boers in the war; but they subsequently served as a precedent for the British in annexing the territory of the two Republics.

In November, 1899, three British columns were set in motion toward the Boer Republics. The first moved out from Durban under Gen. Buller, the commander-in-chief, for the relief of Ladysmith; the second in the extreme west, under Gen. Methuen, advanced northward from Orange River toward Kimberly, and the third, or central, column, under Gen. Gatacre, left Cape Town on the 23d and proceeded northward. It was not long until these three columns made history rapidly, and in order to gain a clear understanding of the results of the war, their several movements should be carefully followed.

On November 23d a battle was fought between a portion of Gen. Buller's forces and the Boers at a place called Willow Grange. Both parties retired at the close of the battle, the Boers abandoning Estcourt and all points south of that place, and concentrating their forces at Wepener. Subsequent events showed that it was their intention to dispute the British advance at the Tugela River, and that their movements south of that point were strategic and preliminary.

In the west, on the 23d, the same day on which the battle took place at Willow Grange in Natal, Gen. Methuen's column, 10,000 strong, encountered 3,000 Boers near Belmont, some fifty miles south of Kimberly. A severe battle occurred, with slight losses, however, on either side. The Boers retired, and the British proceeded on their march northward. Two days later, at a place called Gras Plan, eight miles north of Belmont, a detachment of Boers attacked the British rear while another fell upon the front and flank. The fighting lasted four hours, and was characterized by a degree of desperation not previously witnessed since the beginning of the war. Finally the British charged a height on which the main body of the Boers was stationed, and the latter retreated. They were preparing for their main resistance at the crossing of Modder River. The losses in this battle, like all the others of the war, with a few exceptions, were remarkably small in proportion to the amount of fighting done. The total British loss at Gras Plan, including killed, wounded and missing, was given at 198, while that of the Boers was much less.

Early in the morning of November 28th, Gen. Methuen reached the Modder River, and here he found the Boers strongly intrenched on both banks, and on an island in the middle of the stream. The British immediately attacked. The battle began at half-past five in the morning and raged until late in the afternoon. The British fought under a burning sun, without food or water, and suffered intensely. Not once did they see their enemy, for the Boers were effectually concealed and protected by their works, whence they poured a deadly fire into the attacking columns. "No British soldier," says a correspondent who witnessed the fight, "was able to raise hand or foot without being riddled by rifle bullets." The infantry could not advance in the face of such a storm, but the artillery finally succeeded in driving the Boers from the south to the north bank of the river, and clearing them from the intrenchments there. The British loss in this engagement was reported at 471, of which number 76 were killed. Gen. Methuen himself was wounded. His dispatch announcing the results of the battle was couched in florid language, in which he claimed a "complete victory," but two weeks later, while still on Modder River, he was compelled to intrench his camp to keep his defeated enemy out! He had not yet learned the meaning of Boer strategy.

On the 11th of December Gen. Gatacre met with a reverse at Stormberg Junction, whither he had gone with the purpose of surprising the Boers in that locality. But he himself met with a surprise, and fell into a skillfully prepared trap. Having been informed by his spies that the Boer position was poorly defended, he made a quick night march and approached their camp just at dawn. No opposition was encountered. Not an enemy had been seen; but suddenly, without the slightest premonition, a murderous rifle fire was poured into his ranks, and after three hours' desperate fighting the British were compelled to retreat to Molteno, the next station south, with a loss of nearly 200 killed, 26 wounded and 489 prisoners. The disparity between the numbers of the killed and wounded shows the deadly accuracy of the Boer fire. Gen. Gatacre admitted in his official report that the affair was a "serious reverse." His retreat continued to Sterkstrom, while Gen. French, who had endeavored to come to his relief, was stopped at Arundel, on the road to Bloemfontein.

Meanwhile the column under Gen. Methuen had met with defeat at Magersfontein, about six miles northeast of the place where it had two weeks previously fought the battle of Modder River. On Sunday, December 10th, Gen. Methuen shelled the Boer position at Magersfontein, from his camp near Modder River, during the entire day. In the night, believing that the moment had arrived for an infantry attack, he moved a heavy column rapidly and silently along the north bank of the river, in a northeasterly direction, until they came to within two hundred yards of a Boer position of which he had not been apprized. Instantly a terrific fire was poured into his left flank. It was so unexpected and deadly that the regiments fell into confusion and retreated. They were re-formed, however, and brought back to the scene of the engagement, where a desperate battle, lasting through the following day, was fought. The struggle ceased with the approach of night, and under cover of the darkness Gen. Methuen withdrew his forces to his old camp on Modder River. The British loss was 963, of which number 70 were officers. Two distinguished men fell in this engagement, namely, Gen. A. G. Wauchope and the Marquis of Winchester.

Following close upon these disasters came a dispatch from Gen. Buller himself, announcing the most serious reverse of the war. His division had advanced as far as Chevely on the way to the relief of Ladysmith, when, at four o'clock on the morning of December 15th, he moved out in three columns, intending to force a passage of the Tugela River at Colenso. The left, under Gen. Hart, was ordered to attempt a crossing at a ford above Colenso, while the right, under Gen. Hildyard, was to approach the river about two miles further down. The center, commanded by Gen. Buller himself, marched between the two columns, and in supporting distance of either, as occasion might require. Gen. Hart attacked first, but after some desperate fighting, and perceiving that he could not force a passage, he withdrew. Gen. Hildyard met with no better success at the lower ford. While his column was in action a report came to Gen. Buller that the artillery, which had been sent to support the infantry, had fallen into an ambuscade and been annihilated. One gun was destroyed, ten were captured, and only two were saved. Having no artillery to support him, Gen. Hildyard was ordered to withdraw, and the whole surviving expedition, after fighting eight hours, retired to the camp at Chevely. In this engagement the British lost 140 killed, 634 wounded and 311 prisoners. Among the mortally wounded was Lieutenant Roberts, a son of Lord Roberts.

Upon receipt of the distressing news of these several defeats, there was a hurried meeting of the British Cabinet at London, at which it was decided to call out the remaining portions of the army reserve, and

arrange for the enrolling of volunteers. Steps taken at this meeting resulted in an increase of the active forces of the British army in South Africa to between 213,000 and 240,000 men, and these were subsequently augmented until the entire number reached nearly 300,000 effective troops. Gen. Roberts was placed in supreme command, with Gen. Kitchener, of Soudan fame, as his chief of staff. Opposed to this immense army the entire military force of the Boers at no time exceeded 35,000, and it is claimed that they never had more than 25,000 to 30,000 men in the field at any time during the war. Under these conditions their subjugation became merely a matter of time, for there was no longer any hope of intervention.

Gen. Roberts sailed from England on December 23d, and arrived at Cape Town, in company with Gen. Kitchener, on the 10th of January, 1900. Steps were immediately taken for a concerted movement against the Boers in all parts of the field.

Meanwhile the siege of Ladysmith had progressed, in spite of Gen. Buller's repeated ineffectual efforts to cross the Tugela and go to the relief of the beleaguered garrison.

On the 24th of January was fought the bloody battle of Spion Kop (Spy Hill), which was regarded as the key to the Boer position around Ladysmith. During the previous night the British had captured the hill by surprise, but at daybreak on the 24th the Boers, from a higher point to the east, poured a withering fire into the captors. Their artillery had the range so accurately that it became immediately effective, and under its cover three columns of Boers simultaneously ascended the spurs of Spion Kop. Regiment after regiment of British troops was hurried forward to the scene of conflict, but they could not resist the advance of the Boers, who fought their way upward, foot by foot, until well on in the afternoon, when the last detachment of British, numbering about 200 men, hoisted

THE DEAD ON SPION KOP.—From a Photograph.

the white flag and surrendered. Spion Kop was one of the bloodiest battles of the war, in proportion to the numbers engaged, and it will live in the memory of the Dutch Republicans, side by side with Majuba Hill, as one of their nation's most brilliant victories.

Gen. Roberts arrived at Riet River, a tributary of the Modder, on the 12th of February, and immediately assumed active command in the field. On February 15th the British army entered Kimberly, and the Boers, under command of Gen. Cronje, were in full retreat toward Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State. Gen. Cronje's army was estimated at from 7,000 to 8,000 men, while opposed to him Gen. Roberts had between 40,000 and 50,000 trained soldiers. For nearly two weeks there was fierce fighting between the two forces, Cronje struggling to effect his escape or hold out until reinforcements could reach him. But he was finally surrounded in his camp on Modder River, near Paardeberg, and forced to surrender on the morning of the 27th. The event was announced in this dispatch from Gen. Roberts:

"PAARDEBERG, Feb. 27, 7:45 a. m.—Gen. Cronje with his force capitulated unconditionally at daylight this morning. He is a prisoner in my camp. The strength of his force will be communicated later. I hope the Government will consider this event as especially satisfactory, occurring as it does on the anniversary of the Majuba Hill disaster."

Subsequent dispatches placed the number of men surrendered at Paardeberg at 4,000, or less than one to ten of the force opposed to them. Gen. Cronje's movements and battles, from the beginning of the war to his surrender, established his reputation as one of the world's great military geniuses.

At last, on the 28th of February, 1900, Gen. Buller succeeded in relieving Ladysmith. He had made three ineffectual efforts, fought a dozen or more severe battles, and crossed and recrossed the Tugela River until the name of that stream will be forever associated with his fame. His fourth effort was successful. The siege began October 30th; on the 28th of the following February the relief column entered the city, and one of the most memorable sieges in the annals of war was at an end. At the beginning the garrison consisted of about 12,000 troops, and some 2,000 civilians and 4,000 natives were hemmed in with the soldiers. When finally relieved, their rations had been reduced to half a pound of meal per day to each individual, with limited supplies of horse and mule flesh. The troops were so exhausted from lack of proper food and excessive duty that more than three-fourths of their number had to pass through the hospital. The losses of the garrison from casualties were only 35 killed and 88 wounded.

Early in March, 1900, Presidents Krüger and Steyn, of the two Republics, acting in concert, succeeded through a clever stroke of diplomacy in eliciting from the British Government a declaration of its purpose with reference to their countries. This result was accomplished by means of a dispatch from the Presidents, proposing peace on the basis of the continued independence of the Republics. The dispatch was read in Parliament on the 13th. Referring to the appalling loss of life already suffered, the Presidents declared in behalf of their people that "this war was undertaken solely as a defensive measure to maintain the threatened independence of the South African Republics;" whereupon they assured the British Government and "the whole civilized world" that "the war is only continued in order to secure and maintain the incontestable independence of the two Republics as sovereign international states, and to obtain the assurances that those of Her Majesty's subjects who have taken part with us in this war shall suffer no harm whatever in person or property."

"On these conditions, and on these conditions alone," the dispatch continued, "the

Republics are willing to make peace." The British ministry were warned that if they were "determined to destroy the independence of the Republics," the people of those little nations would "persevere to the end in the course already begun." Incidentally, the dispatch explained that its declarations and proposal had been deferred while the military victories were with the Republics, lest such overtures might at that time have wounded British sensibilities, and that they were then made because the prestige of the arms of the British Empire had been assured by their recent victories.

Lord Salisbury's reply to the dispatch was candid and blunt. He accused the Boers of having made hostile military preparations during the diplomatic negotiations of the previous summer, which had led the British Government to reinforce its garrisons at Cape Town and in Natal; and of having suddenly, on two days' notice, through "an insulting ultimatum," made unprovoked war, and invaded British territory. He also charged that the Boers had anticipated their present operations, and for many years had been making military preparations of a character and on a scale that could have meant nothing else than a purpose to use them against Great Britain. Refusing to discuss the question raised by the Boer dispatch, Lord Salisbury proceeded:

"The result of these preparations, carried on with great secrecy, has been that the British Empire has been compelled to confront an invasion which has entailed upon the Empire a costly war and the loss of thousands of precious lives. The great calamity has been the penalty Great Britain has suffered for having of recent years acquiesced in the existence of the two Republics. In view of the uses to which the two Republics have put the position which was given them, and the calamities their unprovoked attacks have inflicted on Her Majesty's dominions, Her Majesty's Government can only answer your honor's telegram by saying that they are not prepared to assent to the independence of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State."

Sentiments similar to those expressed by Lord Salisbury were reiterated by the Queen in her speech to Parliament after the annexation of the Orange Free State. On that occasion she said:

"Believing the continued independence of the Republics to be a constant danger to South Africa, I authorized the annexation of the Free State as a first step to the union of the races under an institution which may in time be developed so as to secure equal rights and privileges in South Africa."

These declarations may be accepted as expressing the conservative sentiment of England; and they stand also as England's justification of the war. The Boer side of the controversy has been fairly presented, and the world will judge between the two.

Simultaneously with their proffer to Great Britain of peace on the basis of continued independence, the Presidents of the two Republics requested all foreign consuls at Pretoria to urge upon their respective governments joint action in the interest of peace. But no country except the United States took official action in the matter. This was done by notifying the British Government through our representative in London that the services of the United States as mediator were at the disposal of the belligerents, and that this offer was made at the express request of the Presidents of the South African Republics. The offer was perfunctory and formal; and it was declined in a similar spirit. Subsequently Germany advised President Krüger of the Emperor's willingness to assist in friendly mediation if both belligerents expressed a desire for it. The German offer was more cordial than in the case of the United States, but equally as inoperative. In the French Senate the Minister of Foreign Affairs, replying officially to a question, said that inasmuch as the Republics had declared that they would not make peace except upon the condition of

their continued independence, a condition to which Great Britain had affirmed her unwillingness to subscribe, it was "manifest that any intervention on such a basis would be superfluous." The little Republic of Switzerland, replied by note, couched in sympathetic tone, in which she reluctantly expressed her inability to comply with the request of the Presidents for friendly mediation, for substantially the same reasons as those given by France. Italy declined formally to take any action. Holland expressed regret that she could not act, and referred, as her reason, to the declaration of Great Britain, that intervention would not be accepted by that government. None of the other nations took any more definite action, and the matter was suffered to drop.

On the 15th of March Gen. Roberts entered Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State. He encountered no opposition, the Boers having removed their seat of government the day before to Kroonstad, about one hundred miles further north. This was done to prevent an assault and the destruction of property; but a series of fierce battles had been fought before the British army reached the vicinity of the capital. The British were now swarming into the territory of the Republics from the south, the east and the west, and it could plainly be seen that the tragedy was drawing to a close.

On the night of March 27th, 1900, another misfortune befell the Boer cause in the death of Gen. P. J. Joubert. He was sixty-eight years old, and had not been in robust health since the beginning of the war. The subsequent hardships and excitement, added to his physical failure consequent upon his advancing age, brought on the ailment which resulted in his death. "Slim Pete" (Shrewd Pete), as he was affectionately called by his compatriots, was, after President Krüger, the most majestic figure in South Africa. He was a man of great force of character, but simple and modest in his demeanor. In 1893 he represented the Transvaal Republic at the Columbian World's Fair at Chicago, and while there, and also in other cities that he visited in this country, he won the admiration and respect of all who came in contact with him, by his unaffected manners and simple grandeur of character. The Boers were prolific in great leaders during their struggle with England, but they found it difficult to supply the places of Cronje and Joubert.

About the time of the occupation of Bloemfontein the Boers displayed a great deal of activity, and won several brilliant advantages. Since the beginning of the war a force had been operating with considerable effect in the northeastern part of Cape Colony, south of Aliwal North and in the neighborhood of Stormberg. Their effective surprise of Gen. Gatacre's column on the 11th of December will be remembered. This force, composed of about 5,000 men, was under command of Gen. Olivier; and the swift advance of Gen. Roberts into the Free State had completely isolated it from all the other detachments of the Boer army. In a military sense, its position was desperate, as a glance at the map will show. Gen. Buller, with 40,000 men, was at or near Ladysmith, to the northeast; Gen. Roberts, with 60,000 men, was at Bloemfontein, almost directly between Olivier and the other Boer forces; while Gen. Methuen, with 25,000 men, acting as Roberts' left wing, was swinging rapidly northeastward toward Kroonstad. Olivier was three hundred miles from safety, and in order to escape he must first pass between the distended jaws of the armies of Buller and Roberts, and then risk being caught by Methuen before he could reach the Boer forces at Kroonstad. In addition to these apparently insurmountable obstacles, he was practically surrounded by a British army as large, if not larger than his own. But his genius was equal to the occasion. Swinging east along the Basuto Land frontier, so as to avoid the British force which had captured Aliwal North, he made one of those rushing marches for which the Boers were famous, and soon reached a point abreast of

Bloemfontein, near Ladybrand. Here he met and dispersed a portion of a detachment under Gen. French, which had been sent from Bloemfontein to intercept him; but his progress was so rapid that it carried him past the danger line before the main body of the British could be brought up. Gen. French arrived only in time to see the dust-clouds of the marching Boers away to the north and beyond his reach. A prominent British officer described Olivier's escape as "the great feat of the war, seeing that he ran every chance of being ground between the upper millstone of Lord Roberts' army and the nether millstone of the broken Basuto frontier." Gen. Roberts himself had counted on the certain capture of Olivier's force; he had felt for weeks that he held him in the hollow of his hand, and his fury was hot when he heard that the brilliant Dutchman had slipped between his fingers. Gen. Gatacre, who was mainly responsible for Olivier's escape, was sent home in disgrace, on a charge of incompetency; and Generals Buller and Warren also felt the keen edge of the Commander's wrath in connection with their bad management of the Natal campaign. Gen. Methuen likewise came in for his share of the Commander's disapproval. In fact, there was a general overhauling of reputations. Even the famous Kitchener did not escape censure. The public, however, seemed to feel that the numerous failures were due not so much to the incompetence of British officers as to the fact that they were fighting an extraordinarily brave and energetic people, worthy scions of the old Dutch and French Huguenots, who in their day and generation produced as fine a race of warriors as ever trod the earth. The sequel might have been different with Gen. Roberts himself if his army had not been so powerful as to crush all opposition by mere weight of numbers.

Close upon the escape of Olivier came a loss of seven guns by ambushment almost within sight of Lord Roberts' headquarters in Bloemfontein; and a galling defeat of two horse batteries, two cavalry regiments and a battalion of mounted infantry at the water works and at Koorn Spruit, twenty and eighteen miles, respectively, east of Bloemfontein, added its irritation to the general annoyance. Col. Broadwood, a very brave and capable officer, commanded in these latter catastrophes, and while he succeeded in saving a part of his force, he lost all his wagons and seven guns, besides 350 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. On this occasion the audacious Boers approached to within fourteen miles of the Free State capital, where Gen. Roberts lay with 60,000 men; and, in addition to the dread of having the city's water supply cut off, he actually began to mount high-power guns on the surrounding kopjes, in anticipation of a siege!

While these unpleasant conditions were facing the British forces, they were startled by the capture, on April 5th, of three companies of the Royal Irish Fusileers and two companies of the 9th Regiment of mounted infantry, at Reddersburg, fifty miles south of Bloemfontein and a short distance east of the railroad. This was an ominous threat against the base of supplies.

It was followed on the 11th by news of the investment of a town called Wepener, on the line between the Free State and Basuto Land. A British force of between 2,000 and 3,000 was stationed there under Gen. Brabant, and it was reported that the place had been surrounded by 20,000 Boers, which later information reduced to 4,000. It subsequently developed that these and other less threatening movements in the same region had been made to enable the Boers to gather the ripening crops from the farms in that section. They had no idea of attempting to meet or hem in Gen. Roberts' immense army with the handful of men at their disposal!

About the 20th of April the British commander moved out of Bloemfontein at the head of 40,000 men, ostensibly on his way to Pretoria; but, owing to the disturbances

in the south and east, he turned his front to the southeast instead of toward the north. The Boers immediately abandoned the vicinity of Wepener and the country to the southeast of Bloemfontein, and vanished along the same road that had led Gen. Olivier to safety a few weeks before. Like him, they escaped the net which had been spread for them, and carried large quantities of newly-harvested grain northward with them.

The way was now clear for the advance on Pretoria, and the movement was begun on the 2d day of May. With an army of 50,000 men and a front forty miles in width, extending that distance eastward from the railroad, Gen. Roberts resumed his northward march, supported in the west by Gen. Hunter, who had superseded Gen. Methuen, and in the east by Gen. Buller, who moved out from Ladysmith and occupied Dundee and Glencoe almost without opposition, the Boers going north on the railroad.

The combined British armies were now in motion, in an almost unbroken column, extending across the whole width of the Free State, and mowing a wide swath toward the capital of the Transvaal. Their progress was impressive, by reason of their numbers. They entered Kroonstad without opposition on May 12th, the Free State Boers having removed their capital the second time, to Heilbron, about fifty miles to the northeast and away from the railroad. On the morning of the 18th a British flying column, under Col. Mahon, marched into the beleaguered city of Mafeking, and the long siege of that place was at an end. It had been maintained since the 9th of the previous October, a period of seven months and eleven days.

On receipt of news of these events, all England went into hysterics. By midnight the thoroughfares of London were overrun by jostling, howling, gesticulating crowds. Drum and fife corps paraded the streets, followed by vast straggling processions of men, women and children, madly waving flags and shouting without intermission. Bells were rung, whistles blown, and blazing bonfires built all over the island. The demonstrations were kept up through the night and the following day. Business of every kind was suspended, except the "selling of flags, buttons and drinks." The dispatches also added that the "cab drivers carried flags on their whips and on their horses' heads and tails; and some wore paper caps of red, white and blue, like clowns' caps. All the younger and a good many of the elder sections of the population carried tin trumpets, which they blew incessantly when not cheering vociferously. During the day the shops were closed, while groups of stovepipe-hatted, frock-coated, middle-aged and ordinarily staid citizens paraded the streets arm-in-arm, waving flags, blowing trumpets and whistles, singing patriotic songs, and acting altogether as if they were mad or drunk."

At a later period, on the return of a portion of the Imperial Volunteers to London, there were demonstrations of a still more extraordinary and alarming character. The incident was made the occasion for an orgy of the most astonishing nature, strongly remindful of similar scenes in Rome during the decline of the Empire. The streets of the metropolis were jammed to congestion by a frantic mob, in which drunkenness and the lawless element predominated. Women were insulted and embraced in the streets, children were trampled upon, and in numerous instances decent men who protested against such conduct were mobbed and beaten. Several persons were killed, and more than two hundred were carried to the hospitals suffering from injuries more or less severe. It was with difficulty that the soldiers themselves made their way through the almost impenetrable crowds, and wherever they appeared rum and other intoxicating drinks were pressed upon them without stint. They finally succeeded in reaching their barracks, with torn and bedraggled uniforms and numerous bruises

and wounds as severe as any they had experienced in their South African campaigns.

It was an amazing and ominous spectacle. In America the people wondered at such extravagant demonstrations, indicating as they did a deterioration in the British national character. The quiet enthusiasm with which our own great victories in the Spanish war had been received by the American people afforded a striking contrast to these frenzied ebullitions in London over events of comparative insignificance. They brought a quick protest from Gen. Roberts, who cabled a request to his countrymen to abstain from offering liquors to the returning soldiers.

These incidents resulted in the coining of a new word—"Mafficking"—the meaning of which is to act in an absurd or idiotic manner under the excitement of patriotic fervor.

On May 22d Gen. Roberts led his forces out of Kroonstad and entered upon the last stretch of the road to Pretoria. He met with but little opposition. His long lines so completely overlapped the shorter ones of the Boers that the latter were forced to retreat rapidly in order to avoid being surrounded. The advancing line was thirty miles long, protected on the left by Gen. French's cavalry and on the right by Gen. Hamilton's mounted infantry. The progress of the British was rapid and resistless, sweeping everything before it. During the second day they reached the Rhenoster River, having marched a distance of about thirty miles in less than twenty-four hours—an extraordinary feat for so great an army in an enemy's country. Here they were detained three days, building a pontoon bridge, the stream being unfordable. The Boers were panic-stricken at the vast numbers opposed to them, and made no effort to hinder their progress. On the 26th the British crossed the Rhenoster, and on the following day they reached and crossed the Vaal River at Grobler's Drift, near the town of Parys. They were now for the first time in the territory of the Transvaal.

The day after crossing the Vaal, namely, on the 28th of May, Gen. Roberts formally declared the Orange Free State British territory by right of conquest, under the name of the Orange River Colony. This proclamation was met by a counter one from President Steyn, of the Free State, denying the power or authority of the British Government to annex his country, and holding the burghers to their allegiance.

On May 29th Gen. Roberts reached and occupied one of the suburbs of Johannesburg, fifty miles north of the Vaal River, but he did not enter the city until June 1st, the delay having been made at the request of the Boer authorities, to give them time to move out and prevent street fighting.

Four days later, namely, on the 5th of June, 1900, the British army arrived at Pretoria and occupied the capital of the Transvaal, having met with scarcely any opposition since leaving Kroonstad. It was now learned from the official records that the Boers had never had more than 35,000 men in the field, which afforded an explanation of their inability to oppose the final advance of the British army, numbering at that time, in all South Africa, nearly 300,000 men. There were probably at no time more than 10,000 or 15,000 Boers in front of Gen. Roberts after he left Bloemfontein with 50,000 troops, and it was impossible for them to concentrate a sufficient force to defend their capital against such an army.

The Transvaal Government was removed to Lydenburg, in the mountains 150 miles east of Pretoria, and some distance north of the Delagoa Bay railway line.

These events might be regarded as terminating the war, although desultory fighting of a more or less serious character was sustained by small detachments of Boer troops, both in the Transvaal and the Free State, for months afterward. In one of these fights, which occurred on the 26th of August, at Winburg, in the central part of the Free State, Gen. Olivier and three of his sons were captured. After the death of Gen.

Joubert, Gen. Louis Botha succeeded to the supreme command of the Boer armies. He resigned, however, in September, on account of ill health, and Gen. Viljoen was appointed temporarily in his place. The latter had a great reputation among his people as a brilliant fighter, being known by them as the "Fire Brand." Gen. DeWet was another prominent Boer commander, who was described as energetic, resourceful and daring beyond measure. His commando, it was said, was composed mainly of men whose homes and property had been destroyed by the British, and they were accordingly desperate and reckless.

The Transvaal Republic, under the name of the "Transvaal Province," was annexed to the British Empire, by proclamation from Lord Roberts, on the 1st day of September 1900. This action was taken by authority of a royal warrant, dated *July 4th*, announcing that thenceforth the Transvaal would form a part of the Queen's dominions. Whether the date of the announcement was intentional or otherwise, Americans can but regard with ill favor this royal proclamation of the death of a Republic on the natal day of their own independence.

The incident of annexation was emphasized by the official announcement of British losses in the war, aggregating 48,640 men. Of this number 21,657 were killed in action, 680 died of wounds, 4,337 died of disease, 2,689 were missing and prisoners, and the remainder had been invalided home. But the loss in money and national prestige was far greater than in human life. The expenses of the war, as stated in the official reports, had amounted to about half a billion of dollars; while the loss in military prestige

THE MARKET SQUARE AT JOHANNESBURG.—From a Photograph.

will necessitate greater expenditures for armaments in the future. A hint of coming trouble in store for England in that connection was given in a manifesto from Lord Salisbury early in November. "It will depend," he said, "upon the disposition and conduct of the Boers how long an interval is to elapse before their full position as a British colony is attained. The brilliant success of Lord Roberts' army must not blind us to the imperfections disclosed in our own defensive armor—imperfections, which, but for the war, might have remained unnoticed. It will be the urgent duty of Parliament and the Government to remove these defects, a duty which certainly could not be discharged by a ministry dependent upon a broken party."

His far-seeing statesmanship anticipated the dangers that threatened England in the future from nations which had formerly dreaded her power, but who, having observed the "imperfections in her defensive armor," will hereafter be less subservient to her will.

Meanwhile Mr. John Morley, the historian, answers that clause of Lord Salisbury's manifesto wherein he asserts that the future welfare of the Boers as British subjects will depend upon their own conduct. "In a single year," says Mr. Morley, "the work of a generation in uniting the Dutch and English in South Africa has been undone, and not even in Ireland has the difficult race problem been more miserably mishandled."

Early in September, 1900, President Krüger, with Secretary Reitz and the archives of the Republic, crossed the Portugal frontier and took refuge in Lourenzo Marquez. Here he remained until the 19th of October, when he sailed for Europe on the Dutch cruiser "Gelderland," with Holland as his objective point, a suitable refuge having been provided for him by the young Queen of that country. He landed at Marseilles, France, November 22d, where he was received with demonstrations of the greatest enthusiasm. His progress northward from that city was a continuous ovation. He was met at every station along the road to Paris by immense throngs of people who manifested the most intense devotion and friendliness, not only for the exiled President in person, but also for the little nations that he represented. His arrival at the capital of the French nation proved to be an occasion of extraordinary character. The Mayor and other high dignitaries met him at the railway station and tendered him the hospitality of the city. He was also accorded a special reception in the Palace of the Elysee, by President Loubet, who subsequently made a ceremonious call on the venerable President of the South African Republic in his own parlors.

President Krüger remained in Paris until the end of December, when he departed for Germany and Holland. It was his expectation to visit the German Emperor at Berlin, but while at Cologne he was waited upon by Count Boegendorf, German Minister to Luxemburg, who came as a special envoy from the Emperor to say that the latter's plans would not at present permit him to receive the Boer President. This course, it was claimed, was rendered necessary by public policy, since Mr. Krüger's object in visiting Europe was to induce the rulers of the principal nations to abandon their former neutrality and join in an effort to compel England to arbitrate the questions at issue. Mr. Krüger made no effort to conceal his chagrin at the refusal of the Emperor to receive him. In a public speech he referred to the incident in this language:

"I hope with all my heart that the circumstance which prevents His Majesty from receiving me to-day will become more favorable later. I shall never cease to have confidence in the spirit of justice of the Emperor, who, without knowing me, sent me four years ago significant encouragement. I shall stay some time at The Hague and will then renew my request, and this time the Emperor will not refuse."

So profoundly were his feelings wrought upon, and so keen was his disappointment, that he returned to his apartments in tears.

The Emperor Francis Joseph, of Austria, also declined to receive the Boer President, and this fact, in connection with the German incident, created a general impression that his mission to Europe in behalf of his people was a failure.

But the tone of the Continental press remained friendly, and the hospitable manifestations of the people continued. Even in Germany the attitude of the Government did not appear to affect the sentiments of the nation. Mr. Krüger's welcome at Cologne was of the most enthusiastic character, although the municipal authorities, acting upon a hint from the Government, refrained from giving it their official sanction. The demonstrations at Cologne culminated on December 4th in a riot in front of the British Consulate, whereupon the authorities forbade any further public manifestations.

In Belgium the popular excitement was of such a character that Mr. Krüger was advised to avoid the territory of that country in his journey to Holland, lest serious complications with England should ensue. He reached The Hague December 6th, and was greeted at the station by the Burgomaster and Counsellors and a large concourse of citizens. His welcome to Holland was emphatic in its friendliness.

The most remarkable development of the Krüger demonstrations in France was a sensational speech by Gen. Mercier, in the Senate, on December 4th. The General referred to the possibility of war with England, and claimed that an invasion of the island by French troops would be entirely practicable. He demanded that the Government should introduce into its plans for mobilizing the army, the naval methods of rapid embarkation and debarkation of expeditionary forces. During the course of the speech the President of the Senate, M. Fallieres, intervened, declaring that Gen. Mercier's remarks were out of order; and, the question being submitted to a vote, the President was sustained with cheers. The British press treated the incident with levity, on the ground that Gen. Mercier was merely seeking notoriety.

Meanwhile the war continues, both in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Gen. DeWet has a considerable force under his command, and by the celerity of his movements prevents the concentration of a sufficient body of troops to surround or capture him. His tactics consist in rapid movements and quick rushes upon unexpected and lightly guarded places, by which means he succeeds in maintaining a state of constant agitation and expectancy.

About the first of December Gen. Roberts turned the command of the British forces in South Africa over to Gen. Kitchener, and returned to England. In the course of a public speech, just prior to his departure, he expressed sentiments of so extraordinary a character as to verge close upon the sensational. Referring to those whom he had so gallantly met in the field, he declared that when peace was restored he would say to Boers and Englishmen that they were all one people, in one country; that they had one interest, and that Englishmen honored the Afrikanders for the heroism they had displayed in the war. He said, however, that they had been fighting for a wrong cause, having been induced to do so by their misguided rulers. "Nevertheless," he exclaimed, "we honor them for fighting for the liberty we ourselves so thoroughly believe in." He then closed his remarks with this significant declaration: "And now, in the spirit of liberty, truth, justice and freedom, we are prepared to extend these privileges, which every Englishman values, to those who have been fighting against us."

Additional weight was attached to Gen. Roberts' remarks by simultaneous intimations from influential sources that it was the purpose of the British Government to authorize the re-establishment of an independent Boer Republic in a portion of the Transvaal territory.

CHAPTER CLXXI.—CONTINUATION OF THE PHILIPPINE WAR.—TROUBLE WITH CHINA.—THE NATIONAL ELECTION OF 1900.—MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

FIGHTING of a more or less desultory character in the Philippine Islands followed the capture of Malolos, recorded on page 147. A peculiar class of guerrilla warfare was inaugurated by the natives, which proved to be exceedingly annoying. The Filipinos were unable to check the advance of the American volunteers either in the field or from behind their intrenchments, but they continued as persistent in their resistance to our authority as they were feeble in their military efforts. The American force was not large enough to sustain an aggressive campaign and at the same time guard the captured towns. Consequently, as soon as any particular place was abandoned by our troops, either by advancing beyond it or retiring toward their base of supplies, it was instantly reoccupied by the watchful Filipinos. And this system of warfare continued for months.

At dusk on the 8th of April, 1899, an expedition set out from Manila under Gen. Lawton, with the purpose of crossing Laguna Lake and capturing the important town of Santa Cruz, on the opposite shore. This town is the capital of the province of Laguna, forty-eight miles from Manila, and has a population of about 13,000. The American force consisted of 1,500 troops, 200 of whom were picked sharpshooters. They were moved in a flotilla of twenty canoes, towed by steam tugs and convoyed by three gunboats.

The expedition reached the vicinity of Santa Cruz the following day, April 9th, and the troops were landed a few miles south of the city. The assault began just at daylight on the morning of the 10th. A line of American troops extended two miles inland, the left resting on the lake as the column advanced northward toward the city. Their progress was rapid. The men were told off into squads of twelve each, and they fought in the old-time frontier fashion, from behind trees, crawling through bushes, and rushing across the open spaces. Meanwhile the

AMERICAN TROOPS LANDING AT SANTA CRUZ.

gunboats on the lake poured a relentless fire into the Filipino works. Their resistance was stubborn, the little brown men fighting gallantly from behind breastworks; but they could not face the fire of the American gunboats and the steady onrush of the volunteers. Their works were soon carried and the Filipinos driven into and through the town, where a hot fight was maintained for

NATIVE FILIPINO SOLDIER.

some time in the streets and from the cover of the houses. But our troops were soon in full possession, and Gen. Lawton established his headquarters in the Governor's Palace. It is remarkable to relate that in this battle the Americans had only one man killed and nine wounded; while the Filipinos lost ninety-three killed and a much larger number wounded, many of the latter being carried away or concealed in the homes of their friends.

Gen. Lawton remained in Laguna Province until April 16th, when he returned to Manila, having meanwhile driven all the armed natives to the northward. But as soon as he evacuated the towns they were reoccupied by the Filipinos, even before the American rear guard was out of sight.

It would be unprofitable to follow the numerous battles and skirmishes of the Philippine war. They were all of the same general character. It was like warring with phantom armies. In the space of a few minutes large bodies of Filipinos would melt away and vanish, and in their stead the neighboring villages would swarm with whiteclad, loyal and smiling "amigos." But no sooner would the Americans pass out of sight than these amiable natives were again transformed, as if by the wave of a magician's wand, into grim battalions of warriors, ready to kill or be killed. Their usual practice, however, was to follow our troops at a distance and pick them off one at a time. This system of fighting came to be known as "snipping," and it was extremely annoying to our troops. It was like the old Indian warfare of the border, except that the Filipinos did not push the fighting with the energy and vehemence that characterized our Red Men.

Following the events just related, several fierce battles were fought. In one of these, which occurred near Guinga, a small town six miles northeast of Malolos, on April 23d, Col. Stotsenberg, of the Nebraska Regiment, was killed. He was an exceptionally brave and efficient officer, as well as a typical American, and his death intensified the unpopularity of the war.

On the 26th of April the Americans attacked and captured the outskirts of Calumpit, driving the Filipinos from their intrenchments on the opposite side of the Rio Grande. The following day they crossed the river, charged the natives in their works, and drove them in a running

fight northward along the railroad to Apolit. In these engagements two Americans were killed and several wounded, and the volunteers displayed a gallantry that won the hearty admiration of their countrymen.

About the middle of June, Gen. Lawton made a dash southward into the province of Cavite, where he encountered and dispersed a fortified body of more than 4,000 Filipinos, killing and capturing about one-third of their number. He penetrated as far south as Imus, and was surprised to find a population seemingly of the most friendly character. All the towns and villages extended an enthusiastic welcome to the Americans. The entire population seemed to rejoice at the coming of their deliverers. So pronounced were the demonstrations that Gen. Otis felt inspired to cable the Government at Washington that the "inhabitants in that country rejoice at deliverance, and welcome with enthusiastic demonstrations arrival of our troops." But it transpired a few days later that these enthusiastic inhabitants were, in fact, Filipino soldiers, preparing a very skillful ambuscade for their "deliverers." The third day after Gen. Lawton's triumphant entry into Imus, and while the Americans were still in the full appreciation of the very cordial welcome they had received, a portion of the 4th Infantry, while reconnoitering about six miles south of the town, was surrounded by a large body of "apparently friendly natives," and would have been annihilated except for the opportune arrival of reinforcements. After that incident the Americans were more careful about reposing confidence in the friendly protestations of the natives.

"AMIGOS" IN FILIPINO VILLAGE.

On the 16th of July, 1899, Gen. Bates arrived at the capital of the Sulu Islands for the purpose of making a treaty with the

Sultan. The inhabitants of these islands, which constitute the southwestern extremity of the Philippine Archipelago, are of Arabic extraction, and were called Moors, or Moros, by the Spaniards, on account of their dark color and resemblance to the Moors of Northern Africa. They are a highly sensitive, fierce and warlike people, and sufficiently advanced in the arts of civilization to manufacture steel tools and weapons of a superior quality. Their native swords—the "kris," or thrusts of their enemy—that in close quarters a single Moro is usually a good match for half a dozen well-armed soldiers.

The religion of the Moros is a hybrid combination of heathen superstitions and Mohammedanism; but they endeavor to make up for the imperfections of their faith by a fanatical adherence to its forms and ceremonies. Polygamy and slavery constitute two of its leading features. Slavery, however, as it exists in the Sulu Islands, is not

A MORO SULTAN AND HIS COURT.

with a waving or flame-shaped two-edged blade, and the "barong," having a heavy curved blade—are composed of steel almost as fine as that of the celebrated Damascus manufacture, and capable of carrying a razor-like edge. A Moro warrior, with a single sweep of one of these ferocious weapons, will sever his antagonist's body in twain, or remove his head as easily as he would clip a willow twig. They are likewise so expert in the use of their swords—dancing and leaping from side to side to avoid the strokes in its most repugnant form. The master, it is true, possesses the legal prerogative of life and death over his slaves, and does not hesitate to exercise this right when he feels the disposition; yet a resort to such an extremity is by no means frequent. It is usually confined to cases of infidelity or other extraordinary provocation. Slaves are composed principally of persons who have sold themselves into servitude in payment of debts, prisoners captured in war, or the descendants of both these classes. They are

treated as servants or dependents, rather than slaves, and since the advent of the Americans there is but little distinction between them and other members of the family. Slave children attend the schools that have been established, on equal terms with those born of free parents; and there is practically no social or religious ostracism on account of servitude.

The Sultan of Sulu is an emperor, ruling with despotic power over an empire of 140 to 150 islands and islets, of which about 90 are inhabited. It is conjectured that he has within his domains from 200,000 to 500,000 subjects, including women, children and slaves; but there has never been an accurate enumeration of the people. It is not known how many soldiers the Sultan could put into the field; it is presumed that he could raise an army of at least 30,000 desperate and fanatical followers, each of whom would esteem it a special favor to die in the cause of Islam. The Sultan's authority, beyond the island of Sulu, where his capital is located, is administered by "datos," or lesser sultans, who pay tribute to him and obey his orders when it suits their convenience, or when he has the power to enforce his independent will.

Gen. Bates' mission was a delicate one. Its success required not only a high order of intelligence, but great discretion and that peculiar quality of diplomacy which seems to concede every essential point while in fact fully securing its own predetermined purpose. The treaty which he negotiated with the Sultan recognized existing conditions, including slavery and polygamy, and left the government in the hands of the Sultan, under American supervision. Any attempt at that time to change the customs of the Moros would have led to a war of extermination. Meanwhile schools have been established and great progress toward enlightment is already observable. Both slavery and polygamy are receding before the advance of intelligence, and it is believed that the time is not far distant when these "twin relics of barbarism" will entirely disappear from among these people. When this shall have been accomplished, the benefits of Western civilization will become more manifest to the teeming millions of the East.

During the interval that elapsed between the date of the events just related and the following November, very little occurred in the Philippines worthy of historical record. The Filipino capital remained at Tarlac, a city located near the center of the Island of Luzon, and it was supposed that their military forces were concentrated there and in that vicinity. Gen. Otis accordingly conceived the idea of surrounding them and forcing their surrender, and thus bringing the war to a speedy end. Gen. MacArthur was at Angeles, on the railroad south of Tarlac, with a strong force; Gen. Lawton was campaigning with his usual vigor in the

RAILROAD TRAIN AT TARLAC.

vicinity of Cabanatuan, almost directly east from Tarlac, while Gen. Wheaton, with another strong detachment, was sent around by sea from Manila to Lingayen Gulf, immediately north of the Filipino capital. The plan was for Wheaton and Lawton to unite their forces to the north of Tarlac and thus cut off the retreat of the Filipinos, while MacArthur drove them out of their intrenchments from the south. It was a well-conceived campaign, and must have resulted in complete success, except for the watchfulness of the natives and the celerity with which they made their movements. Aguinaldo seems to have been fully informed re-

GEN. LAWTON'S LAST EXPEDITION.

garding the intentions of the American commanders, and before the trap intended for him could be set or sprung, he moved his army northward from Tarlac to Bayombong. This place is in the northern part of Luzon Valley, near the mountains, away from the railroad and difficult of access. It had been designated as the new capital of the Republic by decree of the Filipino Congress, on the 5th of the previous month, and had been fortified in anticipation of the movement just described. On November 11th, during these operations, a severe battle was fought at San Jacinto, some distance north of Tarlac and well inland from the western coast, which will be long remembered by Americans for the tragedy enacted there. Maj. John A. Logan, a promising young volunteer officer and son of the famous statesman and general, John A. Logan, was killed in this battle, while leading his regiment in a charge against the enemy, so brilliant and daring as to be strongly remindful of some of the heroic deeds of the elder Logan during the struggles of our great Civil War.

Meanwhile the contest became active again in the vicinity of Manila and away to the southward. No sooner was peace restored in one section than the insurrection broke out in another, like a patient whose tainted blood manifests its impurities by eruptions on various portions of the body. Soon after the battle of San Jacinto Gen. Lawton was recalled to the capital to head important operations in that locality, and here this brave and well-beloved officer met an untimely death only a little more than a month after the fall of Maj. Logan.

Soon after the return of Gen. Lawton to Manila, he led a detachment, consisting of two infantry battalions and a regiment of cavalry, against the fortified town of San Mateo, which is located on a small river of the same name about fourteen miles northeast of the capital. This expedition started on the 18th of December, 1899. On the morning of the 20th it reached the San Mateo River, which was so swollen by heavy rains as to be almost impassable. While the men were crossing, Gen. Lawton, according to his invariable custom, exposed himself with the utmost indifference to the enemy's fire. In an instant after advancing to the firing line he was struck in the breast by a Mauser bullet, sent with deadly aim by a sharpshooter belonging to the command of Gen. Pio del Pilar, who was disputing the passage of the river. With a slight exclamation of pain, Gen. Lawton fell to the ground and immediately afterward expired. His body was forwarded to Manila, and sent thence to the United States, where it was laid to

rest in the National Cemetery at Arlington.

On the 6th of February the President appointed a new commission for the purpose of instituting civil government in the Philippine Islands, with Judge Wm. H. Taft, of the Federal Court at Cincinnati, an able and conservative man, as president. The Commission was authorized to organize a government in the islands on the basis of the recommendations of the previous commission, which favored for Luzon and the islands inhabited by civilized tribes, governments analogous to those of American territories, with suffrage restricted by educational or property qualifications, or both, and a small body of American officials in control. For the Sulu Archipelago and the islands inhabited by Mohammedans, it was assumed that the government would be conducted through the agency of Sultans or chiefs, which would be merely a continuation of existing conditions in those islands. On the eve of his departure for the Philippines, the citizens of Cincinnati gave a public banquet in honor of Judge Taft, and in the course of a speech on this occasion he declared that "he was not now, and never had been, an expansionist;" but he qualified this assertion by declaring that "circumstances beyond our control, the sequel of the Spanish war, have thrust on us responsibility for the future government of the Philippines."

Early in April Gen. Otis was relieved of command in the Philippine Islands, at his own request, and Gen. MacArthur was appointed to succeed him as military governor.

The new commander inaugurated the policy of dividing his forces up into small detachments, and stationing them at numerous places throughout the disaffected sections, so as to command a large area of territory. But while he succeeded measurably in the latter respect, he so reduced some of his own detachments that they could not resist the forces that were concentrated against them; and in this way a number of minor disasters befell our troops. The experience was unusual, and it provoked an inquiry in the nature of a remonstrance from the head of the War Department. Gen. MacArthur replied that he could not cover the territory and maintain peace without a larger force. Arrangements were accordingly made, immediately after the close of the political campaign of 1900, to increase the strength of the army in the Philippines to about 70,000 men, and the American commander was instructed to prepare for a vigorous, aggressive campaign, with a view to ending the war at the earliest practicable date. This was the condition of affairs in the Archipelago at the end of November, 1900.

CAMPAIGNING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Meanwhile a system of public schools similar to our own had been established in the Philippine Islands, with gratifying results. The natives, for the most part,

accepted our scheme of education with enthusiasm, and the department hopes that it may by this means soon Americanize the whole population. Filipino girls, especially, take kindly to learning. The boys, on the other hand, are slow, and sometimes inefficient; but no hostility to the system has been manifested, either by parents or children.

Up to September 1, 1900, the American Military Governor had accumulated a surplus of $6,000,000, Mexican currency, from taxes, licenses, customs duties, etc., and on the above date this amount was transferred to the civil authorities and deposited in the insular treasury. On the 12th of September the Civil Commission, with Judge Taft presiding, decided to appropriate $2,000,000 of this surplus to the immediate construction and repair of highways and bridges in the islands; and in view of the universal confidence reposed in the integrity of Gen. MacArthur, the entire amount was placed in his hands for disbursement. The wisdom of this course was conceded in the fact that he had under his control more than 65,000 men, in the pay of the United States, and as fine a body of engineers as could be found in the world, whose services could be utilized in the promotion of these improvements, and others that were in contemplation.

During the latter part of May, 1900, startling rumors of trouble in China began to reach Europe and America. There had been fresh outbreaks of a native organization called "Boxers." They had torn up or destroyed railroad tracks in various parts of the Empire, and had massacred many foreigners. These people were especially bitter against the missionaries and native Christians, but their hatred extended likewise to all foreigners, who were designated by them, and by the Chinese generally, as "foreign devils."

No one knew the extent of the "Boxer" organization, or what proportion of the Chinese population it embraced. It soon developed, however, that the Dowager Empress An and many of the principal officials of the Chinese Government were in sympathy with the movement, and secretly encouraging its acts of violence.

On the other hand, the Emperor, Kwang Su, appeared to be imbued with progressive ideas, and manifested a spirit of decided friendliness toward foreign enterprise.

The "Boxer" organization was in active existence as far back as 1889, when it instigated numerous revolts against foreign encroachments on Chinese territory. It grew rapidly from that time, until at present it undoubtedly embraces a large part of the native Chinese population, either through sympathy or active co-operation. The name is a misnomer, for it does not convey a true idea of the character or purposes of the organization. It gives the impression of a coarse and ignorant mob, when in fact it is a society composed of the best and most patriotic elements of the Empire, as patriotism is understood in China. The Chinese name for the organization is "*I Ho Chuan*," the literal translation of which is "*Righteous Harmony Fists.*" The Western mind is too practical to grasp the subtilty of Oriental meaning, and the name has accordingly been shortened into the expressive, but unrefined, term of "Boxers."

The Empress Dowager is the aunt of the reigning monarch. It is said that she was originally a slave, whose beauty and grace of manner captivated the fancy of a former sovereign. He brought her into his family, and eventually raised her to the dignity of the royal purple. This story may be true or it may not; but it has an agreeable flavor of romance, and doubtless possesses as large an element of truth as some other historical incidents.

The late Emperor died at the early age of eighteen, surrounded by a suspicion that he had been assisted in his departure by his energetic female relative. He did not take time, at any rate, to designate his successor; but the breath was scarcely out of his body when this duty was performed for him by

the Dowager Empress. She caused her nephew, a mere infant, to be proclaimed ruler of the Empire, with herself as regent. She was, in fact, the Government.

In this manner the Dowage Empress secured and retained power until 1889, when the young Emperor asserted his prerogative and assumed the reins of goverment. During the succeeding nine years he remained in control, but, having shown a decided leaning toward modern ideas and Western civilization, the Dowager Empress, in 1898,brought her powerful influence to bear, and succeeded in "suppressing" the Emperor. An imperial edict was published, stating that Kwang Su had resigned in favor of the Dowager Empress and she thereupon assumed the royal functions. The secrets of the Imperial Palace are so carefully guarder that for a long time it was believed the Emperor had been murdered; but this suspicion at length proved to be without foundation. Meanwhile the Empress Dowager had caused an infant son of Prince Tuan to be declared heir-apparent to the throne, with the evident purpose of arranging for the continuation of her rule. Prince Tuan was the commander-in-chief of the Imperial Army, and had long been known as the leader of the anti-foreign faction.

CHIEF BOXER IN FULL DRESS.

As soon as the outrages against the missionaries became known, and the foreign governments made a movement for their protection, Prince Tuan assumed control of the government, and issued imperial edicts ordering the enrollment of "Boxers" and the expulsion of all "foreign devils" from China.

The first demand for the suppression of the Boxers was made by the Spanish Minister at Pekin, on the 24th of May. The demand was accompanied by a threat that if this were not done all the powers would land troops in China. The Chinese officials immediately brought their tricky diplomacy into play, and endeavored to allay apprehension by fair promises. But nothing was done, and on the 29th of May all the foreign ships at the post of Ta-ku, on the west coast of the Gulf of Pechili, landed marines and prepared to march to their respective legations at Pekin. Among the rest was a party of blue-jackets from the United States cruiser "Newark," who enhanced the brilliancy of the display by the picturesqueness of their uniforms and their superb discipline. Ta-ku is at the mouth of Pei-ho River, and is defended by strong earthworks called "mud forts." The Chinese Government refused to grant permission to the foreigners to pass these forts. This refusal accentuated the peril and increased the alarm for the safety of the legations at Pekin. Our Government at once instructed its minister to warn the Chinese Government to stamp out the Boxer insurrection thoroughly and promptly, and to provide proper guarantees for the maintenance of peace and the protection of the lives and property of Americans in China. The authorities were not then aware of the extent of the revolution which had taken place in the Empire, nor of the

LI HUNG CHANG AT HOME.

real danger which threatened foreign residents.

On May 31st the Chinese Government, in obedience to an ultimatum from the foreign powers, granted permission for the marines to pass the Ta-ku forts, and at noon that day 360 men, composed of British, Italian, Russian, French, American and Japanese marines, set out for Pekin, carrying with them machine guns ready for instant use. They reached the capital the following day, and the American minister reported an immediate improvement in the situation there. This report allayed apprehension temporarily, and led the authorities at Washington to believe that the trouble was measurably over. But on the 4th of June Minister Conger sent another dispatch of the most alarming character. He stated that—

"Outside of Pekin the murders and persecutions by the Boxers seem to be on the increase. The Paoting-Fu Railway is temporarily abandoned. Work on the Pekin and Hangkow line is stopped. All foreigners have fled. The Chinese Government seems either unwilling or unable to suppress the trouble. The troops show no energy in attacking the Boxers."

The reference to the lack of energy on the part of the troops meant, of course, those of the Chinese Imperial Army, and it was an indication of their profound sympathy with the revolutionary movement.

Meanwhile the situation at Pekin, and indeed throughout China, was growing rapidly more alarming. There were daily reports of massacres of missionaries and foreigners in various portions of the Empire. At Pekin the whole foreign population was terror-stricken by the threatening attitude of the mobs. The missionaries, who were in hourly dread of massacre, had congregated for protection in the Methodist "compound," and on the 12th a secretary of the Japanese Legation was murdered at one of the city railway stations. Railroad communication between Pekin and Tientsin had been cut off, but the road was seized by foreign troops and active preparations made to march to the relief of Pekin. This relief expedition was composed of British, Russians, Germans, French, Italians, Austrians, Japanese and Americans, and consisted of about 2,500 men, under command of British Admiral Seymour. They set out June 10th for the capital, and on the 12th reached a place called Lang Fang, whereupon the railroad in their rear, as well as between them and Pekin, was destroyed. On the 13th and 14th they had engagements with large bodies of Boxers, who were defeated; but being now confronted by an overwhelming force, and communication with their base of supplies cut off, the Allies were compelled to return to Tientsin.

During this time the Chinese were planting torpedoes in the mouth of Pei-ho River and assembling a large force of troops at the mud forts, with the evident intention of attacking the foreign fleet lying before Ta-ku. Accordingly, on June 16th, by concert of action, the commanders of the British, French, Russian, German and Japanese warships notified the commanders of the Chinese forts to withdraw their troops before a specified hour the following day, or they would be fired upon.

In reply to the ultimatum, but before the hour specified, the Chinese opened fire on the ships, and a vigorous bombardment ensued. The battle lasted several hours, resulting in the destruction of two of the Chinese forts and the capture of the remainder by foreign landing parties in bayonet charges. During the engagement a British gunboat and a German warship were badly damaged, two British merchant vessels were sunk and a Russian gunboat was blown up. The Chinese loss was heavy, while 20 of the allies were reported as killed and 57 wounded.

While these events were occurring matters had reached a crisis at Pekin. On the morning of June 13th, while Mr. Cheshire, of the American Legation, was going in a

cart to the Tsung Li Yamen, or foreign office, two armed Boxers in uniform came out of a by street and screamed at him. They then ran down Legation Street, screaming and waving their spears, and trying to rally others of their countrymen. While thus running and screaming they encountered some German soldiers and the German minister, whereupon two of the soldiers ran after them and caught one of the Boxers. They took him at once to the German Legation, and it is said that as they were on the way Baron Von Ketteler, the German minister, followed and struck the Chinaman several times with a stick. The following day, as the Baron was proceeding to the foreign office in a sedan chair, he was set upon by a mob of Chinamen and killed.

WOMAN OF NORTH CHINA.

Instantly the alarm was given, and all foreigners in Pekin were ordered to the British Legation, where they threw up barricades and prepared for a siege. Fighting followed. The Austrian, Dutch and Belgian Legations were burned, and that of the United States was threatened by the spreading flames. Eight hundred persons, including the guards, were now confined within the enclosure of the British Legation, and from that time until the 14th of August, when relief came, they were subjected to persistent and almost daily attacks from the Boxers, whose ranks seemed to embrace the Imperial Army and a large part of the native population.

While these events were taking place at Pekin, a series of transactions of the most exciting nature were occurring at Tientsin. This city is located on the Pei-ho River, and likewise on the Pekin Railway and at the terminus of the Grand Canal, thirty miles above Ta-ku. It has a considerable foreign population, residing in a section outside the walls of the native city, and was guarded at that time by a foreign force of about 3,000 troops, mostly Russians. On the 17th of June the Chinese troops, in conjunction with the Boxers, began a furious bombardment of the foreign quarter, which they kept up without intermission for thirty-six hours. Then, having gained some advantages, on the 18th they destroyed the American Consulate and seriously damaged other foreign property. As soon as reports of the bombardment reached Ta-ku, a small force, composed principally of Russians and Americans, set out for the relief of Tientsin; but they were

met by overwhelming numbers of the enemy and compelled to return. A stronger force was immediately dispatched, and on the 23d they entered Tientsin, after having broken through the Chinese lines and silenced their batteries.

A large foreign army was now rapidly massing at Ta-ku. The 9th Regiment of United States Infantry had been ordered over from the Philippines, and on the 1st of July Gen. Chaffee sailed from San Francisco with the 6th Cavalry to take command of the American army in China. Two other regiments and a battery were soon afterward added to the American forces, which were increased to a total of about 5,000 regulars before the end of the trouble. Japan furnished 15,000 men, and Great Britain sent 10,000 from her Indian contingent. Russia, Germany, France and the other nations likewise forwarded reinforcements, until the total foreign force aggregated about 60,000 men. But the larger portion of these arrived too late to take part in the fighting.

Admiral Seymour's relief column, which, as previously stated, had been compelled to return to Tientsin, reached the vicinity of that place on June 24th, having been compelled to fight its way through nearly every village on the route. The Admiral immediately attacked and captured the Chinese armory, and sent into the city for a relieving force, which reached him two days later. He then burnt the armory and marched into Tientsin, having suffered a loss during the expedition of 62 killed and 206 wounded.

The Chinese forces immediately invested the city, and began vigorous operations for its capture. For two weeks they had been receiving reinforcements at an alarming rate, and they surprised the foreigners by their persistence and aggressiveness, as well as their effective use of modern guns and artillery, with which they seemed to be well supplied. In fact, the foreign force in Tientsin was now battling with the flower of the Imperial Army of China, and not with an unorganized mob of Boxers.

On the 4th of July the women and noncombatants were safely removed to Ta-ku; and, after terrific fighting on the 5th, 6th and 7th, the Chinese succeeded in recapturing the native quarter of Tientsin. From that time until the 12th they fiercely bombarded the foreign quarter with Krupp guns, and made repeated attacks with heavy columns of infantry, all of which were successfully repulsed. The 9th U. S. Infantry landed at Ta-ku July 9th, and a strong force immediately set out for the relief of Tientsin. On the 13th a general assault was made on the native city and the forts that protected it. The fighting was of the most sanguinary and desperate character on both sides, and at nightfall the issue was undecided. The attack was renewed with great fury on the 14th, and, the walls of the native city having been breached with heavy artillery, the allies made a rush and captured both the city and the forts. The Chinese were utterly routed and dispersed, and Tientsin was relieved from further danger. During the last two days' fighting the Allies lost in killed and wounded nearly 800, in addition to more than 600 who had previously fallen. From the time of their arrival on the scene the Americans were in the thickest of the fight, and their loss was especially heavy, including the gallant Col. Liscum, of the 9th Infantry, who was killed on the 13th.

By this time a sufficient force had been collected at Tientsin to insure the relief of Pekin with reasonable certainty, and on the 4th of August a column 16,000 strong set out for the capital. It was composed of Russian, Japanese, English and American troops. They made a forced march the first day to a place called Pietsang, on the Pei-ho River, eleven miles above Tientsin. Here they encountered 30,000 Chinese strongly intrenched, their right flank protected by the river and their left by water with which they had flooded the low, flat country. The position was a strong one, and the Chinese were well equipped with modern artillery, which they used with deadly effect. The

battle began at daylight on the morning of the 5th, and lasted until noon, when the Allies charged the works and drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet. Their loss in killed and wounded exceeded 1,000, while the Chinese loss, though not definitely known, was estimated at over 4,000. It was a bloody battle in proportion to numbers engaged, and was gallantly won by the allied troops.

Another battle was fought the following day, at Yangtsun, an important walled town on the Pei-ho River, twenty miles above Tientsin. In this fight the Chinese were again completely routed, and retreated in confusion toward Pekin, after losing 2,000 men and a portion of their artillery. The losses of the Allies amounted to 700, including numerous prostrations from excessive heat. In this battle the Americans had 10 killed and 62 wounded; but a portion of their loss was due to an unfortunate error. With their usual dash and enterprise they had succeeded in capturing, just at nightfall, a portion of the Chinese works, when the English and Russian artillery, mistaking them for the enemy, fired several rounds into their ranks. The loss resulting from this error was heavier than they had experienced in the preceding battle.

After a day's rest at Yangtsun the Allies resumed their progress toward the capital, and on the 11th reached a place called Matow, only twelve miles from Pekin. Here they made no halt, but pushed on a few miles further to a town called Chang-Chia, where a battle was fought in which more than 500 of the enemy were slain. On the 13th they stormed and captured the walled city of Tung-Chow, eight miles from Pekin; and just as night closed in they arrived at the gates of the capital of the Chinese Empire.

There are but few events in the records of history that surpass the splendid achievements of this little army of heroes. In eight days they had marched 70 miles, through a country thickly populated by a race of intensely hostile barbarians. Nearly every foot of their progress had been gained by stubborn fighting. They had won three pitched battles against double their own numbers, and stormed a walled city defended by trained troops armed with guns equal to their own. In eight days' fighting they had lost nearly thirteen per cent of their entire force, and inflicted a punishment more than three times greater on their enemy. In addition to all this, they were marching into unknown dangers, against the capital of the mightiest empire in existence, and opposed by an army whose dimensions no one could estimate. Certainly the achievements of Alexander, of Xenophen and other heroes of history are no more deserving of praise than the brilliant deeds of these modest knights of the closing year of the 19th century, going into the jaws of death and the mystery of the unknown to rescue a handful of their fellow creatures from the fury of a horde of barbarians. And they did it quietly, calmly, steadily, at the simple call of humanity, with no flourish of trumpets to inspire their courage and no hope of reward except the consciousness of duty well performed.

The Allies had no sooner reached the gates of the city than they were alarmed by the sound of heavy firing from cannon and small arms in the vicinity of the legations. The meaning of this was well understood. There was a hasty consultation of the allied commanders, at which it was decided to attack and force an entrance through the eastern gates of the city at daylight the following morning. The plan was successfully carried out. Before the rising of the sun the crash of cannon announced the purpose of the forces of civilization. The battle was hot and unrelenting, and by the middle of the afternoon of August 14th the British and Americans had succeeded in battering down the most southerly of the east gates. This success was supplemented by the Russians and Japanese, who immediately afterward effected an entrance through the other two

gates. Then followed a grand rush of the allied troops, and after a running street fight the demoralized Chinese were driven within the precincts known as the Imperial City. Here they made a stand, and were permitted to remain until the following day, when they were forced back still further into the enclosure of the palace grounds—the "Forbidden City." This is the space that contains the sacred temples and palaces of the Chinese Empire, which no foreigner is expected to profane with his presence. No attempt was made to enter these grounds until the 4th of September, when detachments from all the allied troops were marched through the enclosure as an impressive lesson to the Chinese people. Through the temples and past thrones venerated by memories of centuries marched the booted and spurred legions of the New World, each footstep a warning to China that the ancient dynasty had fallen. The Emperor, the Dowager Empress and the principal officers of the imperial household had fled during the confusion resulting from the capture of the city, but many of the servants and household ministers remained. The latter were the very cream of Chinese aristocracy, and their mute lips and downcast eyes bore eloquent testimony to their shocked sensibilities as the hated foreigners tramped through the sacred precincts. Thus 8,000 of the allied troops crossed the line into the Forbidden City, the bands playing their national airs, while the shouts of the men in the babel of their several tongues rang through the temples which had hitherto been strangers to such extraordinary sounds.

Rather than observe this degradation, Hsu-Tung, guardian of the heir-apparent to the imperial throne, Yu-Lu, viceroy of the Province of Chi-Li, Wang Yi Yung, president of the Imperial Academy, and two hundred members of official families, committed suicide soon after the capture of Pekin by the Allies.

The capture of Pekin was the climax of the war. Massacres and outrages against foreigners, however, continued for some time, in various portions of the Empire; but the Allies gradually assumed control and restored order. A few of the principal leaders of the anti-foreign movement were executed, and others were punished by being deprived of office and emolument, which in China is often regarded as worse than death.

Three of those ordered to be executed were permitted to take their own lives. In China this mode of execution is regarded as a special favor, because it does not entail disgrace upon the victim or his family. The three referred to were Prince Chuang, Ying Lien and Chao Shu Chiao.

After wearisome negotiations, extending over a period of several months, a settlement was effected practically on the basis suggested by President McKinley in his annual message of December, 1900. All the Powers united in emphatic disclaimers of any purpose of aggrandizement through the dismemberment of the Empire. Measured in money alone, the President said, a sufficient reparation might prove to be beyond the ability of China to meet, and he therefore favored the plan of requiring compensation, in part by increased guarantees of security for foreign rights and immunities, and by the opening of China to the world's commerce.

Meanwhile, the warning of late events should make the recurrence of Chinese horrors impossible. The "yellow peril" has shown its teeth and manifested the hideous character of the disposition by which it is dominated, and other nations cannot be blamed if they insist in the future on measures that will insure their protection.

The 8th of September, 1900, will remain ever memorable in the history of the United States for the destruction by tornado and tidal wave of the city of Galveston, which occurred on that day. Galveston is the chief Gulf city of the Southwest, located on an island of the same name lying close to the southeastern coast of the State of Texas. The growth of the city dates from 1837.

although settlements had existed there and on the island for some years previously. The latest census, completed only a few days before the coming of the storm, give the city a population of 37,798.

Galveston Island was occupied by the pirate Lafitte as early as 1817, and he retained his headquarters there until his settlement was broken up, in 1821. Many romantic stories of adventure and dark deeds of freebootery are connected with that era. Whether the pirate had a settlement where the city now stands is not positively known, but the location and surroundings indicate that he would have sought them for safety and ease of access. The island is twenty-seven miles long, extending from east to west, and irregular in width. Its greatest breadth is seven miles, but at the city's location it is but one and a quarter miles from shore to shore.

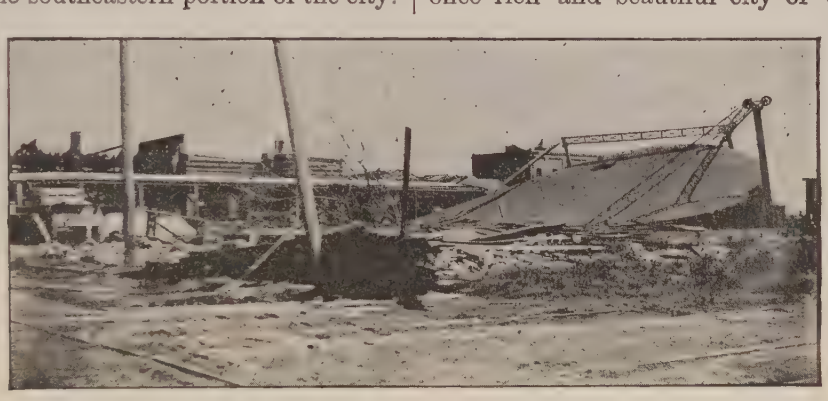
Warnings of the approaching storm, which wrought such havoc at Galveston and mowed a wide swath of destruction away to the northwest, were given by the Weather Bureau as early as August 30th. Its first appearance was noted near the Windward Islands, stretching in the shape of a lobster away to the southeastward of Porto Rico. Sweeping thence along the southern coasts of San Domingo and Cuba, it appeared on the morning of September 5th a short distance west of the southern point of the Florida Peninsula. An alarm had been sent out as early as the 1st, to Key West and the Bahama Islands, advising caution to all shipping. These warnings were supplemented by others on the 2d, 3d and 4th, and were gradually extended along the Gulf as far as Galveston and up the Atlantic Coast to Norfolk—for it was then supposed that the storm, following a seemingly fixed course for such phenomena, would rush toward the northeast. But on the 6th the barometric conditions over the eastern portions of the United States were such as to press the storm away from that section, and send it with appalling force in the direction of the northwest coast of the Gulf. On the 7th it manifested itself immediately south of Louisiana, and by the middle of the afternoon of September 8th it broke in all its fury over the doomed city of Galveston. At 3:40 p. m. the barometric pressure was 29.22 inches, with a wind velocity of 42 miles an hour in a northeasterly direction. This increased rapidly until, as darkness came on, the wind had attained the awful and almost inconceivable velocity of 100 miles per hour. That record was made by the Government instrument at 5:10, whereupon the wind-gauge was demolished by the terrific force of the hurricane, and no subsequent accurate records were obtained. It was estimated, however, that at one time, for the space of half a minute, the wind reached a velocity of 110 to 120 miles per hour, sufficient to crush any object that met its frightful fury.

As darkness came on the horrors increased. The gas and electric plants were destroyed, and the city was enveloped in a pall of blackness that was absolutey impenetrable. Between seven and eight o'clock the wind veered to the southeast, and suddenly a flood of waters was lifted up out of the Gulf and poured down upon the doomed city. There was already a tide of five feet and a frightful inrolling swell from the frantic agitation of the waves, when on top of all this there rode in a tidal-wave of more than four feet. This was the water that covered the city. It seemed as if the Gulf, in the agony of its distress, had poured the whole vast volume of its depths upon the devoted city. In that awful hour of blackness and death many supposed that the end of the world had come. No part of the city is more than six feet above the level of the sea, and what with the tide, the tidal wave and the fearful swell of the storm, the entire space was flooded, to the depth of six or eight feet, with waves and breakers that were dashed into foam by a wind that swept its path clean at the rate of one hundred miles per hour! It is inconceivable how any

living thing escaped destruction in this frightful cataclysm. House after house fell with a deadened crash into the fretted waters. No other sounds were heard above the roar of the elements. The people were stupid and dumb with horror. There was no hysterical screaming. Men and women and little children met their fate in silence. In the presence of God they were voiceless.

On the south side of the island, beginning within fifty yards of the medium tide line, the fine residences of the city were located. Here dwelt the prosperous and the well-to-do, and it was this section that felt the first shock of the wild fury of the storm. There were many elegant residences in this district, in the southeastern portion of the city. composed of brick and stone and other substantial materials crumbled into dust at the touch of the storm fiend. In the extreme eastern end of the city there were many modest cottages, raised on piling, to admit the passage of air and water beneath them. These were swept away like shavings. In the lobby of the Tremont Hotel, which occupies a position in the central part of the city, and on the highest ground, the water stood several feet deep. Singularly enough, this house escaped destruction, and its inmates were unharmed. In the street outside the water was more than four feet deep, and lashed into madness by the wind.

Thus in the course of a few hours the once rich and beautiful city of Galveston



RUINS OF THE GAS WORKS, GALVESTON.

One house alone is said to have cost more than a million of dollars. All of these were swept so clean from their foundations that nothing but bare white sand was left. What became of the people—the happy, romping children, the beautiful, languid, dark-eyed women of the Southland, and the stalwart, handsome men—God only knows! They died without a sound, speechless in the awful presence of Infinity, and hundreds of their bodies were swept out to sea, to be swept back again by the returning tide, and lodged—bruised, swollen and hideous—in the desolated sands where their homes had stood. Most of the residences were built of frame, and these were as playthings in the breath of the destroyer; but many that were was reduced to a heap of ruins. Scarcely a house in the entire place escaped injury or destruction.

The catastrophe was not wholly unexpected. The citizens themselves, knowing how little above the level of the Gulf the flat land lay, had often felt a dread of the in-rolling waters. They were haunted by a presentiment of evil in the uncertain future. This was especially so after the storm of 1872, which lasted three days and was followed by a tidal wave that obliterated six blocks of buildings and tore away a considerable section of land at the eastern end of the island. The only protection that had been provided on the Gulf side consisted of two stone break-waters, but on numerous

occasions, in ordinary storms, the high tide had been lifted over these obstructions and the water came to the very doors of the residences. These warnings were not heeded as they should have been; but they left an impression of dread on the minds of those who remembered them.

Before the whole frightful character of the storm was known, the telegraph wires began to throb with notes of sorrow, and the world knew that a calamity of unparalleled magnitude had visited the city of Galveston. The first reports stated that a large part of the city had been destroyed, and that one or two thousand persons had been killed. This was bad enough, but each flash of the wires brought a still more terrible story of destruction and death. The number of the dead increased by leaps and bounds to 3,000—5,000—10,000, until the horrible certainty came over the minds of the people that no one knew how many were lost. Whole families—whole communities—had been swept away. No one will ever know how many were killed; but the most reliable estimates place the number between 8,000 and 10,000. For weeks after the storm the dead were found here and there, singly and in heaps, scattered over a wide area of country. On the 17th of November, two and a half months after the storm, a United States surveying corps found 100 dead bodies in a swamp on the island west of the city. Barge loads of corpses were towed out several miles from land and thrown into the Gulf, and many of these were returned by the tide, to be taken out again, or buried in the sand on shore. So numerous were the dead that coffins could not be obtained, and many were buried shroudless and unshrieved. Hundreds found resting places in their own yards or lawns, until nearly the whole area of the city became a cemetery.

What the losses were in property valuations will never be known with any approach to accuracy. They can only be estimated, and $50,000,000 is regarded as a conservative estimate.

A new and safer and more beautiful city is already beginning to rise in the place of the old one. The martyrdom of the old has sanctified the new. Plans have been drawn to set limits to the sea, so that the horror of the past may never be repeated. The storm gave a new demonstration of the old lesson that it is not safe to build houses on the sand, and it will be heeded by those who may henceforth make their homes in the city of Galveston.

The wind swept on through Central Texas and Oklahoma and Kansas, and away to the north and northeast, wreaking its final vengeance in the vicinity of the Lakes. Its path was strewn with wrecks of fences, barns and homes, but not many were killed beyond Galveston and some of the Southern Texas towns.

For weeks afterward the elements were disturbed. Hot and cold waves succeeded one another, and were accompanied by more or less destructive tornadoes in various parts of the country, until the night of the 20th of November, when a frightful hurricane swept through portions of Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee, destroying a vast amount of property and killing nearly one hundred people. This seemed to be the culmination of the elemental disorders, after which there was a general settling down to the usual average of winter weather.

In certain respects the American presidential election of 1900 was the most remarkable in the history of the nation. The results were regarded by some as indicating the parting of the ways between the old Republic, based on the ideas of Jefferson, and a return to a stronger and more brilliant form of Government on the English model, as outlined in the teachings of Hamilton. Others contended that we were merely entering upon a new and broader field of usefulness, and disseminating republican principles in distant quarters of the globe.

As in 1896, so in 1900, the principal contest was between William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan, resulting in the

re-election of Mr. McKinley by a largely increased electoral and popular majority.

The Republican Convention met at Philadelphia on the 19th of June, and remained in session three days. It organized with Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, as temporary chairman. Nothing besides the organization was accomplished the first day, and the session closed with prayer by Rev. Edward M. Levy, who forty-four years before, on the same day of the month and in the same city, had made the opening prayer of the first National Convention of the Republican party —the one that nominated Fremont for president.

On the following day Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, was chosen permanent chairman, and Hon. Charles W. Johnson, of Minnesota, secretary.

On the third day President McKinley was renominated for the first place on the ticket, with Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for vice-president, although at the beginning he had declined to permit his name to go before the convention for that office.

The Democratic National Convention met at Kansas City, Mo., on the 4th of July, and remained in session three days. It was evident from the beginning that William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, would be again nominated for the first place.

Gov. Charles M. Thomas, of Colorado, was chosen as temporary chairman and presided throughout the opening day. At the evening session Hon. James D. Richardson, of Tennessee, was elected permanent chairman. One of the noteworthy features of the first day was the formal reading of the Declaration of Independence and the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" and "America" by the entire convention. On the morning of the 5th the National Committee offered a resolution, which was carried, appointing a committee of nine to confer with the Populist and Silver Republican parties. No other business was done during the morning session, owing to the failure of the committee on resolutions to make its report. The committee had been in session all the previous night in a fruitless effort to agree on a declaration of principles, the question at issue being whether the platform of 1896 should be simply reaffirmed as a whole, or whether it was advisable to reiterate the financial plank with a specific demand for the free coinage of gold and silver at the existing ratio of 16 to 1. The votes and speeches of the members indicated that the committee was about equally divided on that question, if indeed there were not an absolute majority opposed to reiteration; and it was apparent that a similar sentiment prevailed in the convention. Those who held to this view claimed that the large increase in the world's supply of gold, derived principally from the outputs of the Alaskan and South African mines, and from improved scientific principles in mining low-grade ores, together with the general elevation of the price level under a single standard, had not only proved the soundness of the Democratic contention in favor of the quantitative theory, but that it had at the same time done away with the need or advisability of increasing the supply of basic money by attempting to rehabilitate a metal which had been demonetized by all the leading commercial nations of the world. But while the subject was being argued in the committee, with a strong probability that the reiteration side would be defeated, Mr. Bryan, who had remained at his home in Lincoln, advised his friends in the convention that he could not conscientiously accept the nomination unless the platform contained a specific declaration in favor of the free coinage of both gold and silver at the existing legal ratio of 16 to 1. This announcement was not made in any captious or overbearing spirit. It was merely the expression of the sentiments of a conservatively honest man, who would rather be right, as he saw the right, than be President. It left the convention at perfect liberty to nominate any one else who could stand on its platform.

Mr. Bryan's object was to eliminate his personality from the issue and leave the convention free to declare such principles as a majority of its members believed to be judicious and just.

When his decision became known, a vote was taken in the committee, which resulted in favor of reiteration by 26 to 24. With only this narrow margin against them, several of the minority were determined to carry the question to the floor of the convention; but upon consulting their respective delegations, they were in every instance instructed not to join in any minority report. Accordingly, the platform, embracing the reiteration of free coinage, was unanimously adopted by the committee, and in this form it came before the convention at the opening of the afternoon session on the 5th. But it also contained a specific declaration to the effect that imperialism was regarded as the paramount issue of the campaign.

After the adoption of the platform, the Democrats nominated as their standard-bearers, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

As election day approached the people awaited the decision with intense interest, each party seemingly assured of success. But the result showed the re-election of President McKinley by largely increased majorities, both in the popular vote and the Electoral College. His electoral vote was 292 against 155 for Mr. Bryan, while his popular majority reached the unprecedented aggregate of 877,600, being 274,096 greater than his popular majority of 1896. The decision was so emphatic that it came as a surprise to both parties.

As soon as the result was definitely known, Mr. Bryan telegraphed his congratulations to President McKinley in the following terms:

"At the close of another presidential campaign it is my lot to congratulate you upon a second victory."

To which the President courteously replied:

"I acknowledge with cordial thanks your message of congratulation and extend you my good wishes."

These pleasant exchanges of sentiment cost the candidates nothing in dignity or personal feeling, while they had much to do in relieving the sting of defeat and softening the asperities of triumph on the part of their adherents. They helped to quickly restore a spirit of good feeling among the late contestants, and to make each individual among the entire body of voters appreciate the fact that, whether beaten or successful, all were American citizens and entitled to equal privileges under our system of self-government. This sentiment was broadened and intensified by a timely and able speech, thoroughly American in tone, which President McKinley delivered before the Union League Club in Philadelphia a few weeks after the election. The speech had evidently been carefully prepared for the express purpose of restoring confidence and allaying discord among the people.

"The Republican party," said the President, "has placed upon it tremendous responsibilities. No party could ask for a higher expression of confidence. It is a great thing to have this confidence; it will be a greater thing to deserve and hold it. To this party are committed new and grave problems. They are too exalted for partisanship. The task of settlement is for the whole American people. Who will say they are unequal to it?

"Liberty has not lost, but gained, in strength. The structure of the fathers stands secure upon the foundations on which they raised it, and is to-day, as it has been in the years past, and as it will be in the years to come, the 'Government of the people, by the people and for the people.' Be not disturbed; there is no danger from empire; there is no fear for the Republic."

Chapter CLXXII.—The Beginning of the Twentieth Century.

The new century brought new problems. Exploration and migration had reached the ends of the earth. Steam and electricity had conquered space and time, and the printing press had leveled the dividing walls between nations, races, religions and castes. The world had become a neighborhood and the race a family.

Out of these new conditions and relations, the new questions arose. Industry had taken the place of politics, commerce had supplanted military maneuvers, and, over and above all, ethical considerations were forced to the front. The problems of the old century were political, of the new, social.

The closing era had been one of iconoclasm and revolution. Long accepted theories were doubted, and ancient institutions shaking. The new century inaugurated an era of expansion, development and progress, such as was never before known. In every department of human endeavor there was such activity, such energy, such a reaching out and gathering in as had not been seen before. The whole world of industry, commerce, politics, finance, of physical and intellectual effort, was in a ferment of activity.

The most marked characteristic of the first years of the new century was the rapid growth of friendly intercourse and co-operation. Never before were cables, telegraphs and telephones so much in use, or newspapers and periodicals so widely read. Never before were beneficent ideas so generally propagated, and in no previous period was public opinion so well instructed, or so earnest and so effective for human advancement. Inventions made extraordinary progress. Wireless telegraphy was an established success, aerial transportation an accomplished fact, and submarine navigation experimentally demonstrated.

Perhaps the most important feature of the world's progress during the decade was the marked manifestation of the spirit of democracy throughout the whole political world. The Australian Colonies formed themselves into a popular federation, as did also the South African Colonies. In autocracies, like Russia, China, India, Persia and Turkey, constitutional and representative forms of government were introduced.

The germ of the democratic impulse lay in the apprehension, conscious or otherwise, of the essential brotherhood of man. The development of true democracy meant the practical and actual establishment of justice and equality in human affairs, an ethical uplift toward the ideals set forth in religious philosophies. It was in this high consciousness that Mazzini, the great Italian, spoke, when he declared that, "Whoever first makes a religion out of democracy will save the world." This was the high mission of the twentieth century.

At the close of the nineteenth century the principle of arbitration for the settlement of differences between nations had become a recognized part of the public law of civilized peoples. For many years the number of difficulties settled by arbitration had greatly exceeded the number of international controversies which led to war. These results had followed the long-continued efforts of statesmen and philanthropists in the different nations.

The crowning event of the nineteenth century in connection with the peace

movement was the establishment, at its close, of the Permanent International Court at The Hague. Such a court of arbitration had been advocated from the second decade of the century by the peace societies, and later by the International Law Association, the Peace Congresses, the Interparliamentary Union, national and local bar associations, special arbitration conferences, church assemblies, women's organizations, etc.

The rescript of the Czar of Russia which brought about the First Conference at The Hague was issued on the 24th of August, 1898. The Conference met on the 18th of May, 1899, under the auspices of the Netherlands government. It was composed of one hundred delegates from twenty-six nations, including all the first-class powers of the world. It sat until the 29th day of July. It was called more particularly to consider the question of a possible reduction of the armaments and the war budgets of the nations. It found itself unable to do anything important in this direction, and, in response to the multiplied appeals which came to it from Western Europe and America, it took up the subject of a permanent system of arbitration, and at its close signed, with two other conventions, the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This convention, in addition to providing for special mediation to prevent war, and for commissions of inquiry in cases of difference where the facts were in dispute, made provision for the creation of a Permanent International Court of Arbitration, which should be open to all signatory powers, for the adjudication of disputes, and to any others that might subsequently be permitted to become parties to the convention.

Within two years a sufficient number of the signatories had ratified the convention to put it into effect, and in April, 1901, the court was declared by the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs to be properly organized and ready for business. The convention was finally ratified by all the signatory powers except China, Turkey, Persia, and Montenegro.

Properly speaking, this was not a permanent court. It was a permanent list of men from which a temporary court might be selected whenever the services of such a court might be required. This temporary court was composed of fifteen judges, eight selected from the eight great powers—Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Japan and the United States. The other seven judges were selected at the same time from the lesser powers, but were called upon to serve for a lesser period. Thus the greater powers would always have a majority in the court, but the lesser powers would in turn be represented upon it. This court at once took a recognized place in the judicial system of the world.

The court was put into successful operation by the United States and Mexico by the reference to it of the controversy about the Pious Fund of the Californias. The case was argued by counsel of the two governments, and the award, sustaining the contention of the United States, was rendered. The judgment of the court was cheerfully accepted by the Mexican Government, the amount of the claims paid, and the controversy passed out of existence.

This auspicious opening of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration was followed by the reference to it the following year of the controversy which arose in connection with the Venezuelan trouble as to whether the three powers which had used force against Venezuela in an effort to collect debts due their citizens should have preference

over the pacific creditors in the collection of these claims from the revenues from two ports which had been set apart for this purpose. In this famous case eleven of the powers of the world were contestants before the court. The decision of the tribunal, which consisted of three members chosen from the court, was rendered after long and patient deliberation, and was loyally accepted by all the powers concerned.

Before the opening of the Second Hague Conference, two other disputes —the House Tax Case, between Japan on the one hand, and Great Britain, France and Germany on the other, and the question of the protectorate of France over the Sultan of Muscat, to which Great Britain and France were parties—were referred to the court and happily disposed of.

But as yet not all the nations of the world were parties to the convention, and none of them were pledged by treaty stipulations to submit controversies to the jurisdiction of the newly organized tribunal. An attempt to remedy the first defect was made at the second Pan-American Conference, held at Mexico City, in the winter of 1901-2. The republics of Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hayti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uraguay and the United States were represented. The important work of this conference was done along the line of arbitration. All the States signed, by their representatives, in that gathering, a protocol, declaring their adherence to the Hague conventions, and the United States and Mexico were authorized to take the necessary steps for the opening of these conventions to them. A second protocol provided for obligatory reference of all questions of claims to the arbitration of the Hague Court. The Conference also adopted the declaration that "the international law of America is founded on peace, which in turn depends on respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of the continent."

It was sought to remedy the second defect in the constitution of the Hague Court by securing the conclusion of special treaties of obligatory arbitration between the nations, two and two, or in groups. This movement culminated with surprising and encouraging rapidity. Previously to the setting up of the Hague Court, all efforts to secure treaties of arbitration between nations had failed. But, after the Hague conventions went into effect and the Permanent Court of Arbitration was established, such progress was made that no less than fifty-one treaties of this type were signed before the opening of the Second Hague Conference. Following this meeting the number increased to about eighty, twenty-four of which were negotiated by Secretary of State Root, of the United States, between January, 1908, and February, 1909, when he retired from the department. Fifteen other treaties, all of them except the Mexican-Persian treaty, between South American countries and Spain, and South American countries themselves, should be added, carrying the whole number to above ninety.

The Second Hague Conference assembled June 15, 1907, the complete body consisting of forty-six delegates. The invitation to the Second Conference, though issuing in documentary form from Russia, was suggested first by President Roosevelt, of the United States, at the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis in 1905. At that time the President prepared a note addressed to the United States representatives abroad, directing them to sound the governments to which they

were accredited as to the desirability of reconvening the Conference. The President's overtures were received with apathy at first, and it was not until the Russian Emperor came to the rescue and issued his own specific invitation that the success of the Second Conference was assured.

The great progress which arbitration had made in the public opinion of the world was illustrated in nothing better than in the action of the Second Conference on the subject of obligatory arbitration. The principle was approved without a dissenting vote. It also enlarged and strengthened the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes adopted at the Conference of 1899, under which the Court of Arbitration was established.

The form of treaty of obligatory arbitration which was proposed by the United States delegation to the Conference, which stipulated that certain classes of controversies should go spontaneously to the Hague Court, received the votes of thirty-five of the forty-four delegations, and only five votes against it, four abstaining from voting. It provided that in case either of the governments, parties to a dispute, should decline to arbitrate when requested so to do, the other party might go directly to the Bureau of the Hague Court and publicly ask for the arbitration of the controversy, a provision which made it extremely improbable that any nation would, in face of the public opinion of the world, refuse to submit to arbitration any except the most extreme case. The Conference also drafted a convention which prohibited the use of force for the collection of contractual debts from debtor nations until arbitration had first been tried or refused.

This Conference cast its vote unanimously for the creation of a regular International Court of Justice, with judges always in service and holding regular sessions. The world, therefore, seemed about to enter upon an era of judicial organization which would take international controversies out of the domain of violence and national conceit and passion, and bring them under the dominion of law and reason.

It will be noted that the world movement represented by these international conventions gradually had taken on more definite form. The basis of the congresses was found in the belief, very general among the thoughtful people of all nations, that the forces of the world should be organized and operated in the interests of peace and not of war; that all material, commercial and social interests demanded that the energies of governments and citizens be relieved of the burdens of providing at enormous expense the armaments suggested by the competitive desire for supremacy in war; and that the fear of war and the possibility of war would alike decline if governments would rely more upon the sentiments of their peoples and less upon the strength of their armies and navies. The practical program for the nations considered and suggested by these conferences related principally to international arbitration, the limitation of armaments, the protection of private property at sea, and the investigation and report upon international disputes by an impartial commission before hostilities were declared. The direct results of the conferences of 1899 and 1907 were expressed in the form of conventions, declarations and desires.

In the Conference of 1907, the subject of the limitation of armaments again was under discussion. While in most nations the increase of armaments continued at redoubled speed following the First Conference of 1899, yet two important nations, Argentina and Chile, reported in

the Second Conference that they had tried out a plan of limitation for five years, with wholly satisfactory results. This report of satisfaction was in striking contrast to the reports of official and popular dissatisfaction in the other nations which had followed the policy of increasing their armaments. Following the adjournment of the Second Conference, the subject of limitation was taken up for formal investigation and study, notably by representative committees in different nations, whose appointment was secured by the International Peace Bureau of Berne.

The completed results of the sittings of the Second Conference were embodied in thirteen conventions, as follows:

1. The peaceful regulation of international conflicts.

2. Providing for an International Prize Court.

3. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals on land.

4. Regulating the rights and duties of neutrals at sea.

5. Covering the laying of submarine mines.

6. The bombardment of towns from the sea.

7. The matter of the collection of contractual debts.

8. The transformation of merchantmen into warships.

9. The treatment of captured crews.

10. The inviolability of captured fishing boats.

11. The inviolability of the postal service.

12. The application of the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross to sea warfare.

13. The laws and customs regulating land warfare.

To these were added the following joint propositions, submitted by the United States, Russia, Italy, Spain and Holland:

1. The commander of a fleet must spare historical monuments, churches and buildings used for artistic, scientific or benevolent purposes, and hospitals, on the condition that they are not used for military purposes, and are designated by special signs, which must be displayed by the inhabitants.

2. Before beginning the bombardment of a town the commander of a fleet must do all in his power to inform the authorities of the town of his intention.

3. Pillage is forbidden, even in a town or locality taken by assault.

4. The bombardment of undefended ports, towns, villages or buildings is forbidden, but any military work existing in otherwise undefended places can be bombarded if the local authorities refuse to destroy it.

5. Undefended places can be bombarded if they refuse to furnish a fleet with necessary provisions.

6. The bombardment of a town or village for refusal to pay a ransom is prohibited.

The Drago Doctrine, formulated by Dr. Drago, of Argentina, also was adopted, to the effect that public debts may be collected by force only after arbitration had been refused or an arbitral decision had been set at naught.

It may well be said that the indirect results of these two conferences were of more importance than their actual accomplishments. The First Conference made the second a possibility, while the success of the second made a third a necessity. The one hundred members of the First Conference represented twenty-six of the world's fifty-nine independent powers and three-fourths of

its population and resources. The two hundred and fifty-six members of the Second Conference represented forty-four of the world's fifty-seven powers claiming sovereignty, and practically all its population and resources. Already these conferences were world assemblies, and plainly pointed to the time near at hand when they would result in the formal Federation of the World and the organization of the Parliament of Man. The *attempts* of the First Conference became the *acts* of the Second. The position reached by one conference became the starting point for its successor.

The Second Conference adopted a plan for calling a third conference. Commenting upon the results of the two conferences, the American Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root, himself a delegate to the Second Conference, said:

"The greatest benefit of the Peace Conference of 1907, as also that of 1899, lies in the fact of the Conference itself, in its powerful influence in moulding the characters of men; in the spectacle of all of the great powers of the earth meeting in the name of peace, and exalting as worthy of honor and desire, national self-control and considerate judgment and willingness to do justice.

"The achievements of the two conferences justify the belief that the world has entered upon an orderly process through which, step by step, in successive conferences, each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, there may be continual progress toward making the practice of civilizated nations conform to their peaceful professions."

As a further reflection of the sentiment which these great conferences aroused, a sentence may be quoted from Professor de Martens, of Russia, another delegate to the Second Conference: "The days of an isolated life and of separation between the nations have passed away forever. Nations must make mutual concessions to each other, and only on this essential condition can the organization of the new international and common life become a great blessing to all."

An interesting incidental feature of the Second Conference was the formal laying, under its auspices, of the "first stone" of the Palace of Peace. This splendid building, erected by the Netherlands, at a cost of $1,250,000 contributed by Andrew Carnegie, of the United States, furnished a seat for the International Courts established by the conferences, and also for a great Library of Peace. It was a tangible and beautiful expression of the ideal of the common brotherhood of mankind which these conferences were doing so much to establish.

The opening years of the new century witnessed one of the greatest triumphs of modern science in connection with the practical application of the principles of sanitation and hygiene to the question of public health. This was illustrated in the stamping out of yellow fever, malaria and cholera in such tropical or semi-tropical sections as the Panama Canal Zone, the Philippine Islands, Cuba and New Orleans.

It had been common experience and observation that members of the white race, when they invaded the torrid regions, either did not live long or suffered a great loss of vitality and energy when exposed to tropical conditions. This effect of the tropics was generally attributed to the enervating influence of the hot climate itself. When the American authorities were brought face to face with health conditions in their new insular possessions and in the Canal Zone, they were compelled, for the welfare both of themselves and their wards, to seek some remedy. Science already had indicated the course that must be pursued. The causes for tropical infection

were found, not in the hot climate, but in impure air and water and in the mosquito insects which were everywhere. The best practical men of sanitary science were secured and put in charge in Havana, Manila and Panama. Drainage systems were installed, supplies of pure water were secured, the breeding-places of the mosquitoes were destroyed—and, behold, disease disappeared!

Dr. W. C. Gorgas, who was in charge of sanitary measures in Cuba and Panama, presided over the sessions of the American Medical Association in June, 1909. In an address to that body he declared that the great problem of making the tropics habitable for the white man had been solved. In 1905, when work began upon the Panama Canal, the death rate among the employes was twenty-six per thousand. By 1908 it had been reduced to less than ten per thousand, which was as low a rate as was found anywhere in northern climates among a similar class of population. In 1908, due to the sanitary measures that had been put in force, Panama was the most healthy place in the tropical world.

That the mosquito could be entirely stamped out, even in the worst infected places, was demonstrated in such localities as Colon. And it was found that the mastery of the mosquito resulted in the mastery of malaria, and the solution of the tropical health problem.

The marvelously good results secured by the Japanese in the care of their soldiers and wounded in the Russian War was another demonstration of the great advance that had been made in the application of modern scientific hygiene and sanitation.

The opening decade of the new century recorded the finding of the North Pole, the final epoch in arctic exploration. In 1901 Lieutenant Robert E. Peary, of the United States Navy, was in Grinnell Land, whither he had returned for the winter season, after having made an unsuccessful dash for the pole in 1900. On this journey he had reached the northern extremity of Greenland, in latitude 83° 39′, as far as then known the point of land lying nearest the north pole. From that point the distance to the pole was 446 statute miles. From this base, in May, 1900, he made an attempt to dash across the ice toward the pole. He found, however, that the season was too far advanced and the ice was too much weakened by the approaching summer weather. He was compelled to turn back after making only eleven geographical miles over the broken ice. His short advance had taken him to latitude 83° 50′, the farthest northing reached by any one in the Western Hemisphere up to that time. In the Eastern Hemisphere only two explorers had been farther north —Nansen, 86° 14′, and Abruzzi, 86° 33′.

This was Peary's third consecutive winter in the snow igloos of these icy regions. April 5, 1901, Peary started again from his Grinnell Land winter quarters for the pole. He was accompanied as usual by his faithful negro attendant, Henson, and had five Eskimos. After a march of only ten days he found that neither his men nor his dogs were in condition, and so once more turned back. He retreated southward until he reached the *Windward,* which, with Mrs. Peary and her little daughter aboard, had been imprisoned in the ice near Cape Sabine for eight months. In July the ice opened and the *Windward* crossed to Etah, where in August the relief ship *Erik* reached the party with fresh supplies. Peary established winter quarters for 1901-2 at Cape Sabine.

On March 6, 1902, Peary left his winter quarters with Henson, a number of Eskimos and eighten dog sledges. March

31 he reached Cape Hekla, latitude 82° 55′. He was much surprised to find open water in Robeson Channel to the Greenland coast, and many lanes of water in the ice northward. Nevertheless, he

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LIEUTENANT ROBERT E. PEARY.

started out across this treacherous ice April 1. He was accompanied by Henson and four Eskimos, with six sledges. After ten days' desperate struggle amidst the greatest danger, he decided that it was imprudent to attempt to go farther, and so once more was compelled very reluctantly to turn homeward. Thus ended his third attempt to cross the ice. His bitter disappointment can not well be imagined. He had spent a dozen years amid the perils and hardships of the far north, and was bound by a promise to his faithful wife that 1902 should be his last year of exploration.

Peary's ship, the *Windward,* with Mrs. Peary and daughter aboard, met the Lieutenant at Sabine, August 5, 1902, and left the same day for the south, landing at St. Johns, Newfoundland, in September.

In July, 1905, Commander Peary sailed from New York for his fourth effort to reach the pole. He had built and equipped for this voyage a special vessel which he named the *Roosevelt.* The collier *Erik* already had carried an extra supply of coal for his vessel into Greenland waters. He now had a complete equipment, selected and prepared as a result of his previous years of experience in the North. By the middle of August he had reached Cape Sabine, and had added to the regular crew of twenty men, forty Eskimos and about two hundred dogs.

The *Roosevelt* wintered on the northern coast of Grant Land. In February, 1906, Peary started north over the ice with his sledges. After battling with impossible seas of ice and facing starvation, the party drifted eastward and returned to North Greenland, after killing eight of the dogs for food. Peary, on this dash reached 87° 6′ latitude, or within 203 miles of the pole. He was compelled to return home once more to repair and reequip his vessel.

Commander Peary was compelled to postpone his return north in 1907, due

to two months' delay in installing new boilers in the *Roosevelt*. On July 6, 1908, however, he set sail once more from New York, and proceeded to Cape Sabine and Etah, Greenland, there taking on Eskimos, dogs, food supplies, coal, etc. He sent back his coal ship, the *Erik*, and late in August steamed northward. He was equipped for a three years' sojourn in the ice.

On September 1, 1909, the world was thrilled by a telegram from Lerwick, Shetland Islands, from Dr. Frederick A. Cook, stating that he had reached the north pole, April 21, 1908. This news was so unexpected, and so little was known of Dr. Cook by the general public, that it created a great sensation. Briefly, the story told by Dr. Cook was as follows:

In the summer of 1907 John R. Bradley outfitted at New York a fishing schooner, the *J. R. Bradley,* of 111 tons, and sailed for arctic waters, ostensibly on a hunting excursion. He was accompanied by Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who had been with Peary, 1891-2, on one of his arctic expeditions, had been on the Belgian antartic expedition of 1898-9, and had other experience as an explorer. Mr. Bradley and Dr. Cook had equipped their outfit quietly for a dash for the pole, should opportunity offer. When they reached Etah, Greenland, they found the native Eskimos well supplied with walrus meat and dogs. A camp was established at Anootook, a little farther north on the coast. Here, on August 28, 1907, Dr. Cook and Rudolph Francke were left with provisions for three years, and the necessary equipment for a polar dash, and lodged in "shacks" made of packing boxes. They remained in these quarters until spring, when Cook sent Francke back. On February 29, 1908, Cook left Anootook with eleven Eskimo men, eleven sledges, and 103 dogs. By March 21 he had worked his way northward from Heiberg Island and had sent back men and dogs until there remained with him only Itukishuk and Ahwelah of his human companions, and twenty-three dogs. On March 30, in latitude 84° 47′, looking to the westward he saw his last glimpse of land. Then, with two sledges loaded with 800 pounds of provisions, the little party set out over the ice for the pole.

By forced marches over difficult and drifting ice, 100 miles was covered in the first nine days. This carried Cook to latitude 86° 36′, within about 200 miles of the pole. Thereafter the going was easier, the ice being more solid and smooth. April 14 found the little party in latitude 88° 21′, with less than 100 miles to make. The ice still improved, and better progress was made. Conditions favored good astronomical observations. Dr. Cook wrote:

"On April 21 the first corrected altitude of the sun gave 89° 59′ 46″. The Pole therefore was in sight. We advanced the fourteen seconds, made supplementary observations, and prepared to stay long enough to permit a double round of observations. Itukishuk and Ahwelah were told that we had reached the 'Neig Nail,' and they sought to celebrate by an outburst of savage joys.

"At last we had pierced the boreal center and the flag had been raised to the coveted breezes of the north pole. The sun indicated local noon, but time was a negative problem, for here all meridians meet. With a step it was possible to go from one part of the globe to the opposite side. From the hour of midnight to that of midday the latitude was 90°, the temperature 38° below, and the barometer 29.83. North, east, and west had vanished. It was south in every direction.

"What a cheerless place to have aroused

the ambition of man for so many ages! An endless field of purple snows! No life! No land! No spot to relieve the monotony of frost. We were the only pulsating creatures in a dead world of ice."

On April 23 Cook set out upon his return. On account of the drift of the ice and misty skies, he bore too far westward, and failed to backtrack on his outgoing trail. After most perilous wandering in the face of storm and starvation, the little party wintered southward in Jones Sound. With the opening of spring February 18, 1909, a start was made for Anootook, into which place they struggled, dragging their one sledge, on April 15. After the briefest rest and recuperation, Dr. Cook pushed southward, reaching Upernavik, May 21, 1909. Here he was finally picked up by the Danish steamer *Hans Egede,* and brought back to Copenhagen, Denmark.

Few events in history have aroused such world-wide interest and enthusiasm as the return of Dr. Cook. He was received upon landing at Copenhagen, September 4, 1909, by the Crown Prince of Denmark and representatives of the Danish scientific and civic bodies and correspondents of the press of the world. The University of Denmark conferred special honors upon him. He finally escaped from the feting and press representatives and sailed for New York, where he was received with the same enthusiasm he had met in the Old World. To satisfy the eager demands of the public, he made a brief lecture tour of the leading cities, and then went into temporary retirement, to prepare his records and report for submission to the Danish University and the scientific world.

In December, 1909, Dr. Cook finally submitted his papers to the University through the hands of his secretary. These papers proved to be, not original records, but typewritten extracts from his notebooks. After examination, the Investigating Committee reported: "The material transmitted for examination contains no proof that Dr. Cook reached the pole."

The consistory of the University expressed a willingness to give Cook a further opportunity "to establish his good faith." The scientific world and the public generally settled to the opinion that he was a colossal fakir. There were those, however, who held that Cook himself was self-deceived, and that he honestly thought he had reached the pole. Others believed that he really had reached the pole, but was careless, or incompetent, or both, in making, preserving and presenting proper and essential records. These pointed to the fact that Cook's description of physical and meteorological conditions on the journey to and at the pole, though published first, was identical with the actual conditions as found and described later by Peary. They held that no fakir, or scientist for that matter, could possibly have guessed these conditions so accurately.

Meanwhile Dr. Cook himself had mysteriously disappeared. Later it was reported by his friends that he was in a retreat suffering with mental aberration.

On September 6, 1909, only five days later than Dr. Cook's sensational message, came dispatches from Commander Peary at Indian Harbor, Labrador, stating that he had reached the pole, April 6, 1909. Later came his story in detail. On the afternoon of August 18, 1909, the *Roosevelt,* bearing the North Polar Expedition of the Peary Arctic Club, parted company with the *Erik* and steamed out of Etah Ford for Cape Sabine. Beside the crew and regular supplies, there were on board 22 Eskimo men, 17 women, 10 children, 226 dogs and 40-odd walrus. By September the *Roosevelt* had worked

her way to the mouth of the Sheridan River, where she laid up in the ice for the winter. Hunting parties were sent out to increase the store of provisions, and sledging parties began the distribution of supplies on the proposed route northward. The winter was spent in scientific explorations and observations. February 15-22, 1909, the march northward began in divisions. The total of all divisions was 7 members of the party, 59 Eskimos, 140 dogs and 23 sledges. The march due north began March 1. By March 14 the outfit was cut down to 16 men, 12 sledges and 100 dogs. At latitude 86° 38′, the farthest north of Nansen and Abruzzi had been passed, and the party was further reduced. At the 88th parallel the last of the supporting parties turned back. The expedition now consisted of Peary, his negro attendant, Henson, four Eskimos, five sledges with supplies for forty days, and forty-two dogs. In the next five marches 130 miles were covered; the going was good, the ice being smooth and solid and the thermometer rising to 15° below zero. On April 5, 1909, an observation indicated latitude 89° 57′—practically 90°—the *Pole!* Perry wrote in his journal:

"The Pole at last! The prize of three centuries, my dream and goal for twenty years, mine at last! I can not bring myself to realize it. It all seems so simple and commonplace."

Peary spent thirty hours about the pole, going ten miles in one direction beyond his camp and eight miles in another in order to be sure of covering the exact location. The sky was cloudless and conditions perfect for taking observations and photographs. The horizon was searched in vain for any indications of land. No opening could be found in the ice so as to take a sounding. The minimum temperature during the thirty hours was 33° below, the maximum 12° below.

On April 7 the return journey began. Five miles from the pole a crack in the ice was found through which a hole was made with a pickaxe. The sounding wire was let down to its full length of 1,500 fathoms without reaching the bottom. On the return trip they made rapid progress, being able to backtrack on their trail nearly all the way. On April 23 they reached Crane City at Cape Columbia. After sleeping and eating to their full content, two marches brought them to the *Roosevelt*. The *Roosevelt* was able to break out of her moorings July 18, and by September 5 reached Indian Harbor, whence Peary flashed the news of his success to the waiting world.

As soon as Peary got into communication with the outer world, he launched a bitter attack upon the claims of Dr. Cook. This controversy was taken up by Peary's friends as soon as he reached home. He promptly submitted his own records and reports to the National Geographical Society at Washington, D. C. This influential scientific body gave Commander Peary their unqualified endorsement and approval after critical examination of his documents. After Dr. Cook's ignominious fiasco before the University of Denmark, the public turned its tardy recognition to the claims and accomplishments of Commander Peary, and he was acclaimed the real discoverer of the North Pole.

Up to 1892 the region surrounding the South Pole was the largest unknown section of the world. The diameter of the unexplored division was 4,000 miles, and it embraced a territory larger than Europe. Here remained the greatest of fields for pioneer research, and several European nations caught the enthusiasm that inspired the British and German

propagandists of the revival of antarctic exploration.

In south polar exploration following the opening of the new century, the honors fell to England. During the year 1903 the line of man's approach to the south pole was extended 100 miles. This was by the British expedition sent out in 1901. They wintered 400 miles farther south than any previous expe-

LIEUT. ERNEST H. SHACKELTON.

dition. They found and skirted along a great ice barrier in latitude 76°. This barrier seemed to be floating in the sea, and towered up to a height of 1,000 feet, which made the great icebergs of the far north but pygmies. They ascended a glacier to a height of 9,000 feet, and found a level plain extending to the west as far as the eye could reach. Between the eighty-second and eighty-third parallels they found a mountain chain previously absolutely unknown.

Eight different expeditions—Belgian, English, Scotch, German, Swedish and French—had tried for the south pole.

In 1907 Lieutenant Ernest H. Shackelton led another English expedition into the Antarctic regions in the *Nimrod*. Reaching King Edward VII. Land their ship was blown out to sea in a severe blizzard, but finally made a landing near Mt. Erebus. The party was equipped with an automobile rigged for ice traveling, and Siberian ponies for sledging, for journeys southward over the glacial continent.

On January 9, 1909, with their sledges, they reached 88° 23′ south latitude, within 97 miles of the pole, 421 miles nearer than any previous expedition. On account of the intense cold and fierce winds they could not venture further. They were on a vast plateau at an elevation of 10,000 feet, the land hidden completely by snow and ice. Looking southward, the plateau stretched away as far as the glasses would reach. Lieutenant Shackelton reported that he could safely assume that "the geographical south pole was situated on this immense plateau, between 10,000 and 12,000 feet above sea level, and certainly the coldest and one of the most stormy parts of the world."

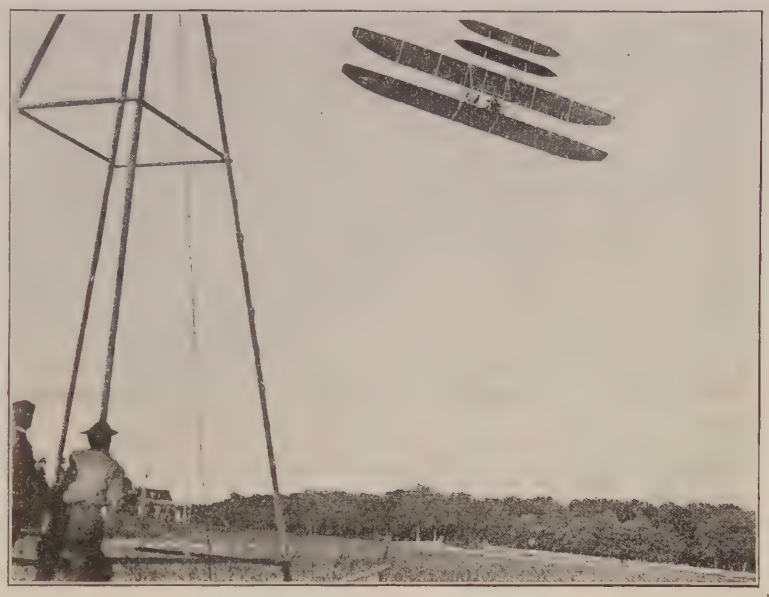
The early years of the twentieth century witnessed the conquest of the air. The ordinary spherical gas-bag balloon had long been familiar. In October, 1900, Counts de la Viaux and de Saint Victor of France, made a baloon flight of 1,193 miles, breaking the world's record up to that time. In 1908 Colonel Schark, of Switzerland, broke the duration record by remaining in the air seventy-three hours. Professors Berson and Suring, of Germany, attained a reported altitude record of 34,000 feet.

Dirigible balloons were a new feature of the new century. The type consisted of a gas bag elongated horizontally and

equipped with a power plant, propellers and guiding apparatus. In September, 1908, the German military dirigible, *Grosse II.*, broke all previous records for duration and distance, remaining in the air thirteen hours and two minutes and covering 500 miles.

The aeroplane made its first appearance in the opening years of the century. This was a veritable flying machine. It was composed of large plane surfaces, and was held in the air by its planes being forced against the atmosphere by a power plant and vertical propellers.

The Wright brothers—Wilbur and Orville—of Dayton, Ohio, U. S. A., were the pioneers in true aviation. On December 7, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, Wilbur Wright made the first successful man-flight in history. This was in a rudimentary machine. He remained in the air fifty-nine seconds and covered a distance of 852 feet. This experiment established the principle of the flying machine, and demonstrated the possibility of man-flight through the air.



WRIGHT AEROPLANE AT FORT MEYER.

Wilbur Wright made 105 experimental flights at Dayton, Ohio, in 1904. On November 9 he flew 3 miles in 4 minutes and 30 seconds, the record up to that time for distance and duration.

On March 12, 1906, the Wrights filed with the Aero Club of America a statement that on October 5, 1905, at Dayton, Ohio, Wilbur Wright, in their man-carrying motor-flyer, had remained in the air 38 minutes and 3 seconds, and had made a circular flight of 24½ miles. This original flyer was a biplane of a total weight, with the operator, of 925 pounds. Wilbur Wright made 49 flights that year at Dayton. The inventors were compelled to suspend experiments at Dayton on account of the great public attention they attracted.

In 1908 Wilbur Wright made 100 flights in France. On October 10 he flew 46 miles in 1 hour and 9 minutes, and carried a passenger. December 31, at the same place, going alone, he remained in the air 2 hours, 20 minutes and 23 seconds, and covered 77 miles. At Rome, in 1909, he made many flights and carried many single passengers. September 25, 1909, in a flight at New York, he circled the Statue of Liberty. On October 4, 1909, he flew up the Hudson to Grant's tomb and returned, making 21 miles in 33 minutes and 33 seconds.

In 1908 and 1909 Orville Wright conducted a series of official tests for the United States Government at Fort Meyer.

September 12, 1908, he recorded the longest flight of the year, 50 miles, in 1 hour and 15 minutes. On July 30, 1909, he met the official speed test, 42 miles per hour, and the machine was accepted by the government. From July to October, 1909, Orville Wright gave numerous official flights at Berlin. On October 2 he carried the Crown Prince as a passenger in a ten-minute flight. October 4 he reached a height of 1,600 feet, the altitude record up to that time.

November 13, 1906, A. Santos Dumont made the first flight in Europe. This was in a cellular kite machine. In 1908, and especially in 1909, many competitors entered the field in Europe and America, setting many new records. Louis Bleriot flew across the English Channel, July 25, 1909. Other successful pioneers in aviation were Leon Delagrange, Henry Farman, S. F. Cody, Moore-Brabazon, Hubert Latham, Louis Paulhan, Roger Summer, Count de Lambert and Glen N. Curtiss.

Aeroplanes developed different types, such as monoplanes, biplanes, triplanes, etc. Societies and clubs for the development of aerial navigation sprang up in America and Europe, and the day of the military and commercial use of the flying machine was recognized as near at hand.

A notable event of the first year of the new century was the first annual distribution of the Nobel prizes. Alfred Bernhard Nobel, a native of Stockholm, Sweden, the inventor of dynamite, died in 1896, leaving a fortune of ten million dollars. Under the terms of his will the Nobel Foundation was established. The Foundation held his fortune in trust as a prize fund, the income of which should be divided annually into five equal portions and distributed to the five persons who respectively had deserved best of mankind in one of five departments of human activity. He designated that one part should go each year to the individual who made the most important discovery or invention in the domain of physical science; another to the person who shall have made the most important discovery or introduced the greatest improvement in chemistry; the third to the author of the most important discovery in the domain of physiology or medicine; the fourth to the individual who shall have produced the most remarkable literary work of an idealistic nature; and, finally, the fifth to the one who shall have done the most or the best work for the fraternity of nations, the suppression or reduction of standing armies, and the formation and propagation of peace congresses.

In the first award, the prize in physics went to William Roentgen, discoverer of the X-rays; the chemical prize to Professor J. H. Vant Hoff, founder of the new system of stereo-chemistry; the medical prize to Dr. Emil Behring, discoverer of anti-toxin for diphtheria; the literary prize to the French poet, Armand Sully-Proudhomme; the peace prize was divided between Dr. Henry Durant, the Swiss physician, and Frederic Passy, the venerable French advocate of international amity.

Other notable recipients of the Nobel prizes have been Professor and Madam Curie, of France, discoverers of radium; William Marconi, of Italy, developer of wireless telegraphy; Sir William Crookes, English scientist and chemist; Professor Robert Koch, Germany, discoverer of tuberculosis bacilli; Rudyard Kipling, English author; Baroness von Suttner, Austrian peace advocate; and President Theodore Roosevelt, United States, for negotiating peace between Russia and Japan.

Anaximander of Miletus is credited with having drawn the first map of the then known world in the year 560 B. C. Ptolemy, greatest of ancient geographers,

in the second century, B. C., produced a map of the world which was accepted as authoritative down to the sixteenth century, A. D. In 1733 Cæsar Cassini constructed the first map based upon trigonometric and topographic surveys, and became the father of modern scientific cartography.

At the meeting of the International Geographical Congress in Berne in 1891, Professor Penck, of Germany, proposed that the geographers of the different nations unite in the construction of a scientifically and historically correct map of the entire world. The suggestion was adopted, and plans were outlined, which were amended and improved in subsequent congresses held in Berlin, Washington, Geneva, and London.

The map approached completion in 1910. It was the largest map ever made, 100 by 150 feet in dimension. It was on a scale of 1 to 1,000,000, or about sixteen statute miles to an inch. It was composed of 2,400 sheets. It was drawn with absolute uniformity of system by the expert cartographers and geographers of all civilized countries. The completion of this map marked in a way the greatest epoch in human history, for it was a graphic demonstration of the physical conquest of the whole earth and the practical unification of mankind.

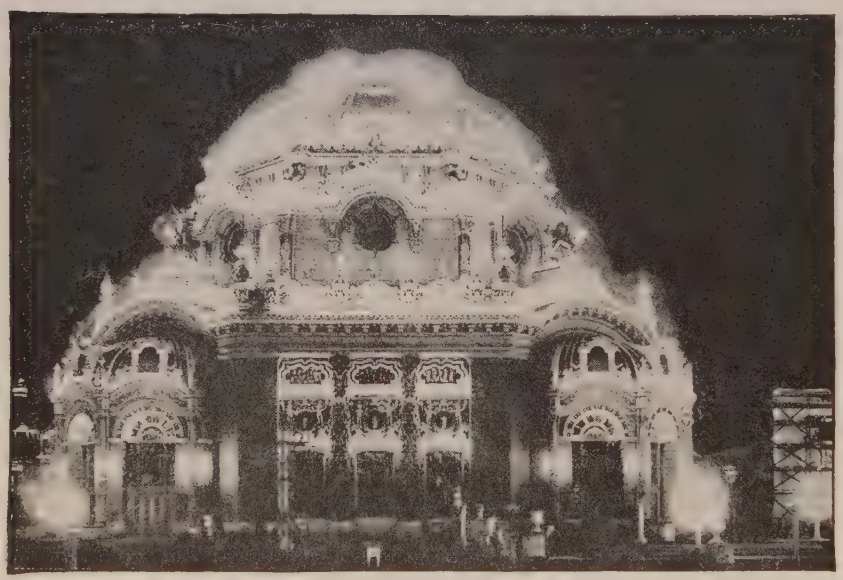
CHAPTER CLXXIII.—THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. 1901-1910.

In the opening decade of the new century no nation was more conspicuous in the eyes of the world, or more influential in the world's affairs, than the United States. The unexampled development of the American nation at home, its entrance as a new and potent factor into the affairs of the Orient, the tragic death of President McKinley, and the strenuous and spectacular administration of President Roosevelt, the intervention securing peace between Russia and Japan, the digging of the Panama Canal, the impressive voyage of the great battleship fleet around the world, all served to give the American people a new prominence and a dominating influence.

On March 13, 1901, Benjamin Harrison, who had been the twenty-third President of the United States, died at the age of sixty-eight. He was one of America's foremost citizens. He belonged to a family which for years was conspicuous for public service. When, in 1888, he was elected President, he was perhaps as well equipped for the position by his native endowments, his lofty character, his varied experience, his wide acquaintance, and his practical knowledge of public affairs as any man who had occupied the office. His term of service was distinguished not so much by any one or more great features as by its high general average. His administration was in keeping with his personal character—clean, able, conservative, dignified, and patriotic. The eight years following his retirement from office were devoted to high and active service. He was attorney and counselor in cases of national and international importance; took a prominent part in the discussion of great national issues; was prominent in important religious functions, such as serving on a national committee for the revision of church creeds, and presiding over the greatest ecumenical council on missions ever held; lectured before lead-

ing universities. By his ability, his conscientious earnestness, and his dignified bearing, he always and everywhere, at home and abroad, commanded public respect and admiration.

For the third time the American people were called upon to mourn the death of a President by assassination. On September 5, 1901, President William McKinley, standing in the midst of the great Pan-American Exposition, at Buffalo, New York, delivered a most notable address of good will to the world. He declared: "God and man have linked the nations together. As we are brought more and more into touch with each other, the less occasion is there for misunderstandings. Let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all here may be moved to higher and nobler effort, and to those relations of mutual respect, confidence, and friendship which will deepen and endure. Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbors and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of the earth."



TEMPLE OF MUSIC—PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

When the President went to Buffalo he was at the zenith of his fame. He had been called to the accomplishment of a great work, and had done it well. He had piloted his country through a stormy period so successfully that even his political opponents were disarmed of criticism. Circumstances had made his Presidential administration a world function instead of a purely domestic concern. He had risen to the demands made upon him, and had done as well in the international as in the national realm. Indeed, he felt that he had been able to raise the world's concert to a higher pitch, and to make the United States the moral leader of the nations. In this feeling and this spirit he stood in the great Exposition before the leading representatives of his own and foreign peoples, and delivered his memorable address. Could he by some prescience have seen that this was to be his farewell address to his own people and to the world, he could hardly have improved its appropriateness, its subject matter or its style.

On Friday, September 6, the President, his wife, and the members of the cabinet made a visit to Niagara Falls.

The day was brilliant with sunshine, and he felt at peace with all the world. At 3:30 o'clock in the afternoon he returned to the Temple of Music on the Exposition grounds for a public reception in his honor. Twenty thousand people welcomed his coming. He took his assigned place, President Milburn, of the Exposition, at his left, Secretary Cortelyou at his right, and secret service officers opposite. Then the waiting line of people moved, each grasping the hand of the President in passing. He beamed upon all in his benignant way, taking special pains to greet the timid and the women and children. A woman and a little girl passed. Then came a tall and husky negro. After the negro followed a slight, boyish figure, face and features indicating foreign descent, innocent looking in appearance and manner. His right hand was bound up in a handkerchief, which fact, though noticed by the secret service men and others, aroused the suspicions of none. Many men displayed handkerchiefs, for the day was warm. So the youth approached. The President greeted him with a smile and extended his hand in salutation. But it was not grasped. The youth, supporting his bandaged hand with the other, fired two bullets from a pistol concealed in the handkerchief. The first ball passed into the President's body; the second was deflected by striking a button.

The assassin was grasped and restrained. The President was supported to a chair. "Cortelyou," said he, "be careful. Tell Mrs. McKinley gently." When the President saw the maddened rush toward his assailant he commanded, "Let no one hurt him."

One hour and ten minutes after the assault a surgical operation disclosed the fact that both walls of the stomach had been perforated, and the ball buried in the muscles of the back. For nearly a week the news from the President's bedside was encouraging. Then on Thursday came a discouraging bulletin. Friday morning, one week from the day of the assassination, the report was still less favorable. At 7 o'clock Friday evening, September 14, he asked for Mrs. McKinley. After most touching greetings she was led away. At 8 o'clock the President's lips were seen to be moving. The surgeon bent down to catch his words. "Nearer, my God to Thee," they faintly murmured. A little later, "Good-bye, all; good-bye! It is God's way! His will be done."

Then followed oblivion until 2 o'clock A. M. Saturday, September 15, when breathing ceased. A great soul had passed.

Sunday the remains lay in state in the City Hall at Buffalo. Monday a special train bore the body to Washington. For the four hundred and fifty miles the train ran between almost unbroken parallel lines of weeping citizens. Monday night the body of President McKinley rested once more in the White House, the scene of his labors and triumphs. Tuesday the remains lay in the Capitol upon the same catafalque which had borne the remains of Presidents Lincoln and Garfield. Here the official funeral ceremonies were held. Tuesday night a special train bore the funeral cortege to Canton, Ohio, where for a day the body lay in state among old neighbors and friends. Then, after simple services in his local Methodist church on Thursday, the body was deposited in a vault in the beautiful Westlawn Cemetery.

When the assassin so unexpectedly fired the two shots in quick succession at the President, the negro, Parker, who preceded him in the line, turned and struck him. At the same time he was seized by the secret service men, and by

them protected from the frenzied spectators who sought to assail him. He was removed to prison. Investigation developed that his name was Leon F. Czolgosz, twenty-eight years of age, born of Russian-Polish parents, who came to America forty years before. He acknowledged the crime, but said he had no personal grievance against the President or any one else in authority. He proclaimed himself an anarchist, and that his only motive was his desire to do something to aid "the cause." He had no accomplices. He was placed upon trial under the New York statutes. Being without funds or friends, the court appointed capable counsel to aid him in his defense. In his defense he was unable to offer any testimony. On September 26 the jury pronounced him guilty of murder, and the court sentenced him to the death penalty, which was inflicted in Auburn prison in the latter part of October.

Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt was at a hunting camp in the Adirondack Mountains when the tidings of the death of President McKinley reached him. He reached Buffalo by special train early in the afternoon. Dismissing the formal escort that met him at the station, he drove at once as a private citizen to pay homage to the remains of the dead President, and to offer his personal condolence to the bereaved wife and friends. He then appeared before the members of the cabinet and took the oath as President of the United States. He declared that it would be his aim "to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policies of President McKinley for the peace, the prosperity, and the honor of our beloved country."

When Theodore Roosevelt was thus so suddenly and unexpectedly elevated to the Presidency, there still remained three and one-half years of the McKinley term. His relations with President McKinley had been intimate and confidential. President McKinley in his first term had made him Assisant Secretary of the Navy. Roosevelt had seconded the nomination of McKinley in the convention that named him for his second term. When Roosevelt became Vice-President McKinley made him a confidential adviser much as if he had been a member of the cabinet. Mr. Roosevelt was well prepared therefore to continue the McKinley policies. His vigorous and aggressive personality and his brusque and direct methods were in striking contrast to the suave and diplomatic manner of McKinley. While executive policies might continue the same, a change in the White House atmosphere and program was inevitable.

Mr. Roosevelt came into the Presidency free from personal obligations. He had been made candidate for Vice-President against his most earnest protest. His sudden elevation to the Presidency was as unexpected to himself as to all others. He continued the McKinley appointees in office, and the government moved on without halt or jar.

The story of William McKinley would not be complete without some mention of another man who had an important part in forwarding his career. The Republican party organization received a severe shock in the campaign of 1884 which resulted in the election of Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, to the Presidency. In the reorganization of the Republican party which followed a new name became prominent, that of Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio. Mr. Hanna had long been a power in the business world. Due to this prominence President Cleveland had made him one of the five governmental directors of the Union Pacific Railroad. When Mr. Hanna entered the political arena he formed the acquaintance of Mr. McKinley. This soon

ripened into a warm personal friendship which continued until they were separated by death.

As the second term of Grover Cleveland drew to a close it became evident that the Republicans could win the election in 1896. Mr. Hanna determined that his friend McKinley should have the Presidential nomination. With a skill rarely equalled he directed the selection of delegates to and the organization of the Republican convention and its nominations. In the ensuing campaign he was able to unite the business interests of the country in support of his candidate and friend. President McKinley made Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, his Secretary of State. Governor Bushnell appointed Mr. Hanna to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Sherman in the Senate. When this term expired Mr. Hanna was elected for another term by the Ohio legislature in 1899, but by a mjority of only one vote. Six years later he was re-elected by a majority of ninety votes.

While this change in the vote was due in some measure to the mutations of State politics, it was in a large degree a tribute to Senator Hanna's success as a legislator, as a counselor, and to his growing popularity as a man. Senator Hanna was not a statesman of the highest order, but he was nevertheless a very efficient and effective public servant. Intensely practical, seeing at once the essential thing to be done, thoroughly loyal to his friends and equally strong in his dislikes of his enemies, his influence was the dominant one during the administration of President McKinley.

Senator Hanna's chief reputation, however, rests upon an entirely different basis. As a large employer of labor he early became interested in the great question of the relations between employers and employes. As Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation, a position which he valued above all others, he found unusual opportunities to be of use to his country. He exerted a wide influence in removing the hostilities which had existed between labor and capital. Previous to his unexpected death, February 15, 1904, Senator Hanna was widely spoken of for the nomination of President on the Republican ticket, though he refused to consider the question.

MARCUS A. HANNA.

As the Presidential nominating con-

ventions approached in 1904, conditions in the various political parties gradually emerged and took definite form. In their chronological order the party conventions and candidates were as follows:

Socialist—President, Eugene V. Debs; Vice-President, Benjamin Hanford.

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PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Republican—President, Theodore Roosevelt; Vice-President, Charles W. Fairbanks.

Prohibition—President, Silas C. Swallow; Vice-President, George W. Carroll.

People's—President, Thomas E. Watson; Vice-President, Thomas H. Tibbles.

Democratic—President, Alton B. Parker; Vice-President, Henry G. Davis.

There were also conventions and nominations by the Socialist Labor, the United Christian, the National Liberty, and the Continental parties, but their following was insignificant.

The Republican National Convention, which met at Chicago, June 21, was simply a ratification meeting. Theodore Roosevelt, during his three and one-half years in the Presidential chair filling out the unexpired term of the lamented McKinley, had made such an impress upon his party, the country, and the world at large that no serious thought was given to any other candidate. Roosevelt was named by the convention with the greatest unanimity and enthusiasm. Senator Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, became the candidate for Vice-President.

But little difficulty was met in formulating the platform. The tariff question provoked discussion. There was some disposition to follow the suggestions of President McKinley in his last address at Buffalo, and modify somewhat the rigid lines of the protective policy but the final conclusion was once more to "let well enough alone." Rarely since its beginning at the time of the Civil War had the Republican party been so harmonious on public questions or so thoroughly united as in the campaign of 1904.

Conditions in the Democratic party presented a striking contrast. The remarkable campaigns of William J. Bryan, candidate for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket in 1896 and 1900, had made a profound impression upon his party and the country. A comparatively unknown young man, he had achieved the nomination in 1896 by the sheer force of his own eloquence and strong personality. As a result of the most brilliant and vigorous personal campaign in the history of the country, he polled that year 6,502,925 votes, a larger number than had been cast for any candidate of any party in any previous year, yet he

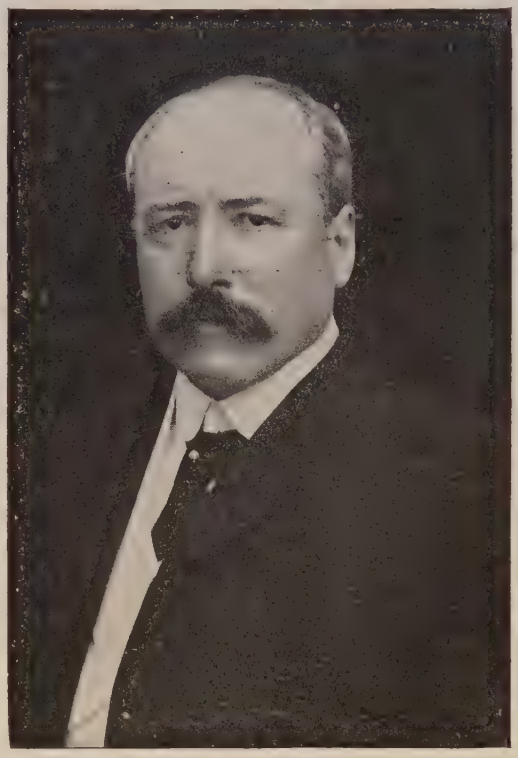
was beaten by a plurality for Mr. McKinley of 600,000. Four years later, again a candidate, he received nearly the same number of votes, and was again beaten by McKinley by only a slightly increased plurality, 650,000 votes.

Mr. Bryan's brilliant advocacy of "free silver," "anti-imperialism," and kindred questions, had turned political discussion away from the old-time traditional themes and had greatly disturbed party alignment. When the Democratic Convention met in 1904 there was manifested a strong reaction against "Bryan radicalism." It became evident, even before the convention met, that the conservative element was in control, though material compromises would be necessary to prevent serious divisions.

A platform, the essential features of which would be acceptable to both the radical and the conservative wings, had been widely discussed previous to the convention. The Platform Committee had a serious task. The money question was the main issue upon which the factions divided. The "free silver" men recognized that they had failed to carry their contention in the two previous campaigns, and were willing that the platform should leave the subject unmentioned and treat the question as dead. To this the "safe and sane" contingent objected, preferring to commit the party definitely to the support of the gold standard. After a bitter all-night contest, the policy of silence upon the money question was adopted. In its other planks the platform followed closely the provisions of the platforms of the two previous campaigns.

The two most prominent candidates presented for the presidential nomination were Alton B. Parker, of New York, and William Randolph Hearst, of California. Out of the one thousand votes cast on the first ballot Parker received 667, and became the nominee. Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, was named as Vice-President by a unanimous vote.

Before the convention adjourned it was thrown into the greatest confusion by the receipt of a telegram from Judge Parker, stating he was unreservedly in favor of the "gold" standard in currency, and that he could not accept the



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ALTON B. PARKER.

nomination except with that understanding. This precipitated a most vigorous discussion which lasted for hours. Finally a reply was framed attributing the absence of a currency plank in the platform to the fact that the money issue was dead, and assuring Judge Parker of his acceptability as a candidate. Taken all in all this was the most dramatic, and perhaps the most important, convention of the Democratic party since the

historical meeting at Charleston in 1860. The sober sense of the country recognized the platform as a bid of office-seekers rather than an expression of true Democratic doctrines. However, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hearst, leaders of the radical factions of the party, accepted the situation, and gave their loyal support to the ticket.

The campaign was a rather one-sided affair. The Republicans were united, enthusiastic, and supplied abundantly with funds. The Democrats were discordant, apathetic, and much of their support perfunctory, and contributions ran low. The result was plainly foreseen. Roosevelt's vote was 7,623,486, a gain of nearly a half million over McKinley's vote in 1900. On the other hand Parker's vote was 5,077,911, which was 1,300,000 less than Bryan's vote in 1900.

The political situation, as the national party conventions came on in 1908, indicated an era of good feeling. Political party lines were drawn loosely and party rancor was mild. The action of practically all the conventions was discounted beforehand, both platforms and candidates being anticipated. This is shown by the fact that in two conventions—the People's party and the Socialist Labor—the candidates for President were chosen unanimously on the first ballot. In the Socialist, Republican, and Democratic conventions, the Presidential nominations were made on the first ballot with but little opposition. Only in the Prohibition and Independence party conventions were more than one ballot necessary, nominations in both of these being on the third ballot. The Republican and the Democratic platforms were so similar in their treatment of the more important questions that editors and leaders were compelled to the exercise of great care in their discussions and criticisms, some ridiculous blunders actually occurring through the confusion of the two platforms.

In their chronological order the conventions and nominations were as follows:

The People's—President, Thomas E. Watson; Vice-President, Samuel W. Williams.

Socialist—President, Eugene V. Debs; Vice-President, Ben Hanford.

Republican—William H. Taft, of Ohio, was nominated for President, the vote being: William H. Taft, 702; Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, 68; Charles E. Hughes, of New York, 67; Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, 58; Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, 40; Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, 25; Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, 16; Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, 3. Jas. S. Sherman, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President.

The Socialist Labor Convention met in New York City, July 4. Martin R. Preston, of Nevada, was named for President and Donald M. Munro, of Virginia, for Vice-President. Preston being at the time of nomination a convict ("labor martyr") in the Nevada penitentiary, and also under the constitutional age, the party subsequently nominated August Gillhaus, of New York, in his place as "candidate by proxy."

The Democratic convention met July 7-10 in Denver, Colo. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President, the vote being: W. J. Bryan, 892; John A. Johnson, of Minnesota, 46. John W. Kern, of Indiana, was named for the Vice-Presidency.

Prohibition — President, Eugene W. Chafin; Vice-President, Aaron S. Watkins.

Independence—President, Thomas L. Hisgen; Vice-President, John Temple Graves.

It was generally recognized that the contention was between the Republican and the Democratic parties. The work of the minor parties did not attract a great deal of attention outside the feeble ranks of their own followers.

It also was generally conceded that Theodore Roosevelt could have had a renomination at the hands of the Republicans if he would have accepted it, but he adhered stubbornly to his announcement previously made that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself. He early caused it to be known that he preferred his Secretary of War, William H. Taft, as his successor, and exercised his powerful personal and official influence for his nomination and election. In the Democratic party the name and influence of Mr. Bryan so far overshadowed all others that his nomination for a third time was a foregone conclusion.

Due in part to the lack of the immense campaign funds which were features of previous Presidential contests, and more especially to the absence of real vital issues between the two leading parties, the contest was desultory. The fundamental question underlying the campaign was the promotion of justice. This appeared in the platform declarations and the campaign speeches of both parties, relating to such matters as the regulation of corporate wealth and of transportation, the treatment of labor organizations, the revision of the tariff and the currency systems, new methods of taxation, colonialism, etc. The Democrats claimed that the reforms advocated had their original expression in the previous platforms and speeches of Mr. Bryan. The Republicans claimed them as "Roosevelt policies" growing out of his plea for a "square deal."

The result of the campaign hinged more upon the incidents of organization, management, and personal influence, than upon issues. In these the Republicans had the advantage. Their long lease of power gave them the aid of a superb organization of perfectly trained workers. Mr. Taft plunged into a personal campaign with great energy. President Roosevelt exerted the powerful prestige of his official position and the great influence of his magnetic personality in the aid of his protege, Mr. Taft. Mr. Bryan, abandoning the whirlwind methods of his two previous campaigns, confined himself to a smaller number of addresses, delivered at the greater population centers. The influences against him, however, were too strong for his powerful personal popularity, and once more he went down to defeat.

So many scandalous and sensational stories had been circulated in connection with campaign funds in previous elections, that many leading citizens of all parties in 1908 felt that the time had come when secrecy concerning these funds should be abolished, and that the sources and disbursements of such funds should be made public. Criticism had been aimed especially at the enormous funds raised and disbursed by the Republicans in the campaigns of 1896, 1900, and 1904, though the Democrats did not altogether escape. In connection with the campaign of 1908, Mr. Bryan early started an agitation for publicity. So much sentiment was aroused that the Republicans, having the majority in Congress, were forced to action. They therefore prepared the Crumpacker Bill, which provided for the publicity of campaign funds. But, in order to make it obnoxious to Democrats and thus to insure their opposition, they tacked to it a provision for a census "for the purpose of enabling Congress to apportion representatives." This provision was aimed at the disfranchisement of negroes in Democratic States. The trick was too transparent, and gained nothing for its inventors.

The Democratic platform of 1908 contained a lengthy and strong plank promising "the enactment of a law preventing any corporation contributing to a campaign fund, and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable minimum, and providing for the publication before election of all contributions above a reasonable minimum." The Republican convention, by a vote of nearly ten to one, rejected a similar plank for their platform.

During the progress of the campaign Mr. Bryan invited Mr. Taft to join him in a request to Congress to adopt such a law. Mr. Taft replied, referring Mr. Bryan to a telegram in which he had made such a request some months previous. Congress did not act, however.

The Democratic campaign committee announced their intention of publishing a list of their contributions and disbursements before election, and invited the Republican committee to like action. The Republican committee agreed to publish their list after the election. Finally it was decided that, inasmuch as both committees had headquarters in New York City, publication should be made under the requirements of the New York statute for State elections. Both committees published sworn statements, and each showed a falling off from amounts theretofore contributed. The Republican fund fell from $7,000,000 in 1896, $5,000,000 in 1900, and $4,500,000 in 1904, to $1,635,000 in 1908. The Democratic fund was a little over $600,000. The Republican fund, though much larger, came from a smaller number of contributors than the Democratic.

The precedent of publication was at last established, and campaign fund scandals seemed at an end. The suggestion of President Roosevelt that laws should be passed, providing for the payment of all necessary campaign expenses by the Government, received strong popular approval.

The seven years' administration of Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States, left an indelible impress upon the history of his own nation and the world. He was called to his position when the country was entering a new era in its development.

The Fathers of the Republic dealt with the period of national birth, formation, and construction. This Formative period developed its great leader and type in the person of Washington.

Then came the second stage of development, which may be called the Preservative period, involving the determination of civil rights and Governmental powers. It marked the end of national adolescence and the attainment of majority or manhood. It was a period of profound disturbance, marked by the bloody Civil War. And again a great leader, or type, appeared in the person of Lincoln.

National independence and integrity having been assured, and civil rights and limitations having been determined, then the relations and responsibilities of the United States among the other nations must be fixed, and social justice among citizens at home must be established. It was the Economic age. It was a period in which public measures and policies must be adjusted to moral convictions and statesmanlike forethought. Of this era Theodore Roosevelt stood as the leader and type.

No other of the Presidents had possessed, in an equal degree, a mind so enriched with a historian's knowledge of the past combined with a statesman's foresight of the future. His policies were conceived under the inspiration of this dual equipment. He was so fertile in initiative, and advocated his uplifting measures with such tremendous energy, that he aroused, not only the most en-

thusiastic popular support, but also widespread opposition and criticism. Yet even those who differed with his methods recognized his high purpose in seeking to direct material forces so as to better insure and protect the opportunities of life for the average American man, woman, and child, and to establish and preserve justice and harmony among the nations of the earth.

At the time of Mr. Roosevelt's accession, the Civil Service of the country was in a state of demoralization. The new President, having himself served as Civil Service Commissioner, had personal knowledge of and experience in this field. He strengthened the Commission, giving its members new power over office-holders, and put additional branches of the public service under the control of the Commission.

In that vast and important class of posts remaining outside the competitive services, and appointments to which were made by the President "by and with the consent of the Senate," Mr. Roosevelt also asserted his authority vigorously. Until his coming it is not too much to say that the power of appointment had been taken from the President and usurped by the Senate. The new President assumed his rightful prerogative, and stubbornly refused to consider any but one test in making such appointments—that of efficiency. Thus it happened that, under his administration, the diplomatic and consular services, customs and internal revenue collectorships, federal judgeships, and the larger post-offices of the country, were graded up and greatly improved and freed from the control of political bosses and bitter partisanship. The change of the standard of appointment thus inaugurated was little short of a revolution. It practically ended the old spoils system, and made public office a public trust in fact as well as in name.

During his administration, the army and navy were reorganized with a completeness and sense of proportion that not only secured higher efficiency, but commanded the respect and admiration of all practical minds. Mr. Roosevelt, as President, succeeded in large measure in inoculating the entire Government service with his own high conceptions of public duty and practicality. He raised the tone and multiplied the zeal of State servants. He established an *esprit de corps* in public service unknown before.

He entered the presidency at a time when private and corporate interests had assumed a predominance over the common weal. His own party had become hedged in with capitalistic interests. It was the era of the millionaire and the multi-millionaire, the Giant Monopoly, and the Lawless Trust. In the growing power of plutocracy; in the keen sense of social injustice; in the misgovernment of large cities; in the alliance of the capitalist and the politician, the millionaire and the boss; in the prevalence of public and private graft; in the piling up of stupendous individual fortunes on the one hand, in the face of increasing want and woe on the other; in the decay of popular confidence in the impartiality of courts and the justice of government, he discerned conditions that must be met and cured if the social and political health of the nation should be preserved. This made him the apostle of the "Square Deal." Through insistent public speech, through repeated messages to Congress, he made his urgent appeal for justice, justice to labor, to capital, to the citizen, to the corporation. He attacked rampant radicalism on the one hand and blind conservatism on the other. He sought the wise adaptation of equitable democrary to new conditions. He strove to avert cataclysmic disaster by conservative progress.

He won for the Interstate Commerce Commission real authority over the railways; he utilized the courts and Government bureaus, new and old, to bring to light the evil practices of corporations; he succeeded in bringing the stock-yards and packing-houses under federal inspection; he secured an Employers' Liability Act for all engaged in Government service or interstate commerce; he fostered the eight-hour work day; he secured a pure food act; he investigated the question of child labor; he advocated income and inheritance taxes, so as to bring wealth to a sense of its duties and responsibilities.

But of all his activities, perhaps the stand he took on behalf of the conservation of the nation's natural resources, and the betterment of the conditions of rural life was the most productive and far-reaching. During his administration the forest reserves of the country were quadrupled, and the Government's title to oil and coal lands remaining in the public domain was perpetuated. A National Irrigation Act was passed which was likely to prove of even greater benefit than the Homestead Act.

In matters of foreign policy, the Roosevelt administration was conspicuous. The story of the President's successful intervention between Russia and Japan is told in other pages. He played a prominent part in the Algeciras Conference. The intervention of the United States to restore order in Cuba, and the withdrawal from the island when the Government had been re-established, was a feature of his administration. The remission of a large part of the Chinese Boxer indemnity after American losses had been met had a very salutary effect among the nations.

That the Panama Canal became a fact was due largely to the capacity of Theodore Roosevelt for doing things. He settled the trouble with Japan over the immigration question with a fairness which won the approval of that nation. He enforced a new and broad view of the Monroe Doctrine, a view acceptable alike in Europe and South America. He intervened in San Domingo, took over its finances, liquidated its affairs, and left the little Republic more stable and prosperous than ever before. With Canada, Haiti, Germany, Japan, Russia, Turkey, and other nations, he dealt with a recognized spirit of directness, candor, and justice.

William Jennings Bryan stands as a unique figure in American history. Though bearing the distinction of having been thrice defeated as candidate for the Presidency, all reasonable men of all parties agreed in giving to him rank as one of the most extraordinary and interesting figures in American political annals. He grew to be one of the best known men of his nation and his time. His high position as a public personage, both at home and abroad, was gained and held without the prestige of public office and in the face of continued popular defeat. In 1907 he made a tour of the world, entirely in a private capacity. Yet no officer of the Government could have been received everywhere with greater rspect and demonstrations of popular interest.

Unsuccessful as an aspirant for political office, without high literary rank as an author, without position or influence as an executive in industry or finance, inconspicuous as a lawyer, what gave to Mr. Bryan his undeniable prominence and personal influence? He was the prophet, the preacher, the moral teacher of his generation. His was the "voice of one crying in the wilderness" for righteous and straight paths. He was an Elijah, reproving his people for their sins, rousing them from lethargy, a Nathan saying fearlessly to the offender of any rank, "Thou art the man." He made it easier for

men of executive ability, like Roosevelt and Taft, to become the Moses and the Joshua who should lead the people up out of bondage and through the wilderness into the promised land of equal opportunity. "I am interested in the science of government," said Mr. Bryan. "I have devoted a large part of my life

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JOHN A. JOHNSON.

to its study. But I am more interested in religion. I enjoy making political speeches, but I more enjoy making religious addresses, and I shall be speaking in the church after I have retired from the stump."

In September, 1909, the nation suffered a serious loss in the death of Governor John A. Johnson, of Minnesota. His life was one of the finest illustrations of American opportunity well used. Born of Scandinavian immigrant parentage, his father a ne'er-do-well, his mother was compelled to support her children by her own hard labor until the time John, the oldest, at the age of twelve, left school to aid her by service at ten dollars per month. Yet from these untoward conditions he worked out such educational attainments and such standing as made him three times Governor of his State, and candidate for nomination for the Presidency of the United States, before his unfortunate death at the early age of forty-eight.

In 1901 he was a member of the State Senate, where he so made his mark that in 1904 he was Democratic candidate for Governor, and was elected, although the State gave a Republican majority of 161,000 to President Roosevelt. In 1906 and again in 1908 this Democrat was re-elected Governor in this strong Republican State. In 1908, in the Democratic National Convention, Governor Johnson was the most formidable candidate against William J. Bryan for the nomination for the Presidency. His growth in the political world was so rapid, so steady, that it appeared that higher honors awaited him but for his untimely death.

He had a most winning personality, he was honest, brave, and independent. A Democrat by conviction, controlled by the highest ideals, he was the sturdy defender of popular rights when opposed by private interests. He had the wholesome spirit of the West, which values men over property and human rights over money. Here was part of his "Creed of the West":

"Generations of men shall come and go, and the glories of this noon vanish before to-morrow's sun. Yet the West—the Mecca of the free, the brave, the patriotic American—shall not only endure while the spirit of the pioneers animates their sons, but will bear nobly its part in the struggle for better social and economic

conditions in the mastery of the elements and in the evolution of the ages. We have reason to hope that, in the future as in the past, the West will be true to its traditions, and that, to the remotest generation, liberty will be as sweet and progress as glorious as they were to our fathers."

On March 4, 1909, William Howard Taft, at the age of fifty-two, became the twenty-seventh President of the United States. No other man called to assume the responsibilities of that high office came to it so well equipped by wide and varied experience and training. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857, of distinguished parentage, he grew up in an atmosphere of stern regard for public duty. Of splendid physique and unusual intellectual endowment, his progress was marked from the beginning. In his early youth he took the first collegiate and academic honors, and, when but barely in the years of manhood, he attained high rank and recognition in the legal profession. As Judge in State and Federal Courts, as Solicitor General of the United States, as Governor of the Philippines, as Secretary of War—which included the work of Colonial Secretary and Director of great public works—as chief adviser to the President, and Diplomat Extraordinary to the nations, he had proved equal to unusual tasks and herculean labors.

His impetuous and iconoclastic predecessor had left to him a heritage of "policies" and unfinished tasks which required for their successful disposition indomitable courage, the most patient and persistent perseverance, the ripest wisdom, unusual diplomacy, and an immense capacity for hard work. To these tasks the new President brought a full equipment.

He selected for his advisers and as members of his Cabinet:

Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Franklin MacVeagh, of Illinois; Secretary of War, Jacob McGavock Dickinson, of Tennessee; Secretary of the Navy, George von L. Meyer, of Massachusetts; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, of Iowa; Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, of Washington; Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Charles Nagel, of Missouri; Attorney-General, George W. Wickersham, of New York; Postmaster-General, Frank H. Hitchcock, of Massachusetts.

Early in his administration it became evident that it was the desire of Mr. Taft to be the President of the whole people, rather than to establish himself merely as the leader of his own party. He sought to obliterate rather than to emphasize sectional and partisan lines, and to correct evident evils by judicial, rather than arbitrary, methods. The popular estimate in which he was held was well expressed in some of the terms applied to him, such as "the Great Pacificator," "Secretary of Peace," "Father of the Filipinos," "Winner of the South," etc.

On September 15, 1909, President Taft set out upon a long journey through the country to "see the people." He started from his summer home near Boston, his journey covering over 13,000 miles and penetrating thirty States and Territories. He was greeted everywhere by official receptions and great popular ovations. In his numerous addresess he discussed with the utmost frankness the many pending questions of public interest. Thus the people were made acquainted with his views and attitude. In turn he embraced every opportunity to inform himself of the needs and wishes of the people in all the sections he visited. He himself was fond of saying that the Chief Executive had come to be the direct and only representative in the National Government of all the people. On this long journey in

the early part of his administration he sought to put himself *en rapport* with the people, to win their confidence and support. In this he had marked success, thus disarming both partisan rancor and sectional prejudice in a large measure, and making possible practical co-operation of citizens of all parties and sections in carrying out needed reforms and wholesome policies. Returning, he reached Washington, November 15, and, aided by the observations and experiences of his trip, set to work upon the preparation of his first annual message to Congress. The Sixty-first Congress met December 8, 1909. The President's message proved to be a conservative-progressive document, giving much satisfaction to the public generally and arousing but little opposition or criticism.

In October, 1909, an international incident occurred so far out of the ordinary that it established a new precedent. President Porfirio Diaz of Mexico crossed the border at El Paso, Texas, and made a formal call upon President William H. Taft of the United States, at that time passing through that city. A few hours later President Taft crossed over to Mexican soil and called upon President Diaz in Ciudad Juarez, where the two Presidents afterward sat down to an elaborate banquet. These calls were without any special significance, being only formal courtesies. These two men had under their charge the greater part of the North American Continent, and, though Presidents of republics, possessed more initiative and executive authority than monarchs of the old world. Yet their formal meeting and clasping of hands made no ripple in the great world of diplomacy and politics, and was recognized only as a breaking away from the long established traditions, and symbolic of growing friendship and intercourse between two great neighboring nations.

In the opening years of the new century in the United States two domestic questions exceeded all others in public interest and importance. These were the combinations of capital, popularly known as *trusts,* and the relations between laborer and employer. Both were the consequences of economic evolution, the resultants of economic forces brought into play by the rapid development of the resources of the country.

A "trust," as popularly understood, meant a consolidation, combine, pool, or agreement of two or more naturally competing concerns, which resulted in the establishment of a limited monopoly, with power to fix prices or rates in any industry or group of industries.

The year 1899 had made a startling record in industrial consolidations. At the opening of the century the United States Steel Corporation was a conspicuous example of the new industrial order. The "Steel Trust" had been organized with a capitalization of $1,100,000,000. The census of 1900 showed one hundred and eighty-three combinations in control of twenty-two hundred manufacturing plants. Twenty-three of the one hundred and eighty-three operated in the production of foods or other necessaries of life. It was estimated that the actual total assets of these corporations were two hundred and sixteen million dollars less than their capital stock and bonds. The financial value of the remaining portion of the capital depended upon good will, upon the control of markets, and upon the elimination of intermediate processes between the collection of the raw material and the output of the finished product.

By the end of 1902 some 850 of these trusts or industrial combinations had been formed. They had a capitalization of $9,000,000,000. If the railroad consolidations were included, the outstanding

capital would be brought up to $15,000,000,000.

Beside the regularly incorporated industrial trusts, there were innumerable price and rate-fixing agreements, profit-sharing pools, selling or buying agencies, product-restricting understandings, etc. These existed in nearly every industry and in nearly every State and city. The industrial trusts and other like monopolistic combinations were made possible primarily through the tariff system which protected them from foreign competition. Through this shielding, the "infant" industries rapidly grew into such great proportions that they soon dominated their special lines of production, and had such control of raw materials, means of transportation, facilities for production, and sales agencies, that successful competition from any source was impossible.

Natural monopolies, such as railroads, street railways, gas, electric light, and water companies were not classed properly as trusts, for they were not made up of naturally competing concerns. These were based principally upon the possession of franchises, municipal or otherwise. Consolidations and price and rate-fixing agreements in these industries existed in nearly every city in the country.

The danger to be apprehended from these combinations arose from their interference with legislation and a free working of the laws. The railway interests produced an armed revolution accompanied by assassination in one State; in another the United States Senator of their choice was indicted for complicity in frauds upon the public; while the control of the entire official machinery of a third was shown to be exercised by the corporate interests within its borders. The exploitation of the public in the name of the people for the benefit of favored classes became an alarming symptom of political degeneracy.

The ease with which trusts could be organized, transportation agreements with railroads effected, and municipal franchises secured, soon resulted in vast combinations of capital which practically controlled and exploited for private gain almost the entire industry and commerce of the country. As a consequence it soon developed that the business of the country had become so organized with wheels within wheels, that a very small group of individuals were in substantial control of the production, transportation, and commercial and financial agencies and activities of the nation. This monopolistic controlling group became known in popular phrase as the "System," and the monopolized industries as the "Interests."

The Trusts—otherwise the System and Interests—so monopolized business, controlled prices, dominated labor, corrupted office-holders, and manipulated politicians and parties, that great popular indignation arose, and governmental agencies, federal, State, and municipal, sought to bring them under restraint and control. Beginning with the century and running through the decade up to 1910, the prominent planks in nearly every party platform, State and national, were directed against "combinations in restraint of trade." Congress and Legislatures were flooded with anti-trust bills, and the courts became loaded down with cases against the trusts. Congress adopted the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in 1890, and the Elkins Anti-Rebate Act in 1906. Nearly every State hastened to enact anti-trust measures.

To record here the numerous suits brought under these various acts is impossible. In 1907 the United States Government brought six suits under the Sherman Act, and thirty-four under the Elkins measure. Other years were in about the same proportion. Among the notable cases was that against the Northern Se-

curities Company. This was a New Jersey corporation organized for the purpose of holding the majority of the stock of the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railways, two parallel and naturally competing lines. By means of the holding company a practical merger or pooling arrangement between the roads was accomplished, without affecting their individuality, independence, or actual ownership, but eliminating competition between them. Under a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1904 the Securities Company was declared a "combination in restraint of trade," and was ordered dissolved.

Another notable case in 1907-8 was the enforced dissolution of the Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal pool, in which eight railroads, owning both mines and transportation, had merged their interests through a system of rebates, and cut out all competition.

In the suit of the State of Texas against the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, the jury, June 1, 1907, brought in a verdict which found that branch of the Standard Oil monopoly guilty on 2,521 counts of violating the Anti-Trust law of 1903, and fixed the penalty at a fine of $1,623,000 and revocation of the license to do business in the State.

In August, 1907, a fine of $29,240,000 was imposed upon the Standard Oil Company by Judge K. M. Landis, of the United States District Court at Chicago, for compelling and accepting rebates from railroads. In July, 1908, this verdict was set aside upon a technicality by the United States Court of Appeals, and the case remanded for new trial. Thereupon the Attorney General filed a petition to have the case reviewed by the Supreme Court. At this time there were twenty-one other criminal cases pending against the Standard and its subsidiaries.

The federal authorities brought an action in the United States District Court, sitting at St. Paul, Minn., asking for the dissolution of the "Standard Oil Trust," the parent organization, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. In November, 1909, the Court handed down a most important and far-reaching decision relative to the power of the Government to supervise and regulate combinations and corporations formed in restraint of trade. The court held in effect that Congress had full power to regulate and control contracts and forms of business in so far as to prevent monopoly or restraint of trade; also that, where a corporation has power to restrain trade and obtain monopoly, the assumption is that it will do so; that the combination of several corporations into one by the exchange of stock is a potent method of restraining competition, since it makes the power represented by all the combined companies easier to exercise. The court found the Standard Oil Company guilty under the three charges, and ordered its dissolution within thirty days.

These three holdings covered in effect the entire field of the restraint of trade, the destroying of competition, and the establishment of monopoly. The decision put an end to the merging, under one control, of numerous corporations engaged in the same line of business, and especially affected various large railway, telegraph, and industrial combinations. This decision brought into prominence the distinction between a holding company and an operating company. A holding company was regarded as a cloak or a subterfuge for escaping legal responsibility and restraint. It was the desire and purpose of the Government to break up and destroy all such holding combines. Where properties were held and industries conducted by operating companies it was possible to locate responsibility, to exercise oversight, and to regulate questions of taxation,

franchises, criminal liability, and so on. The contention had not been against combinations, because they were big and successful, but because they were dishonest both in purpose and method. The Oil Company announced an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The cases cited are only samples of the

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JOHN MITCHELL.

many prosecuted in the State and federal courts. They were all fought bitterly by the "Interests," involving tedious delays and heavy expenses. In the few cases which came to a final hearing and were decided in favor of the commonwealth, it generally was soon discovered that, although there was nominal acquiescence, the same interests continued active in the field in some new guise.

The consolidation of industries into large combinations involved the sudden closing of many old-time plants, the more or less arbitrary readjustment of wage scales, and other changes and influences which resulted in hardship and aroused apprehension in the labor world. This greatly increased the tension between capital and labor, and led to many cases of open rupture. The unwonted organization of capital induced a corresponding activity in the organization of labor. Strange to say that while the "Captains of Industry" so earnestly advocated and so extensively practiced the organization of capital, they, with equal earnestness and persistence, opposed the organization of labor. Hence it came about that, while there were many disputes over questions of wages and hours, often the primary cause of disturbance arose from an attempt to exclude the labor unions entirely on the one hand, or to unionize all the workmen on the other.

One of the most serious labor conflicts was in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania. In 1900 the miners and operators made an agreement good until April 1, 1901, granting a ten per cent. increase in wages, but deferring the settlement of other differences until that time. In the spring of 1901 John Mitchell, the President of the United Mineworkers, with the presidents of the local unions, made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a basis of operations for the ensuing year. The agreement of the preceding year was continued, but with an understanding among the miners that all differences would be adjusted in 1902. The chief question was the recognition of the union, and to this the operators were decidedly opposed. It transpired that the operators had been preparing for the crisis, and had decided to test finally the strength of the miners' organization. President Mitchell, who ranked as one of the strongest, most statesmanlike, and altogether admirable labor leaders that the

country had produced, counseled patience, hoping to avert the struggle, but his efforts were unavailing. The miners were no less thoroughly prepared for the contest than the operators.

The strike began the middle of May, and within a month all mining operations had ceased. All attempts to submit the question to arbitration were met by the operators' statement that there was nothing to arbitrate. The situation became alarming. Supplies of coal were decreasing rapidly, prices were increasing in proportion. An attempt was made to call out the miners in the bituminous coal regions, in a sympathetic strike, but, largely through the influence of Mr. Mitchell, previous contracts were respected, while the cause of their Eastern brethren was strengthened by liberal contributions for their support.

Public opinion demanded that some effective means be taken to end a situation which was rapidly becoming intolerable. President Roosevelt summoned to Washington the heads of the various railroad companies involved, and President Mitchell, of the Mineworkers, with the hope that a conference in his presence might lead to peace. Mr. Mitchell, for the miners, agreed to submit their cause to any board of arbitration that the President might appoint, but the operators, lecturing the President upon the duties of his office and the divine rights of capital, refused the proffered mediation, and asked for federal troops, claiming that with proper protection the mines could be opened.

As an answer to this request, Governor Stone ordered the entire National Guard of Pennsylvania into the coal regions. There was practically nothing for them to do. The mine laborers were either enrolled in the union or in sympathy with it, and there were no signs of weakness in the ranks of the workers; moreover, there was very little violence of any sort. Evidently the operators had misplaced the source of their opponents' strength.

When it became clear that the overtures of the President had failed, that several citizens of the United States had been guilty of gross disrespect to the Chief Executive—a disrespect which bordered closely upon insult—there was a popular demand for more radical measures. Confiscation and federal or state operation, prosecution under federal laws, were among the measures advocated to conclude the strike. However, finally, the operators agreed to the appointment by the President of a Board of Arbitrators to be selected from specified classes which they presumed might be favorable to themselves. There was obviously an insult to the President's judgment and integrity in the proposition, but, instead of rejecting it, the proposal was accepted and the board appointed, consisting of General Wilson, of the Army, Bishop Spalding of Peoria, Ill., Judge Gray of the Federal Judiciary, Edward Parker of the Geological Survey as a mining expert, Thomas Watkins, formerly an independent coal operator, and Edgar E. Clark, Chief of the Order of Railway Conductors. The services of one of the greatest sociological experts in the United States, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, were secured by appointing him Recorder of the Board. The miners accepted the arrangement and mining began about the first of November.

The Commission made its report March 21, 1903, ten months after the strike had been declared, and the finding was, in most respects, a victory for the miners. Wages were increased and hours reduced; improvements were made in the method of estimating the amount of coal mined, and, while the Mineworkers' Union was not formally recognized, the fact that the agreement assumed an organization to en-

force it or abide by it, was, in itself, full recognition of its existence.

In the five years, 1901-5, there were 13,964 strikes, involving 2,033,196 strikers. Of the strikes ordered by organized labor, 61 per cent. succeeded or partly succeeded, as against the success or partial success of 39 per cent. of the strikes by unorganized labor. Of the 13,964 strikes noted above, 803 were settled by joint agreement, and 223 by arbitration.

During the decade the powers and duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission were enlarged and defined. At its annual meeting at Washington in January, 1906, the National Board of Trade passed a resolution recommending that the Interstate Commerce Commission should constitute a board to which all who had knowledge of unfair railroad rates might apply for relief. The Commission should be empowered to make an investigation and present the case to the courts. If it should be decided that the rates were unreasonable the Commission should have the authority to substitute a rate of its own for that found to be unfair; the railroad interested, however, having the right to appeal to the court if dissatisfied.

In February the Supreme Court of the United States rendered an important decision to the effect that railroads can not deal in the commodities which they haul over their own lines. This decision removed one of the greatest evils in the matter of railroad rates, for it deprived several important roads which owned coal mines of traffic in their product, by means of which millions of dollars had formerly been wrung from consumers. In March, after long debate, the House passed what was known as the Hepburn bill, by a vote of 346 to 7. The bill authorized the Interstate Commission to fix upon a just and reasonable rate for roads, which should be regarded as the maximum rate, and authorized the Commission to go into court for the enforcement of any disputed order. A penalty of $5,000 was provided for each offense, and in case of continued violation each day to count as a separate offense. For two months the bill was contested in the Senate. The bill, after amendment, was at last passed by a vote of 71 to 3. As passed, it made pipe lines, private car lines, express companies, and palace-car companies common carriers; it forbade railroads and other carriers owning or having interest in the articles transported by them; it restored the penalty of imprisonment for persons found guilty of giving rebates, and increased the amount of fines; it provided that a person soliciting or compelling a rebate should be subject to a fine equal to three times the amount of the rebate; it required railroads to keep books which should at all times be free to the inspection of the Commission, and forbade the giving, with certain exceptions, of interstate passes.

A hopeful sign in the strife between capital and labor was seen in the three years' agreement entered into April 29, 1909, between the Pennsylvania anthracite miners and operators. The stipulations in the agreement practically covered the demands of the miners except that they did not formally recognize the Mine-workers' Union. The concessions granted, however, tended to strengthen the union, and encouraged the hope of later recognition.

In the first decade of the new century the question of subsidizing American merchantships was under constant discussion. In 1860, at the opening of the Civil War, when the bulk of the ocean carrying trade was in wooden ships, the American merchant marine was about as extensive as that of England, and incomparably greater than that of any other country. By the end of the war it had almost dis-

appeared from the seas, and had never after revived. It seemed anamolous that the greatest producing nation of the world should allow its commerce to be carried under foreign flags.

President McKinley, in his message to the Fifty-seventh Congress in 1900 recommended "immediate action on the measures to promote American shipping and foreign trade," and based this urgency upon the fact that "American vessels during the past three years have carried only about nine per cent. of our exports and imports." This message was in response to a long-continued and urgent demand from certain quarters that the American merchant marine engaged in foreign trade was the one important American industry not protected by tariff or otherwise, and that shipping interests should be encouraged by governmental subsidies.

Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, had presented a bill providing a subsidy of $9,000,000 a year for ten years to be paid to American vessels engaged in foreign trade, seventy per cent. to ships in the Atlantic trade, and thirty per cent. to ships in the Pacific trade. Senator Hanna, of Ohio, lent his powerful influence to the support of the measure, and a vigorous propaganda in its support was inaugurated.

But public opposition to the principle of the subsidy proved too strong to be overcome, and the whole subject was passed on to later congresses and administrations. The bill was modified from time to time, and had the support of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. In 1910 it had become a ship "subvention" instead of a ship "subsidy" demand. But the change in name did not disarm the opposition to the policy of the measure, and the end of the decade found the question apparently no nearer solution than at the beginning.

The main arguments put forth for the subsidy system were that nearly all foreign countries subsidized their merchant marine, thus putting the unsubsidized American shipowner under a serious handicap. The American people were paying annually to foreign shipowners $150,000,000, thus supporting and building up foreign sea power instead of their own. It was argued that the establishment of American sea-going vessels would increase foreign trade. The building up of a large merchant marine would vastly increase the naval power of the nation in case of war, providing available vessels and trained seamen in case of emergencies. Each term of Congress was appropriating from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars to build battleships and cruisers of no direct economic value whatever, and at the same time leaving this superb naval equipment ineffective from lack of domestic transports and colliers to carry supplies. The American people were digging the Panama Canal, the greatest and most costly project of the age, for the benefit of foreign shipping, since they had so few vessels of their own. The trade of South America and the Orient and of other parts of the world was going to other nations because there were no American vessels to go after it.

To such arguments the opponents of the subsidy program replied that American capital found more profitable investment in railroads, mines, agriculture, and manufactures, than in ship-building and foreign commerce; that it was more profitable to employ foreign ships with their lower cost and cheaper labor than to support an American equipment; that America failed to secure foreign trade, not so much from lack of American carrying vessels as from the fact that other lines of effort paid better, and that proper efforts were not put forth to secure it.

It was a mistake to assume that providing vessels would increase trade; on the contrary, a growing trade would soon find plenty of vessels without offering a premium. If larger naval forces and resources were required the country was well able to establish them directly, which would be the saner and more economical and efficient method. It was also pointed out that other nations did not subsidize their merchant marine to the extent often asserted, and that as a matter of fact the success of their shipping was not dependent upon subsidies, but upon other conditions. It was argued also that the United States could not maintain its protective tariff system, and at the same time build up a merchant marine even with the aid of liberal subsidies. Finally, an American merchant marine would again appear whenever it would pay, and that without any coaxing or artificial aid.

Up to the year 1867 the United States possessed only contiguous continental territory. In that year Alaska, continental, but not contiguous, was added. Since that date there had been acquired the Hawaiian Islands, in 1897; Porto Rico, Pine Islands, Guam, in 1898; the Philippine Islands and the Samoan group, in 1899; additional Philippines in 1901; the Panama Canal Zone, in 1904. The acquisition of these possessions, lying in near and remote waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, was a radical departure from the old and traditional policies which had led to national health and greatness.

It was notable that nearly all of these new possessions were inhabited by Spanish-speaking peoples. Moreover, a protectorate over Cuba had been established, relations with Mexico and the South American states had grown intimate, and active connections with the Central American states had become necessary. Thus the United States in a short time had come into control of or close connection with the entire Spanish-speaking world, which ranked next to English-speaking peoples in numbers.

Now, for a third time within a hundred years the constitutional status of newly-acquired territory became the subject of discussion.

When the reverses of Napoleon threw the vast expanse of the Louisiana Purchase into the hands of Jefferson and his associates, the leaders of the administration and many of their opponents doubted the constitutionality of the proceedings adopted. The Louisiana treaty proposed to admit the citizens of that territory to all the privileges of citizens of the United States. Jefferson and Madison believed that the United States might acquire the territory, but that there was no power granted by the Constitution under which the privileges of Statehood might be conferred. At this time the interpretation of the Constitution was in the hands of the men who formed it, and some of them urged that the new territory could not be admitted as States, but must be governed as provinces. This was felt to be contrary to American principles, but no persistence on Jefferson's part could secure the constitutional amendment which he considered necessary to legalize the admission of Louisiana as a State.

The question came up again at the close of the Mexican War, when the existence and protection of slavery in the ceded territory depended upon the operation of the Constitution over it. Calhoun and his followers held that the Constitution, with all its rights and privileges, extended of itself over the territory as soon as it became subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Webster was equally emphatic in opposition. "The Constitution," he said, "is extended over the United States and can extend over nothing else. It can not be extended

over anything except the old States, and the new States which shall come in hereafter, when they shall come in."

Similarly, in 1900, much was heard of the doctrine that the "Constitution follows the flag." Many questions arose, some new, some old, which in one way or another found their way before the courts. The Supreme Court interprets the Constitution incidentally as cases arise. In these new "Insular Cases," by five to four the court decided that, so far as foreign nations are concerned, the territories under jurisdiction of the United States (Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Panama, Philippines, etc.), are a part of the United States and subject to its protection by treaty and otherwise. But, domestically, these territories are not a part of the United States, not having been admitted to the Union of States, but are merely territories subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to be governed by Congress as directed by the Constitution. The Constitution does not extend of itself to these territorial possessions, but it does extend over Congress, which must be controlled in its treatment of territories by the directions and limitations of the Constitution. Thus Congress may not authorize or permit slavery in the territories, because slavery is expressly forbidden by the Constitution, but it may make such tariff arrangements as it sees fit between the United States and the territories.

December 13, 1899, General Leonard Wood was made the Military Governor of Cuba, relieving General Brooke. Under General Wood's administration educational and sanitary reforms of the greatest importance were inaugurated and Cuban agriculture and commerce began to recover from the ravages of war. The beginnings of Cuban self-government were made in the municipalities. Upon the recommendation of President McKinley, elections were held for delegates to a constitutional convention, which was opened by General Wood, November 5, 1900. The work before the convention was to frame a constitution for the government of Cuba and to formulate the relations which, in the opinion of the convention should exist with the United States.

GEN. LEONARD WOOD.

The wishes of the latter Government had been intimated by the President, but when the convention met it was evident that a majority of the delegates preferred the complete independence of the island. The work of the convention was completed February 21, 1901, by the signing of a constitution which provided for a government much like that of the United States. The convention appointed

a committee to report upon the relations of Cuba to the United States. The majority of the committee favored complete independence, and were not disposed to grant to the United States other or more extensive powers than those given to any other foreign country. The acts of the military government of the United States were declared valid; the obligations of the Spanish-American treaty were recognized, and trade upon a basis of reciprocity was recommended.

This program was not satisfactory to the United States. If the United States withdrew her protection entirely it was feared that revolutions would follow, that foreign powers would obtain a foothold in the island, that the form and quality of government which the United States was pledged to secure would be endangered, and that further interference would be necessary. When the army appropriation bill reached the Senate, the desired measures were incorporated in what was known as the Platt amendment, and by this unusual and somewhat high-handed method the approval of the House was secured. By this enactment the amount of the public debt which Cuba might contract was limited, the United States was given the right to intervene to preserve the independence of Cuba, to provide for a Government adequate for the preservation of the rights of persons and property, and to secure continuation of the sanitary reforms already begun. In other words, the United States assumed the guardianship of the Republic of Cuba and the practical direction of its foreign affairs. Naval and coaling stations were to be sold or leased to the United States, and the ownership of the Isle of Pines was reserved for future determination. Moreover, the acceptance of this amendment in the form passed by Congress was made the condition under which the military government of the United States should cease and the self-government of Cuba begin.

Cuba protested and sent a commission to the United States to endeavor to secure changes in these conditions, but the terms of the Platt amendment finally were accepted. There was confidence that the United States would consent to a satisfactory reciprocity treaty by which many of the Cuban necessities would be relieved. Promises of assistance to secure such a treaty had been made, and it was again urged by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress. Here, however, opposition developed from those corporate interests whose incomes would be affected by a modification of the tariff in favor of Cuban products. The Sugar Trust, which had long fattened on legislative favors, was most determined in its opposition, and succeeded in having congressional action deferred.

The reciprocity treaty was made the subject of negotiation, however, and on December 17, 1901, was sent by the President to the Senate. Meanwhile the price of sugar increased, the fortunes of Cuba began to improve, and reasons for opposition to the treaty became of less weight. The provisions of the treaty were embodied in a bill passed March 17, 1902, by which a twenty per cent. reduction of the tariff on sugar was adopted. Cuba in return agreed to adopt the immigration laws of the United States. The harbors of Guantanamo on the south and Bahia Honda on the north coast of the island were obtained by the United States for naval stations, and the Isle of Pines was returned to Cuba.

The vision of Cuban independence cherished for half a century was now finally realized. May 20, 1902, the American flag was replaced by the Cuban emblem, raised by the hand of its most able living defender, General Gomez. The scars of war on the face of nature and in the hearts

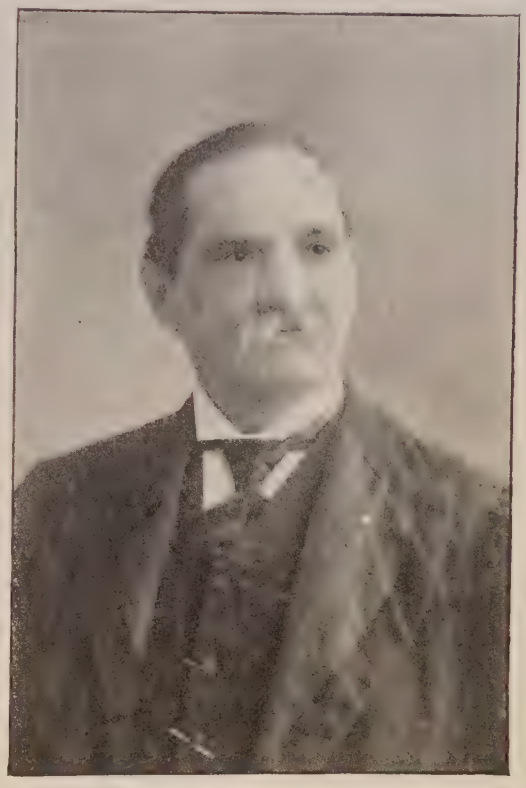
of the people were healing rapidly, and Cuba took an honorable and responsible position among the nations of the Western World.

As set forth in part in previous pages, when the last Cuban insurrection against Spain broke out, Tomas Estrada Palma was the well-beloved master of an excellent school in the peaceful village of Central Valley, New York. For a long period of years he had lived in the United States. When the revolution began Palma was made the trusted representative of Cuba in the United States. He was the warm personal friend and adviser of General Maximo Gomez, the head of the revolution, and had the confidence of the American Government. He was a man of broad intelligence and high probity, a gentle idealist, rather than a warrior, although he had taken part in the "Ten Years' War" between Cuba and Spain, 1868-1877, and was for a short time President of the revolutionary Cuban Republic. He was captured by the Spaniards at that time and held prisoner until released at the end of the war in 1878.

Palma became the first President of the new Cuban Republic in 1902. He served through his first term with credit and general confidence. He was much devoted to the development of Cuba's resources. Himself honest and idealistic, he had little suspicion of others, and hence gave scant attention to the proper political, civil, and military organization of the new republic.

The seeds of revolution always flourish in Cuban soil. Taking advantage of the situation, scheming politicians secured the election of President Palma for a second term, in 1905, by an overwhelming vote, but in such a way as to provoke violent criticism. Conditions were aggravated by various American commercial interests, more particularly the "Tobacco Trust." These interests, with $160,000,000 capital invested in Cuba, schemed for the annexation of the island by the United States, so as to secure better control, escape from tariff, duties, etc.

From the date of his election for the second term, the opponents of Palma



THOMAS ESTRADA PALMA,
First President of Cuba.

grew ever more assertive, and the insurrectionary spirit gathered force as a long series of grievances, real and fictitious, were paraded before the inflammatory minds of the disappointed and discontented. By August, 1906, the insurrection, sporadic and confined to the naval districts hitherto, took on the aspect of a real civil war. Palma, unprepared, in a panic, appealed for American support on the plea of the protection of American interests. This led to the landing in Havana on September 13 of a few Amer-

ican marines. The marines were at once withdrawn, however, to give the Cubans another opportunity to compose their own differences. The situation continued grave, and, on September 14, President Roosevelt, with the advice of the Cabinet, addressed a historic letter to the Cuban people. This letter reviewed at length the conditions under which the Cuban Government had been established and the relations of the United States thereto. Among its significant utterances were the following:

"Our intervention in Cuban affairs will only come if Cuba shows that she has fallen into the insurrectionary habit, and that she lacks the self-restraint necessary to secure peaceful self-government, and that her contending factions have plunged the country into anarchy. I solemnly advise all Cuban patriots to band together to sink all differences and personal ambitions, and to remember that the only way that they can preserve the independence of their republic is to prevent the necessity of outside interference by rescuing it from the anarchy of civil war."

Secretary of War William H. Taft and General Frederick Funston were sent to Havana. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Bacon, in the absence of Secretary Elihu Root in South America, lent his assistance. Both sides to the controversy were given a hearing. When it appeared that the United States was disposed to go behind the returns of the last election, the Palma administration stepped down and out. Secretary Taft assumed the temporary governorship. Chas. E. Magoon was transferred from the governorship of the Panama Canal Zone to succeed Taft as Provisional Governor of Cuba.

President Palma faced a most difficult position. He might either have plunged his country into the horrors of civil war or have surrendered to the other side and turned his government over to persons who had no shadow of a claim to it, or by resigning might precipitate the intervention of the United States. He chose the latter, and by his self-abnegation stamped himself as one of the truly great men of the time, a man capable of rising above all personal consideration and accepting with solemn resignation the bitter cup of personal humiliation in order to save his country from the inevitable consequence of a civil war and foreign aggression.

Under the administration of Governor Magoon steady progress was made toward complete pacification and internal peace in the island. The treasury and financial systems were reorganized, efficient municipal governments established, school systems approved, and political parties organized. Systems of public sanitation and modern highways were inaugurated.

In March, 1907, Secretary Taft and a party of United States Congressmen visisted the island. Secretary Taft announced a program for taking a census, for municipal and provincial elections, with general elections for President, Vice-President, and Congressmen to follow. In August, 1908, the first provincial and municipal elections under the new regime took place. These elections registered the wills of 3,000,000 people, and put into office several thousand men, and occurred with such tranquillity as no other election in Cuban history had known. The general election passed off with equal quiet. November 14, 1908, General Jose Miguel Gomez was chosen President, and Dr. Alfredo Zayas, Vice-President, as candidates of the new Liberal party. They were chosen by a large majority over the candidates of the Conservative party. A Congress was also chosen.

The new Congress met in January, 1909, and canvassed the electoral vote for President and Vice-President. On

January 28 the President and Vice-President were officially installed, and the entire administration of the Cuban Government was formally turned over to these officials by Provisional Governor Magoon. The United States troops began leaving the island January 1, 1909. Another detachment left January 28, following the installation of the new President, and the final detachment departed April 1.

Governor Magoon surrendered his office with all indebtedness incurred by the Provisional Government paid in full. He turned over to the new Cuban administration authority to issue bonds to the amount of $15,000,000 annually for three years, to be devoted to public works already undertaken, including the surveying and paving of the city of Havana, and the installation of water and sewer systems for Cienfuegos. Thus ended two years of American intervention in Cuba.

The condition of Porto Rico after the Spanish War demanded careful consideration with immediate effective legislation by the United States. The export of the principal products, coffee and tobacco, to Spain, which had hitherto been the important market, was no longer possible. A hurricane swept over the island in August, 1899, in which over two thousand lives were lost and twenty million dollars' worth of property was destroyed, including nine-tenths of the coffee crop. Many of the people were supported during the ensuing year by relief works, chiefly road building, under the direction of the Government. A system of public education was inaugurated and greatly extended. Public sanitation received due attention, while an effective police system restored order and broke up the remaining marauding bands.

It became evident that a definite plan to provide permanent relief for the financial distresses could be deferred no longer. A bill was passed by Congress which provided for a tariff equivalent to fifteen per cent. of the regular rates upon the imports into Porto Rico and upon Porto Rican products coming into the United States. The amounts so collected were to be applied solely for the benefit of Porto Rico.

A civil government of the usual territorial form was established. The chief officers were a governor, the other customary executive officers, and a council, of which five members were natives of the island. The President selected for the post of Civil Governor Mr. Charles H. Allen, of Lowell, Massachusetts, who had been known to the administration and the people as an able member of Congress and an efficient Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Dr. John H. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, was appointed treasurer,

CHARLES H. ALLEN,
First Civil Governor of Porto Rico.

and to his expert knowledge was due much of the successful rehabilitation of the finances.

The Legislative Assembly consisted of thirty-five members. A Territorial Supreme Court was established, and a District Court of the United States. Frederico Degetau was elected Resident Commissioner at Washington, reporting to the Executive rather than to Congress, but he afterward was advanced to the regular status of a territorial delegate.

The Porto Rican Legislature, in special session July 4, 1901, adopted a resolution to the effect that the finances were no longer in need of assistance by the enforcement of the rates adopted by the Foraker Act. Governor Allen felt that the work for which he was sent to Porto Rico had been accomplished. He now proposed to return to the United States, and was selected to carry the above resolution to the President. July 25, the anniversary of the landing of General Miles, all tariff restrictions were removed. William H. Hunt, of Montana, the Territorial Secretary, was advanced to the governorship, and Porto Rico became one of the Territories of the United States, with full territorial privileges.

The progress of the United States in the Philippines was destined to be less rapid and peaceful than in Porto Rico. At the beginning of 1901 the American forces were scattered widely throughout the islands, an arrangement satisfactory enough for police purposes, but tempting to would-be insurrectionists.

As the number of military posts was increased, and their surveillance became more widespread, the Filipinos abandoned the system of organized forces. Their soldiers, dressed in the native costume, by hiding their guns and associating with the other inhabitants, passed for friends of the Americans. They were thus enabled to plot successfully against the Government, and, by persuasion or threat, to collect money or supplies for the support of their cause.

Aguinaldo, the insurrectionary leader, determined to collect his forces for an attack upon the scattered detachments of United States troops. One of the messengers despatched upon this errand delivered his letters to the American authorities, thus suggesting to Brigadier-General Funston the ruse by which the insurgent leader was captured.

The Macabebes had shown themselves to be faithful and efficient scouts. It was proposed to have a detachment of them represent the expected reinforcements. They were accompanied by natives known to Aguinaldo, among them the faithless messenger, while the American officers in the party were reported to be prisoners, civilian members of a captured surveying party. When about eight miles from Aguinaldo's headquarters orders were received to leave the prisoners behind, but this order was succeeded by a forged one countermanding the first. Meanwhile the native detachment had pushed on to its destination. The arrival of the American officers and their small escort was the signal for the attack. Aguinaldo's guard fled at the first fire, leaving two of their number dead upon the field. Some members of his staff attempted resistance, but were easily overpowered, and the next day were, with their leader, safely taken aboard the *Vicksburg* and thence to Manila.

Soon after his capture Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and on April 19, 1901, a manifesto issued in his name led eventually to the surrender of about four thousand insurgents.

Meanwhile the American Commission was introducing self-government in the municipalities whenever possible and endeavoring to make plain to the inhab-

itants that the desire of the United States was peace rather than war. Over seven hundred municipalities elected presidents and councils, and great interest was shown in the workings of these newly constituted governments.

On December 18, 1901, the Philippine Commission presented a report upon conditions in the islands. The commission found that less than 10 per cent. of the Filipinos could even speak the Spanish language, much less read or write it. About seventy different native dialects were spoken. After four hundred years of Spanish rule, even in the pacified districts, which comprised the more intelligent and advanced portions of the archipelago, only about one person in sixty of the population was found qualified to vote, under a test which required ability to write either Spanish or English, or else a very moderate property qualification. The commission was convinced that the work of educating and training the Filipinos for self-government must be slow and tedious. President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress relating to the report of the commission, urged that, although the United States came into control of the Philippines, not from choice, but from circumstance, yet the nation could not shirk her duty and opportunity there. Reasserting the ideal of self-government for the Filipino people, yet he said the United States must remain in control until the inhabitants should become fitted by intelligence and training to administer their own affairs successfully.

Meanwhile the insurrectionary war continued. It was most serious in Samar, where exceedingly vigorous measures were necessary. The island was divided into districts and all friendly inhabitants were "concentrated" to prevent their giving aid to the insurgents.

A detachment of the army under Captain Preston, and of marines under Major Waller, succeeded in going through the whole length of the island. The insurgents gave no quarter and expected none. Treacherous attacks by supposedly friendly natives had been frequent, and the American troops determined to conduct a punitive campaign which should put an end to all resistance. Unfortunately, in order to obtain this result methods were used at times which find no place in civilized warfare, or even in the warfare of civilization against savagery. The consequence was much harsh, but not wholly, undeserved criticism at home, followed by a complete investigation of the conduct of the army in the Philippines, and a mild punishment of some of the officers engaged.

The United States acquired with the Philippines slavery and polygamy among the Mohammedan tribes. These evils could not be abolished at once, nor could measures be at once introduced looking to final abolition. Desired changes could be brought about only by the slow processes of civilization which would gradually work a revolution in tribal organization and dependence.

During the year 1903 the Philippines made satisfactory progress, and in no feature was this more marked than in popular education. During the year 1903 the schools enrolled about two hundred and fifty thousand children and adults in the day and night classes. This general awakening was followed by a deeper interest in government, in trade, and production, but it must not be forgotten that a large part of the population of the island was still uncivilized, and where such conditions existed progress must necessarily be slow.

One of the most potential sources of disorder in the Philippine Islands was the ownership of the "friars' lands" by three of its religious orders. These lands

amounted to 425,000 acres, and the tenants numbered something over 60,000. The attitude of the people was that these lands should be "nationalized," that is to say, appropriated, and this had been attempted by Aguinaldo's abortive constitutional convention. With the restoration of order by the United States, the religious bodies were entitled to go into the courts and recover from the tenants the rents which had been in arrears since 1896, and to eject them from the lands they had occupied, unless they admitted title and continued to pay rent. The tenants refused to do either, and the Government was face to face with the prospect of suits to evict 60,000 tenants, and in provinces already prone to disturbances and insurrections.

The situation was further aggravated by the disposition of the church, from lack of other competent priests, to return to the parishes as far as possible the identical priests who had been driven away from them. This aroused the greatest indignation in the parishes, which could end only in acts of violence.

The Government was in a serious dilemma. Vested property rights must be protected on the one hand and freedom of religion and speech secured to the friars on the other. A visit to Rome was made by Governor William H. Taft. A consultation with the Pope resulted in his sending to the islands an apostolic delegate with adequate powers. Subsequent negotiations resulted in the purchase of the lands by the United States Government for $7,000,000, and the agreement of the hierarchy to send no friars as parish priests into any parish when the Governor General made objection. With the Government as landlord the disposition to contest title disappeared, and a most threatening situation was overcome.

Following the *modus vivendi* arrangement, that was entered into in 1905, between San Domingo and the United States the improvement in the financial and political conditions of the island was remarkable. The treaty legalized in permanent form the provisions of the previous temporary arrangement and provided for a continuance of the *status quo* until the republic should be liberated from its debt-ridden condition. The record showed a remarkable development in commerce, improvement in business conditions, and increasing assurance of public security and freedom from revolution. The island in a short period had been elevated from financial chaos and political anarchy to a condition of comparative order and quiet.

One of the public questions of world-wide interest pending at the opening of the new century related to the proposed completion of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The history of the formation and failure of the old French Panama Company has been related elsewhere. In April, 1887, the Maritime Canal Company obtained a concession from the Nicaraguan Government providing for the completion of the waterway within twelve years. This company hoped to secure the aid of the United States, and various commissions were appointed to examine and report upon the financial and engineering problems involved. It was evident, however, that the project was a vast one for any corporation to undertake, and that the United States must be more than a stockholder in any such enterprise. Moreover, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty contained provisions preventing either England or the United States from securing territory upon the Isthmus, and committed any ship canal to the joint control of the two nations.

Neither country had much faith in the validity of these clauses of the treaty. American statesmen preferred its abroga-

tion by diplomatic methods, while Englishmen hoped to make the treaty provisions a basis for securing concessions elsewhere. For these and other reasons the canal project lagged until the Spanish War, when it was seen to be an ultimate necessity.

Meanwhile the United States Secretary of State and the British Ambassador were engaged upon a treaty which it was hoped would open the way for a satisfactory solution of the problem of control.

The treaty practically adopted the rules which governed the Suez Canal. The United States was given control only for the policing of the district and the maintenance of order, but had no rights superior to those of any other nation. The United States, moreover, guaranteed the use of the canal in peace and war to the ships of all nations. The Senate amended the treaty in such a fashion as completely to change its provisions, and provided formally for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer convention.

Meanwhile the Government of Nicaragua had taken possession of the property of the Maritime Canal Company at the expiration of the original concession. The way was now open for a new consideration of the subject.

A bill was introduced in the House on December 7, 1899, authorizing the President to secure the right of way for a canal from the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and appropriating an amount not to exceed one hundred and forty millions for the construction of the canal under the direction of the Secretary of War. When the bill was reported in the Senate it was delayed until after the amendment of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and until the action of the British Government upon the amended agreement might be known. This treaty was rejected by England, however, and this rejection not being published until after the adjournment of Congress, it became necessary to postpone the entire consideration until the next session.

Under the River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899, President McKinley had appointed a Canal Commission of nine members: Rear Admiral John G. Walker, U. S. N.; Colonel Peter C. Hains, and

REAR ADMIRAL JOHN G. WALKER,
President of First and Second Canal Commission.

Colonel Oswald H. Ernst, U. S. A.; George D. Morrison, William H. Burr, Alfred Noble, Lewis M. Haupt, Samuel Pasco, and Emory R. Johnson. One million dollars was appropriated for the expenses of the Commission, and the members were directed to make an exhaustive investigation of the merits of the various routes proposed, and to secure the most ample information obtainable, so that no other investigation or work preliminary

to construction would be necessary. The committee visited Paris, where they had access to the plans and papers of the Panama Company, after which they went to the Isthmus, investigating personally or by subcommittee the work previously done by engineers under their direction. The work of the Commission occupied three years, and the report was very complete. After demonstrating the impracticability of the Darien plans, the Commission summarized the various advantages of the Nicaragua and Panama routes, concluding that, from the standpoint of the engineering problems involved, there was little to recommend one route above the other. The solution of the question would depend upon the concessions of the different governments. The Panama route was still controlled by the new French Panama Company; moreover, the constant political revolutions in Colombia interposed another obstacle. The report of the Commission, after due weight given to these factors, was in favor of the Nicaragua route.

Meanwhile the French Panama Company was showing considerable activity in their efforts to dispose of property which they could not themselves improve. They estimated their assets as worth about one hundred and nine million dollars, but the possibility of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal caused them to modify their demands. Powerful influences were set at work to further their plans of sale.

The question of England's attitude toward the work was settled satisfactorily by a treaty concluded in November, 1901. On the 9th of January, 1902, the House passed the Hepburn bill adopting the Nicaragua route. When the bill came to the Senate it was found a majority of the Senate Committee favored a reconsideration of the Panama line, and a supplementary report from the Canal Commission recommended the payment of forty millions to the French company for all their franchises, rights, and property. It was proposed to acquire by purchase from the State of Colombia, for a right of way, a strip of territory about six miles wide. The House accepted the Senate recommendation and provided for a popular two per cent. loan of not more than one hundred and thirty millions for these purposes.

The United States attempted to make satisfactory terms with Colombia, or rather with that particular group of revolutionists then in power, which claimed to be the Government of Colombia. It became evident from the first attempt at negotiation that this impecunious republic proposed to drive as hard a bargain as possible with the United States. Colombia, urging a constitutional provision which forbade the alienation of territory, proposed a perpetual lease for a cash bonus of ten millions and an annual payment of a quarter of a million dollars. Furthermore, complete sovereignty was retained over the canal and its terminals. In return the United States was graciously permitted to construct the canal, paying all expenses therefor, and continuing the expensive maintenance of a police similar to that exercised over the Panama Railway.

This treaty, which, it may be affirmed, would never have been made with a stronger or more responsible power, was accepted by the United States. There was a disposition to grant even unreasonable concessions rather than to be open to the charge of coercion of a weaker neighbor. Moreover, careful estimates seemed to show that the payments provided in the treaty could be met from canal tolls, with a good margin for redemption of bond issues, improvements, and repairs. The cost, therefore, of rights and franchises would be fifty millions, of which forty were to be paid to

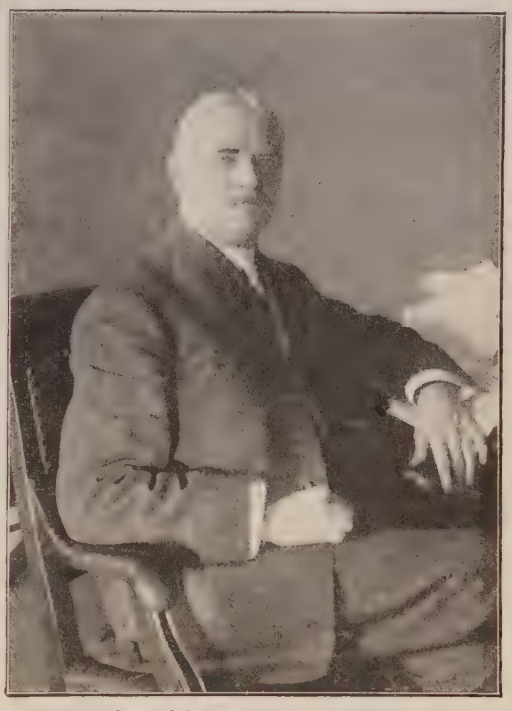
the new French Panama Company for the railroad, rights of way, franchises, and any other property which they might possess. The other ten millions were to go to the Colombian Government.

While Congress was preparing measures to authorize immediate work on the canal, persistent rumors were circulated to the effect that the Colombian Senate would refuse to ratify the treaty. The ready agreement by the United States to the ten-million bonus aroused the cupidity of these Central American statesmen, and they regretted that the sum of twenty-five millions had not been named. Finally, on the 12th of August, 1903, the treaty was rejected, possibly at the instigation of the American transcontinental railroad interests, which had been noted for their opposition to the Nicaragua Canal.

Upon the rejection of the treaty, popular favor reverted for a time to the Nicaragua route, but the French company, business interests in the State of Panama, and Americans favoring the Panama route, brought about a miniature revolution, which disposed of all difficulties. The Colombian Senate was caught in its own trap. On the 3d of November, 1903, the municipal council of the city of Panama proclaimed the independence of that State. Colon, and the other districts of the Isthmus, joined in the movement. On the 7th, M. Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French engineer, who had been associated with the former Panama companies, was appointed to represent the new government at Washington. Before the end of November the Republic of Panama was recognized by France and Germany, and on the 18th of that month the canal treaty was signed by representatives of Panama and the United States.

On April 28, 1904, Congress passed an act authorizing the payment of $10,000,000 to the Republic of Panama for the Canal Zone, and authorizing the President, by commission or otherwise, to provide for the government of said zone, and the proper administration of its affairs.

President Roosevelt appointed as members of the Isthmian Canal Commission to take charge of the construction of the canal and the government of the Canal



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COL. GEORGE W. GOETHALS.

Zone the following persons: Rear Admiral John G. Walker, U. S. N. (retired); William Barclay Parsons, New York; William H. Burr, New York; Benjamin M. Harrod, Louisiana; Carl Ewald Crunsky, California, and Frank J. Hecker, Michigan. The Commission was instructed by the President to report through the War Department, and General Davis of the Commission was appointed Governor of the Canal Zone. Mr. John F. Wallace, general manager of

the Illinois Railroad System, was appointed chief engineer of the canal.

On April 22, 1904, the property rights of the French Panama Canal Company in the canal were duly transferred by the company at Paris to the United States. On May 9 following the Panama Canal Company, in consideration for said transfer, was paid $40,000,000 by warrant of the Secretary of State on behalf of the United States.

More or less friction and misunderstanding developed in Panama in the early stages of the work on the canal. So disturbing did this become that in October, 1904, Secretary of War William H. Taft, at the instance of President Roosevelt, made a personal visit to Panama and the Canal Zone to reassure the authorities and the people of the entirely pacific intentions of the United States. As a result of Secretary Taft's diplomacy an amiable and entirely satisfactory understanding was reached and ratified in December by Secretary Taft on behalf of the United States, and President Amador on behalf of the Republic of Panama.

ALONG THE PANAMA CANAL.

The first Canal Commission continued in service for nearly a year, but for various reasons proved ineffective. On

April 3, 1905, President Roosevelt appointed a new Commission composed of seven persons, as follows: Theodore P. Shonts, Chairman; Charles E. Magoon, Governor; John F. Wallace, Chief Engineer; Rear Admiral M. T. Endicott, U. S. N.; Brigadier-General Peter C. Hains, U. S. A. (retired); Colonel Oswald H. Ernst, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.; Benjamin M. Harrod. In 1906 Joseph Bucklin Bishop was added to the Commission, and Charles E. Magoon was transferred to Cuba to act as governor of that island.

November 8 to 26, 1906, President Roosevelt made a visit to the Isthmus and a complete personal inspection, and reported to Congress his satisfaction with what he saw.

The original plan was to have the construction work done under the contract system. The contractors began operations May 1, 1904. On account of the slow progress of the work and unsatisfactory conditions in other respects, President Roosevelt, November 1, 1907, put the construction work into the hands of the army engineers, with Colonel George W. Goethals as Chief Engineer and Chairman of the Commission. During the first twelve months under army control, 35,016,024 cubic yards were removed, about twice as much as in the preceding two and one-half years.

The canal has a summit elevation of 85 feet above the sea, reached on the Atlantic side by a flight of three locks located at Gatun, and on the Pacific side by one lock at Pedro Miguel, and a flight of two locks at Miraflores. The canal is 50 miles in length from deep water in the Carribean Sea to deep water in the Pacific Ocean. The bottom width varies from 200 to 1,000 feet, and the minimum depth of water is 41 feet.

The original estimates of the probable cost of the canal were around $200,000,000. The report of the Commission in June, 1909, when the work was about one-half done, increased the estimates to $375,201,000, amounting to between $4 and $5 for each man, woman, and child in the United States. Reckoning the amount expended by the French Company before the United States took over the enterprise at $300,000,000, it brings the total cost of piercing the Isthmus of Panama up to nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars, as compared with $84,000,000 expended for the Suez Canal.

Probably the most important movement undertaken by the United States in the new century's opening decade was the reclamation and conservation of her natural resources. While the conservation campaign was directed chiefly to the public domain, yet the propaganda also included natural resources in private or corporate hands as well. Originally there were about two billion acres of public land subject to the authority and disposition of the Government. The Government had so much land, indeed, that it was disposed of in the most prodigal, not to say reckless, way. In order to encourage the rapid population of the great West one hundred and sixty acres of land was freely allotted to any citizen or intending citizen, not already the owner of that much or more land elsewhere, who would in good faith declare that he would actually settle upon and cultivate the land. The popular song of the day ran:

> "Come along, come along, make no delay;
> Come from every nation, come from every way;
> Come along, come along, don't you be alarmed,
> For Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm."

Millions of acres were taken up by settlers, or "homesteaders." At the same time the Government was defrauded outrageously by false entries by individuals,

and more particularly by corporations which surreptitiously secured possession of vast tracts of most valuable lands by using dummy locators and other unlawful means. Many millions of acres were given to railroads as subsidies to encourage their building. As a result of private pre-emption, righteous and unrighteous, individual and corporate, the vast public domain had shrunk to but one-third of its original proportions by the opening of the twentieth century.

The squandering and spoliation of the public lands finally produced such a scandal that the Government was compelled to take action. When the Government began its restrictions upon the misappropriation of the public lands, it was hampered by lack of information by inefficient organization and equipment, and also by insufficient available funds. These handicaps gradually were overcome, and by the middle of the decade the machinery of well-manned bureaus and of the courts was in active operation. Frauds right and left were uncovered, land recovered and protected, and land thieves high and low arrested and punished. Annual appropriations of $250,000 were made by Congress for the protection of public lands. In 1908 the appropriation was $500,000, and Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield made an earnest request that the amount be increased to $1,000,000 in 1909. At that date the total amount involved by all the land-fraud cases then under investigation was one hundred and ten million dollars. Immediate action in these and other cases was necessary, since the statute of limitations would soon intervene to protect many of those who had wrongfully taken possession of the public domain.

The National Forestry Service was established under President Cleveland. The Reclamation Act, passed in 1902, provided for forest and soil preservation and for making sterile, desert lands fertile through irrigation. The building of great dams to provide reservoirs for the storage of water was a feature of primary importance in a scheme for the preservation and development of natural resources. These dams and reservoirs were essential also for the proper control of the rivers, for their development as waterways, for the prevention of floods, and for the economical use of the waters for power and irrigation. The preservation of forests and reforestration were of like importance. The Government was now wide awake also to the necessity of the better control and wiser distribution and allotment of public lands, and to the necessity of husbanding more carefully nature's supplies of coal, oil, gas, and other valuable natural products. The reclamation, restoration, and preservation of the soil and improved methods of agriculture, also were included.

These subjects were given much prominence during the administration of President Roosevelt. Through his official messages, and through departmental and commission reports, the people were aroused to the facts that, in the last fifty years of the nineteenth century the nation had cut away nearly a million square miles of forest, had wasted billions of tons of coal—almost as much as had been used, had allowed oil and gas of untold value to go to waste, and had allowed water power worth millions of dollars annually to run idle, and had permitted an empire of most valuable public lands to pass into the hands of private persons or corporations, and practically without consideration. The time had already arrived when a timber famine was imminent, and when warning signs were appearing of coal and iron exhaustion. Over 600,000,000 acres of grazing lands had been reduced one-third in value from over-grazing and lack of control, and

navigable streams year by year in increasing measure were losing their usefulness and becoming more difficult to control by being filled with silt and debris due to soil erosion.

In February, 1908, President Roosevelt received, approved, and transmitted to Congress the report of the Inland Waterways Commission which had been appointed to investigate and report upon a comprehensive plan for the improvement and control of the river systems of the country. The President called a meeting of the Governors of all the States, and of other representative officials and citizens, to convene at the White House in May, 1908. In issuing this call he said:

"There is no other question now before the nation of equal gravity with the question of the conservation of our natural resources, and it is the plain duty of us, who for the moment are responsible, to take inventory of the natural resources which have been handed down to us, to forecast the needs of the future, and so to handle the great sources of our prosperity as not to destroy in advance all hope of the prosperity of our descendants."

The regular departments of the Government, such as the Forestry Service, the Reclamation Service, the Department of Agriculture, and the Geological Survey, were all strengthened and gave their aid. The meeting of the governors was a marked success. They favored a plan for future conferences of the same character, and for the appointment of State commissions to co-operate with the national authorities.

In 1909, President Taft, in his long speech-making tour through thirty States, gave special attention to the conservation program. A part of his tour was by boat down the Mississippi, from St. Louis to New Orleans, in company with various waterways organizations, the governors of States, congressmen, and others interested. This journey was for the purpose of personal observation of the necessity of river improvement. On this trip, the President suggested, and afterward recommended officially a comprehensive, unified plan of inland waterway and coast-line improvement for the entire country, to be followed up systematically in the most economical way, and to be paid for out of bond issues sufficiently large to insure satisfactory results. He also urged all possible care in selecting the wisest and most practicable plans before beginning the work.

During the winter session of the Sixtieth Congress the political phases of the conservation question assumed an acute form. The various investigations and prosecutions in connection with the public land frauds had brought to light many facts of an unsavory and scandalous nature. In the investigation and exposure of these conditions four subordinate officers of the Forestry and Reclamation Service had been active, zealous, and efficient, viz.: Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester, and Messrs. Glavis, Price, and Shaw. Under the Roosevelt administration Richard A. Ballinger was at the head of the Land Office. Before him in his official capacity came all claims and questions relating to the public lands, among others what were known as the "Cunningham claims" to large and valuable coal deposits in Alaska. While these claims were pending Mr. Ballinger resigned his official position and became attorney for the Cunningham claimants. After the inauguration of William H. Taft as President he appointed Mr. Ballinger Secretary of the Interior, to which department the Forestry Bureau and Land Office belong. Secretary Ballinger held that he personally was estopped, by

his having acted as attorney in the cases, from passing upon the Cunningham claims, and thus the question was left undecided. Mr. Pinchot and his associate subordinate officers, feeling that the Government was likely to be defrauded out of most valuable lands, and finding official channels blocked to their complaints and charges, ignored official and bureaucratic red tape, and gave their charges and suspicions to the public through magazine articles, newspaper interviews, private letters, and otherwise, which were read in public places. For this "insubordination" President Taft dismissed them from the public service at the same time giving a quasi-official endorsement to Secretary Ballinger.

Inasmuch as Mr. Pinchot had been one of the most intimate associates and confidential advisers of President Roosevelt, and ranked as the highest authority in the country on the subject of forestry and reclamation and conservation, and since his efficiency and disinterestedness as a public official were generally recognized, and his associate "offenders" ranked with him in zeal and efficiency, their abrupt dismissal brought no little criticism upon President Taft. It was felt that he had put too great emphasis upon mere official punctilio and relatively too little upon public efficiency. It was thought he might have learned a lesson from Abraham Lincoln's patience with over-zealous and indiscreet subordinates, and found a way to preserve the public zeal of these officials and temper it with greater official propriety.

The ultimate result was good, however, for the zealousness of the officials and the precipitancy of the President served to attract public attention to the whole subject, and to cause a thorough investigation by Congress.

A strong sidelight was thrown upon the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy when John N. Steele, general counsel, and Stephen Birch, managing director of the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate, appeared before the Senate Committee on Territories, in February, 1910, and testified that the syndicate owned a railway and copper mine and the control of a fisheries company and a group of steamship lines in Alaska. The syndicate held an option upon a one-half interest in the Cunningham coal claims which were the basis of the Ballinger investigation. They were to pay $250,000 for the half interest as soon as the claims were patented. Manager Birch estimated the possible profit to be obtained from the coal in the claims at $25,000,000, which would be 5,000 per cent. upon the investment.

Gifford Pinchot takes rank in history as the father of the forestry and the conservation movements in the United States. A graduate of Phillips, Exeter, and Yale Colleges, in 1890 he entered the Nancy Forest School in France. As a student he visited all the great forests of Europe. The first example of practical forest management in the United States was started by him on 100,000 acres of the Vanderbilt estate at Biltmore, N. C. Then he opened an office in New York as consulting forester, the first in the United States. In 1896 he was a member of the first Forestry Commission, appointed by the National Academy of Science at the request of the Secretary of the Interior. This commission set the boundaries of the first forest "reserves"—proclaimed by President Cleveland in 1897. Pinchot then became special agent of the Interior Department, and reported on all forest reserves. Later the Department of Agriculture established a small bureau called the "Division of Forestry," of which Pinchot was made "chief." He had under him two foresters, five scientists, and six clerks, and no field equipment whatever. That little "Division" was all

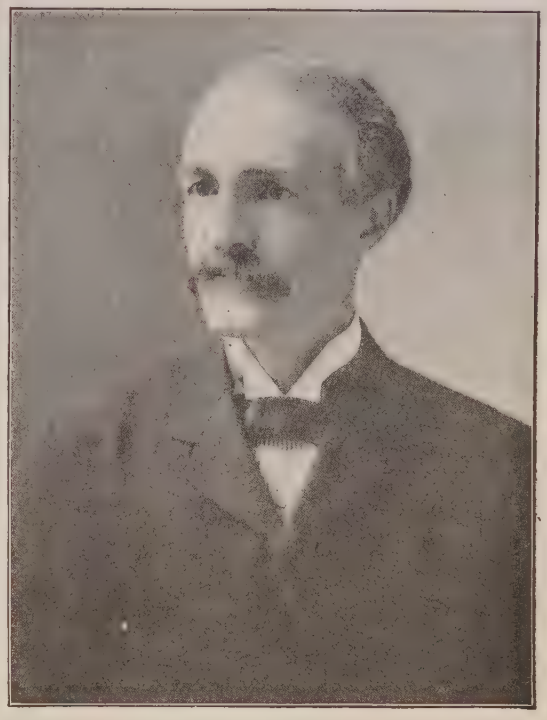
there was to forestry in the United States at that time. There were not a dozen foresters in the whole country. Scarcely any one knew or cared anything about forestry. Pinchot began by offering practical assistance to owners of forests. Immediately the field of action shifted from the desk to the woods, and there it thereafter remained.

Under Mr. Pinchot's management the movement he headed soon grew into great popularity and importance. President Roosevelt became his earnest supporter and colaborer. In his address at the Jamestown Exposition President Roosevelt said:

"So much we are trying to do in utilizing our public lands for the public; in securing the use of the water, the forests, the coal, and the timber for the public. In all four movements my chief adviser, and the man first to suggest to me the process which has actually proved so beneficial, was Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the Chief of the National Forest Service. Mr. Pinchot also suggested to me a movement supplementary to all of these movements, one which will itself lead the way in the general movement which he represents and with which he is actively identified for the conservation of all our natural resources. This was the appointment of the Inland Waterways Commission."

At the close of the Roosevelt administration Mr. Pinchot officially was at the head of the National Forestry Service, a department administering 168,000,000 acres of national forests—an area greater than the total acreage of the German Empire—and employing 2,500 men. In addition he was Chairman of the National Conservation Commission, which made him the head of the entire conservation movement, embracing not only the preservation of forests, but also plans for the proper protection, development, and use of all natural resources—water, forests, lands, minerals, oil, gas, etc.

Mr. Pinchot, being a man of wealth, took up his field of public labor from choice, devoting not only the salary of his official position, but also means from his private resources to the promotion of the cause in which he was so much interested.



GIFFORD PINCHOT.

Among the evidences of advance in the Western World the great exhibitions of American products are to be noted. On the 20th of May, 1901, the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York, was opened for the purpose of illustrating the advance of civilization in the Western Continent during the nineteenth century.

Two things were especially noteworthy, the decorative use of electricity and the general color scheme of the buildings. The prevailing style of architecture was a modified form of Spanish renaissance, but the types were bewildering in form and

dazzling in color. The prevalent form of the buildings was due probably to the same sentiment that inspired the name of the exposition, a desire to represent in those of the Government, were skillfully arranged to emphasize equally utility and development.

If the artistic sense is a product of sur-

ENTRANCE TO PALACE OF LIBERAL ARTS—LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, ST. LOUIS.

symbolic guise the spirit of the Spanish-American nations.

The memory of the severe and classic beauty of the "White City" at Chicago still lingered in the minds of the people, making the contrast more striking and the lesson in the application of color more effective. The exhibits, especially

roundings, and an unerring judgment in things æsthetic comes only by association, then these great expositions were at once a means of education, a stimulus to the art of the combination of utility and beauty, and an opportunity for the interchange of those ideas which are conducive to the progress of civilization.

In 1803 the United States took its first step in territorial expansion. In 1904, after the lapse of a century, the States joined at St. Louis to celebrate the anniversary of the Louisiana purchase, and, with the invited nations, to display the evidences of material advancement in letters, arts, and sciences.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition commemorated especially the rise and growth of the Middle West, in all probability destined to become the most prosperous area of the world of equal extent. All of the great powers of the world except Russia erected buildings, the exhibits and buildings of Germany and France costing something more than a million dollars. England, China, Japan, Mexico, and the South American States were almost equally well represented.

The buildings were grouped around the Plaza of St. Louis, where the great equestrian statue of St. Louis stood. On every side, in name, in figure, and in symbol were reminders of the actors and places connected with the great purchase. The Government had collected a remarkable exhibit from the new Territories, that from the Philippines occupying forty acres, and being arranged to represent Manila and its environs.

The system of congresses, begun at the Chicago Exposition, had been so extended as to bring together in the Arts and Sciences sessions the most distinguished scholars of Europe and America.

VIRGINIA STATE BUILDING.—JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

Among the special features of the exposition were the Olympian games, and a contest for air-navigating machines, in which prizes aggregating one hundred and fifty thousand dollars were offered.

On April 26, 1907, the Tercentenary Exposition was opened at Jamestown, Virginia, in celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the original American settlement at Jamestown. Three centuries before two diminutive English vessels had sailed up the unknown river and planted on this site the seed of the great American nation. On this anniversary was seen the perfect flower. Fleets from all the navies of the world filled the

river, and 25,000 men from the ranks of European armies were peacefully encamped on shore.

The Exposition, unlike most of those which had preceded it, was purely national in character, and its exhibits were confined strictly to the contributing States and domestic sources. At the opening ceremonies President Roosevelt made the principal address.

The various States of the Union were represented in the buildings erected by them, many of them reproductions of famous historic structures. Pennsylvania was prominent with her duplicate of Independence Hall. Massachusetts had a reproduction of the Old State House. Georgia's building was a model of the old Bullock Home in Cobb County, the former home of the President's mother, the twelve rooms of which were each furnished by a separate city of the State. Many of the buildings were in the early colonial style, and each one was intended to typify in a greater or less degree the prominent characteristic of the State which erected it.

In June, 1909, the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition opened at Seattle, Washington. This exhibition was for the purpose of illustrating the remarkable development of Alaska and the Northwest. Seattle itself stood as a modern miracle, a great solid city, built up in a single generation. Planned in 1905 as an "Alaska Fair" to cost $100,000, the Exposition became in 1909 a "World's Fair," costing $10,000,000, and displaying $50,000,000 worth of exhibits. The enterprise was unique in that it was financed at home. With the exception of $100,000 each from California and Oregon, the State of Washington and the City of Seattle supplied all the funds. The Federal Government was not called upon for financial aid.

AUDITORIUM—ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION.

The site, the 250-acre campus of Washington University, was one of the most beautiful ever selected for such a purpose. The focal point of the ground scheme was the Court of Honor, about which were grouped buildings, statues, fountains, trees, shrubs, and flowers in a plan and profusion of inspiring and bewildering beauty. To the north were grouped the Federal, Alaskan, Hawaiian, Philippine,

and Fisheries buildings. Southward in the foreground lay the formal gardens, and beyond these a water view stretched away to Mt. Ranier in the distance. In the center of the Court lay a lake, 260 feet in diameter, from which a giant geyser fountain threw its waters 250 feet in the air. Toward this fountain flowed the cascades over six terraces. At night these spouting and tumbling waters, illumined from below and within, became a vari-colored conflagration of dazzling rainbow-tinted light. The entire scheme of grounds and buildings was worked out in detail as a whole before a sod was turned. Consequently the great spectacle presented a harmonious and gorgeous beauty seldom equaled.

There were numerous unique features. The Forestry Building was the largest log-house ever built—320 feet in length and 144 feet wide. It was overshadowed by a one-piece flag-pole 200 feet high. There was a salmon cannery in full operation.

The Alaskan Exhibit was the main feature. Secretary Seward was charged with "folly" when, in 1867, he negotiated the purchase of Alaska for $7,200,000. Over $120,000,000 gold, $80,000,000 in furs, and $96,000,000 from fisheries, had been taken out of Alaska in the forty years since its purchase, and a great agricultural and mineral realm had been opened up for habitation, with a climate better than that of the Dakotas, Montana, and Minnesota. This Exposition marked the disappearance of the last frontier. The wild and romantic Alaska of yesterday had become the land of civilization, wealth, and opportunity, the home of the contented, the Mecca of the tourist.

MILITARY PARADE PASSING COURT OF HONOR—HUDSON-FULTON CELEBRATION.

The greatest number of people that ever met together in the western hemisphere were assembled in New York City, September 25 to October 9, 1909, for the Hudson-Fulton celebration, in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson River, and the 100th anniversary of the launching of the first steamboat. It was estimated that over five and one-half million people

saw the great pageants. The main features of the celebration were the Marine Parade, the Historical Pageant, the Military Parade, the Children's Festival, and the Carnival Parade, an aeroplane flight by Wilbur Wright, and the lighting of the beacon fires.

The Marine Parade was led by a reproduction of the diminutive Half Moon, in which Henrik Hudson crossed the Atlantic and first sailed up the Hudson. With the Half Moon was a reproduction of Fulton's original steamboat, the Clermont, whose primitive paddle wheels, driven by steam, first agitated the waters of the great river 100 years before. In striking contrast with these pygmy and crude vessels was the magnificent flotilla of leviathan merchant and war ships, forty miles long, which followed them. The meager crews of the two primitive vessels, arrayed in costumes of the original sailors, served to mark the marvelous contrast between the pioneer invaders of those days and the vast population gathered at the mouth of the river but one hundred years later. Ten miles of warships of different nations were anchored in the harbor. Simultaneously at eight o'clock in the evening, all these mighty vessels sprang into electric flame, and all vessels in the harbor turned on their searchlights. The land illumination was equally profuse and startling. Taken altogether, it was the greatest display of artificial light ever witnessed.

The culmination of the ceremonies was on Saturday night, when the beacon fires, promptly at nine o'clock, flashed "Good-Night" and "Good-By," for one hundred and fifty miles along the Hudson to Albany.

The Pacific coast had always been subject to slight earthquake shocks and the inhabitants had come to regard them with equanimity and as indicative of no danger. This condition of mind was suddenly and rudely shattered by the occurence of a terrific shock in the early morning of April 18, 1906, which far surpassed in destructive results anything of a like nature which ever before happened on the North American continent.

The beautiful city of San Francisco was the principal sufferer. It was thirteen minutes past five o'clock. The laboring population was already astir, but the larger portion of the people were still asleep. There had been no preliminary tremors to serve as a warning, and, indeed, had there been, they would have passed unregarded, as the usual thing. The shock, which lasted less than a minute, was of extreme violence. It threw down lofty buildings of old construction, twisted and bent those more recent and strengthened with steel, cracked walls, opened wide crevices in the streets, broke water mains, carrying panic and ruin to every part of the city. One of the first buildings to give way was the great City Hall, just completed after seventeen years' work at a cost of seven million dollars, one-third of which was graft. When it crumbled and fell, the secrets of its shabby construction were disclosed. Ten minutes after the shock the city gasworks blew up and innumerable fires broke out. The streets were filled with houseless people, wild with panic. One after another the great buildings caught, handsome residences, the hotels, banks, churches and warehouses, structures that had defied the earthquake shock but were now doomed in the power of that most terrible of all the forces of nature, fire!

At the United States Mint, where nearly $50,000,000 in gold and silver bullion was stored, the employes, surrounded by a roaring sea of fire, fought against what seemed impossible odds. For seven hours, enclosed in that glowing oven, they with-

stood the flames, fighting with desperation their attacks, with a hand pump forcing water from the basement well through an inch hose. The roof was burned through and the windows in the upper stories burst in, but the building and its contents were finally, after superhuman efforts, saved. So, too, were the newly completed postoffice and the Montgomery Block, where the priceless Sutro Library was stored.

in all the larger cities of the Union. Money was subscribed without stint, and before sunset millions of dollars were hurried to the committee of relief, and from every section of the country trains loaded with food and clothing were speeding toward the stricken city. In forty-eight hours the relief fund had reached the enormous total of $13,147,130, apart from the collections made in the churches of the country, and the

RUINS OF CITY HALL.—SAN FRANCISCO.

For three days the fire raged almost unchecked, and at last burned itself out, leaving three hundred thousand people homeless. Immediate measures were taken for their relief. It was seen before the close of the first day that the city was doomed to destruction, and the telegraph had carried the news to every corner of the world. By the morning of the second day relief measures were under way

special contributions for church organizations, hospitals, and fraternal societies.

The Government turned over its military stores for the use of the sufferers, and the entire military force stationed near the city under Colonel Funston was utilized to preserve order and prevent looting. The people were housed in tents and temporary shelters of every description. Later, the Government sup-

plied an enormous number of army tents.

England and Canada were among the first to extend a helping hand. While the fire was yet raging on the second day a cable message from far-off Australia sent an offer of $25,000; Japan sent $80,000 to the Red Cross Society, while China promptly tendered her aid.

RUINS OF ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH.—SAN JOSE, CAL.

San Francisco did not suffer alone. All along the coast the towns in the earthquake belt were badly shaken, but most of them were afterward overrun by fire. The Leland Stanford University in the Santa Clara Valley, the costliest group of educational buildings ever erected in America, was in a minute's time converted into a mass of shapeless ruins. At San Jose the entire business portion of the city was wrecked and 200 people were killed and injured. At Santa Clara and Santa Rosa much damage was done and many lives were lost. The loss by earthquake and fire in the various places on the coast amounted in round figures to over $300,000,000.

After the earthquake for a time the conditions in San Francisco seemed altruistic in the extreme. Every one was willing and anxious to help everybody else. The labor unions, which before the disaster had held the city in their grip, declared

their readiness to forego their demands for high pay and to work for reasonable wages until the city was rebuilt. But these conditions did not last. It was not a month before the unions were demanding not their old wages, but an increase. Even in the chaotic state of things, strikes were again in order. The hoodlum element prevailed, and it was not safe in certain parts of the city for a woman to venture upon the streets after dark.

Indeed the whole public administration in San Francisco was, and long had been, in a deplorable condition of demoralization. Graft and corruption seemed to rule everywhere. Some months before the fire the labor element elected their candidate for mayor, a German violinist named Schmitz. Hardly was he seated when he began a series of grafting operations with his lieutenant, Abram Ruef, and many thousands of dollars were diverted from their proper channels to their pockets. Investigation showed a most corrupt state of things. The members of the Board of Supervisors confessed that they had been bribed over and over; the chief of police was in open sympathy with the lawless element, and refused to aid the prosecuting officers, and the heads of most of the important city offices were proved to be grafters.

These conditions, developing so soon after the earthquake and fire, while the eyes of the world were still centered upon San Francisco, produced a scandal which claimed not only national but foreign notice. A western attorney, an able and fearless man, had attracted much attention in Oregon and the northwest by his successful and relentless prosecution of Government land frauds. Through the initiative of President Roosevelt, and other interested influential persons, this attorney, Francis J. Heney, was brought to San Francisco as an assistant prosecuting attorney, and assigned the duty of investigating public corruption and prosecuting criminal officials and others. He took up the work systematically and vigorously. Rudolph Spreckels, a wealthy citizen of San Francisco, volunteered liberal financial support and personal aid in the campaign against graft. The strife was bitter, since there was found arrayed against the investigation the entire hoodlum element, the strong and corrupt political machines, all backed up by most powerful corporate and financial interests. The contest became so bitter that an attempt was made in open court to assassinate Mr. Heney. He was suddenly fired upon with a pistol by a member of one of the corrupt gangs, who apparently had been assigned the duty of "putting Heney out of the way."

At first it was thought that the wound was fatal, but Heney's grit and fine constitution pulled him through. The prosecution went on, and Heney was finally able to return to court and resume his part in the proceedings. Schmitz and Ruef were convicted and sent to prison, as were others of their coterie. The gang of corruptionists was broken up, and for the time at least, a purer moral atmosphere prevailed in the city of the Golden Gate.

A strong anti-Japanese feeling, fostered chiefly by the powerful labor organizations and the "yellow" newspapers, had long prevailed on the Pacific Coast. This feeling found expression in different forms at various times and places. The hostility was most active in San Francisco, where attempts were made to isolate Japanese pupils in separate public schools, and where there were frequent assaults upon Japanese residents and property. The opposition to

Japanese immigation was very strong. A story was that the Japanese of the Pacific Coast and the Progressives, a political party of Japan, had entered into an alliance which had the earmarks of an international conspiracy, with the overthrow of the existing ministry in Japan and the annulment of the clause in the immigration bill excluding Japanese coolie labor from continental United States as the ultimate object. The preliminary steps were to induce the Tokio Government to recall Viscount Aoki, the Japanese ambassador to the United States, and to demand an apology, and perhaps an indemnity, from the American Government for the alleged acts of violence against Japanese subjects in San Francisco. This report created some excitement in the United States, and was made much of by the yellow journals, some of which called for the sending of the entire American fleet to the Pacific Coast. The charge was strenuously denied by the secretary of the Japanese Association of America, who said: "The whole question is too absurd for comment. I can speak unqualifiedly on behalf of the business men and merchants of the Japanese race. War is not wanted, and the trouble is due to the agitation of a small party who would like to disturb the high order of friendship that exists between the United States and Japan. The Japanese Association of America has no alliance with the Progressives in Japan, neither does it desire the overthrow of the present ministry. The Japanese of the Pacific Coast are more interested in the immigration question and are opposed to any law or treaty that will tend to discriminate against them."

The State department of the United States reported that the conduct of the Japanese Government in the matter had been extremely modest. They had pursued precisely such a course as is followed by every self-respecting civilized nation in dealing with cases of attacks upon their citizens in a foreign country. Such cases occur frequently. There was, however, a general feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of the Japanese, both in the United States and at home, regarding immigration and the right to naturalization in America.

That the Japanese were violating the "open door" doctrine in the East, as had been charged, the American vice-consul at Dalny, the great Japanese port and gateway to Manchuria, declared to be untrue.

In the early part of 1909, the situation became more acute. Anti-Japanese bills or resolutions were introduced in the Legislatures of four or five of the farther western States. The proposed California bills were typical. They provided: For the segregation of Japanese and other Orientals in residential quarters at the option of municipalities; for prohibiting aliens from owning land; for preventing aliens from becoming directors in local corporations; and for separate schools for Japanese students.

This agitation put diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan to a severe test for a time. President Roosevelt, by telegrams and letters to the governors and Legislatures of the disaffected States, and by conferences with their congressional representatives at Washington, convinced them that the questions involved could not be handled by the States, but belonged solely to the Federal powers. Moreover, treaty negotiations then pending with Japan, and covering these very questions, were greatly jeopardized by the ill-advised and precipitate action proposed by the States. By these means, agitation was quieted for the time, and the whole matter was settled soon afterwards by the quiet announcement from Japan that

she needed all her people at home, and that emigration would be discouraged or prohibited thereafter. The school situation in San Francisco was finally settled by allowing Japanese pupils under a certain age to attend the same schools as the whites, the young men students attending a school of their own.

fore were issued for the rendezvous of the battleships of the Atlantic squadron, and preparations for a voyage to the Pacific Coast.

On December 16, 1907, the fleet sailed from Hampton Roads on its long voyage. It was composed of sixteen battleships six torpedo boats, six auxiliary vessels,

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND ADMIRAL EVANS ON THE MAYFLOWER.

In the year 1907 President Roosevelt and his advisers became convinced that a naval demonstration on a large scale would be of the greatest advantage in developing the discipline and efficiency of the officers and men of the navy, and at the same time would increase the respect of the nations for the power of the United States, and would make for the peace of the world. Orders there-

and 15,000 men. The itinerary provided for a cruise of 13,772 miles, and a voyage of 135 days to San Francisco. For the initial equipment for the voyage 130,000 tons of coal were required at a cost of $1,300,000. Of provisions, 4,191,000 pounds were provided.

The fleet sailed under command of Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans. Following the itinerary stops were made at

San Juan, Trinidad, Para, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Punta Arenas, Talcuhuano, Callao, Panama, Acapulco, and the fleet arrived at Magdalena Bay, March 12, 1908, two days ahead of scheduled time. In circling South America the fleet was received with the highest honors, being met and escorted by vessels of the different countries. Wherever the harbors were of sufficient size and depth, the battleships came to anchor, when the most cordial courtesies were exchanged between the local officials and the officers of the fleet.

From Magdalena Bay, Admiral Evans cabled: "Fleet in better condition than when it left Hampton Roads, and ready for any service at an hour's notice." At Magdalena Bay a halt was made for target practice. Here the original fleet was joined by the Pacific squadron. On April 15 the triumphal welcome to the fleet began in the home waters of southern California, the cities of San Diego, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and the other coast towns, vying with each other in their enthusiastic demonstrations.

On May 6 the great fleet, now comprising forty-one vessels, steamed through the Golden Gate into San Francisco Bay. During the official review, two days later, Secretary of the Navy Metcalf, who had come from Washington for the purpose, and the officials and people of San Francisco and the Pacific Coast, paid the highest honors to the ships and the sailormen.

Admiral Evans, who had conducted the cruise so far with such conspicuous success, here was compelled to give up the command on account of severe illness. He was succeeded by Rear-Admiral Charles S. Sperry.

When the fleet started from Hampton Roads for Pacific waters, little was said about the return voyage. The suggestion soon appeared, however, that the return should be by way of the Orient and Europe. Invitations were received from Australia, Japan, and China for visits to their waters. In March the President and the Cabinet accepted these invitations, and preparations were made to extend the voyage around the world.

On July 6, 1908, the great armada steamed out of San Francisco harbor for Honolulu, which port was reached ten days later. From August 8 to September 4 the fleet was in the ports and waters of Australia. On October 2 the fleet arrived at Manila in the Philippine Islands. October 18 to 25 the fleet and sailors were entertained in Japanese ports. Leaving Japan, the next stop was at Shanghai, China. Then, proceeding through the Indian Ocean, the fleet passed through the Suez Canal in early January, thence through the Mediterranean to Gibraltar, thence direct to Hampton Roads, there dropping anchor at the point of departure.

Here the entire fleet, including the escorting third squadron of the Atlantic reserve, was reviewed by President Roosevelt, February 22, 1909, one year and sixty-eight days after he had seen the ships start on their long voyage. In this period the vessels had covered forty-five thousand miles, had touched at many ports in South America, Australia, Japan, China, and in the Mediterranean, and had received everywhere the most gratifying welcome from official and private sources. In every way the cruise was a gratifying success. Not a single accident marred the record. In the opinion of the commanding officers the vessels returned in even better condition than when they sailed away. The discipline and drill were pronounced invaluable. New standards were set for the naval service of the world.

The good moral effects of the voyage

were recognized generally. The *Brazilian Review* said: "The American Fleet is a truly magnificent machine, and it has been magnificently handled." The *Zigzag*, of Santiago de Chile, said all countries on the western coast of South America welcomed the appearance of the fleet like that of "a person who, in danger of a blow from a strong enemy, sees himself unexpectedly helped by a friendly athlete of large proportions." The Auckland correspondent of the London *Telegraph* cabled: "It is beyond question that the United States is no longer a Western but a cosmic power. America is now a force in the world, speaking with authoritative accent and wielding a dominant influence, such as ought to belong to her vast wealth, prosperity, and importance."

Count Okuma, of Japan, in an address to the officers of the fleet, said: "We welcome the American fleet with our whole heart. We people of Japan remember with a most profound gratitude the help and guidance of America." The *Slovo* of St. Petersburg, speaking anent the cruise, said: "All danger of war in the Pacific has disappeared, thanks to the vigorous, enlightened statesmanship of President Roosevelt, the prudence of Japan, and the good offices of Great Britain."

Anent the world-circling voyage of the battleship fleet, and in connection with the ship-subsidy discussion, certain anomalous facts were pointed out. When the sixteen battleships of the Atlantic fleet were sent around the Cape of Good Hope to the Pacific Coast, there being no American transports, the Government was compelled to hire twenty-seven ships of foreign construction and under foreign flags to carry the necessary supplies. During the year 1909, the United States, being at peace with all the world, yet the War Department was compelled to hire forty foreign ships to carry supplies. Food for the United States soldiers in the Phillipines was carried in Japanese vessels. In case of war, foreign transports could not be procured, and America's great battleship fleet in consequence would be helpless. The Government continued to build battleships at great expense, and neglected entirely to provide colliers and transports, without which the war vessels were helpless and worthless.

A grand reunion of the United Confederate Veterans at Richmond, Virginia, lasting four days, from May 30 to June 3, 1907, brought together a larger concourse of people than that historic city had ever before seen. The city was magnificently decorated and it was estimated that a hundred thousand people were present. Between 12,000 and 15,000 veterans marched in the parade, 1,259 corps being represented. The school children of the city took part in the exercises, being arranged on the seats to represent the stars and bars. The Sons of Veterans marched with their fathers, and the Daughters of the Confederacy rode in the procession. The monument to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, was unveiled at 2 P. M., Monday, June 3, the anniversary of his birth. The only living daughter of President Davis, Mrs. Hayes, accompanied by her two children, received a large share of the rapturous cheering of the old soldiers. The address at the unveiling of the monument was made by Col. Robert E. Lee, Jr., of the United States Army. Senator John Daniel, of Virginia, who was received with tumultuous cheers, spoke at Grand Camp Hall and paid a tribute to the valor of the Confederate soldiers. "But the courage and gallantry were not all on the side of the Confederacy," he said. "Boys, we are the same race as the Yankee and the same

spirit which made Southern arms glorious incited the hearts of the Northerners. Their valor was shown in a hundred battles, and they made a worthy foe."

The Fifty-ninth Congress passed an act providing for the admission of the Territory of Oklahoma and of the Indian Territory as a State. Under the provisions of this act delegates from the two territories met at Guthrie, Oklahoma, November 20, 1906, and, after a session of four months, formed a State Constitution, which was adopted by the people September 17, 1907, by an overwhelming majority. President Roosevelt, on November 16, 1907, signed the Constitution of Oklahoma and issued a proclamation announcing its admission as a State into the Union. The special census taken at that time showed a population in Oklahoma Territory of 721,142, and in Indian Territory of 619,901.

JEFFERSON DAVIS MONUMENT.—RICHMOND, VA.

The constitution adopted was novel in that it included in the fundamental law of the State many regulations ordinarily covered by statute. Owing to its rich natural resources and the wise provisions of its constitution, the State enjoyed unusual peace and prosperity from the beginning.

The echoes of the Oregon controversy were heard again in the opening years of the century, when the question of the Alaskan boundary was raised by the Canadian Government.

It will be remembered that Russia reserved a strip of coast ten marine leagues in width and extending as far south as latiude 54° 40′ by the treaty of 1825 with England. There can be no doubt that the object of this provision was to secure complete and unbroken possession of the coast. When Alaska was sold to the United States in 1867 no other construc-

tion was thought of; but with the discovery of gold in the Yukon region and the rush of prospectors thither from all parts of the world, it became manifestly to the advantage of the Canadian Government to secure control of the deep waterways and harbors leading directly to the Klondike country. Canada proposed to construe the words of the treaty to mean ten marine leagues from the seashore without regard to the sinuosities of the coast, thus including within her claims valuable harbors and waterways. Moreover, if the Canadian construction were admitted, both Dyea and Skagway would fall within her boundaries. Both countries claimed jurisdiction and each seemed about to resort to force to make these pretensions good when a peaceful solution was found for the difficulty.

The question was the subject of diplomatic correspondence for a time, and was referred finally to a tribunal consisting of three commissioners from the United States, two from Canada, and Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England. Evidently the decision rested with Lord Alverstone. A unanimous finding by the English commissioners would result only in even division. When the verdict of the tribunal was made public, October, 1903, it was found that the claims of the United States had been substantiated in every important feature. Canadian claims to islands in the Portland Canal were quieted by the cession of two islands near Port Simpson.

On Saturday morning, June 18, 1910, ex-President Roosevelt arrived at New York, after a year and a quarter's absence sojourning in Africa and touring Europe. The reception tendered him was so spontaneous, enthusiastic, and universal, that formality was largely abandoned and simplicity substituted. A proposed parade threatened such gigantic proportions that it could not be undertaken. In the course of his response to Mayor Gaynor's words of welcome Mr. Roosevelt said:

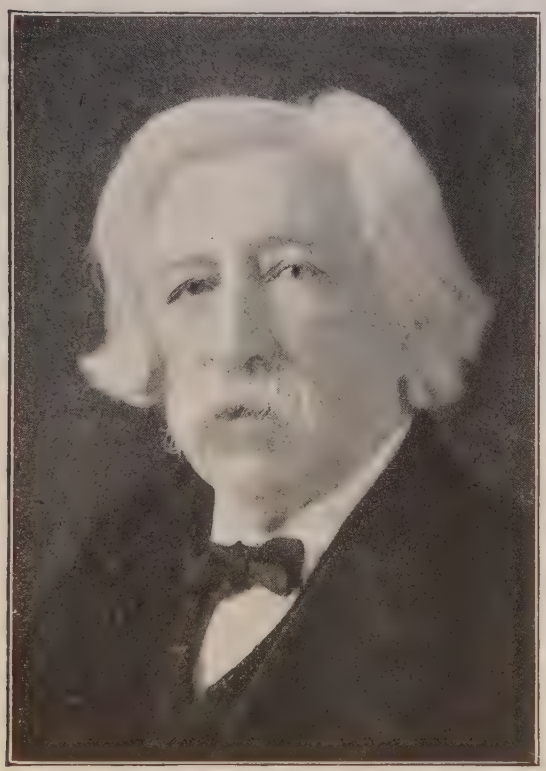
"I am more glad than I can say to get home. I am ready and eager to do my part in helping solve problems which must be solved, if we, of this, the greatest democratic republic upon which the sun has ever shone, are to see its destinies rise to the high level of our hopes and its opportunities. This is the duty of every citizen, but it is peculiarly my duty; for any man who has ever been honored by being made President of the United States is thereby forever after rendered the debtor of the American people, and is bound throughout his life to remember this as his prime obligation, and in private life as much as in public life, so to carry himself that the American people may never have cause to feel regret that they once placed him at their head."

An act of February 6, 1909, granted pensions of $12, $15, and $20 per month to the survivors of the Mexican and the Civil Wars upon reaching the ages of 62, 70, and 75 years respectively. This resulted in the addition of numerous names to the pension roll. Moreover, new names were added by reason of the war with Spain. The result was that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, the disbursements for pensions reached the highest mark in the history of the Government, $161,972,702. This was a surprise coming forty-four years after the close of the Civil War.

Prior to June 30, 1865, the end of the Civil War, only the small total of $96,445,220 had been paid for pensions. For the following year, ending June 30, 1866, the total paid was $13,459,969. Up to June 30, 1909, the grand total paid by the Government on pension account was $3,912,082,513. The last surviving soldier of the Revolutionary War died April 5, 1869, and the last surviving widow of that war died November 11,

1906. The last surviving pension soldier of the War of 1812 died May 12, 1905.

American immigration has been a unique phenomenon in the world's history. It was estimated that from 1820 to 1910, 25,000,000 Europeans entered America. In the first decade of the



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CHIEF JUSTICE MELVILLE E. FULLER.

twentieth century 7,000,000 immigrants landed. These newcomers equaled the total population of nineteen of the States. In one block in New York City lived 1,400 people of twenty nationalities. Boston had a larger Irish population than Dublin. New York City, with 500,000 Italian colonists, was a larger Italian city than Rome. New York sheltered 800,000 Jewish immigrants, making it the foremost Jewish city of the world. Pittsburg contained more Servians than the capital of Servia. Two factors pointed to important ethnic changes in American population. The various racial and national contingents of immigrants varied much in the matter of inequality of numbers of the two sexes. Coming from one country would be a preponderance of men, from another of women. This resulted in a wide admixture of races through marriage. The birth rate among the foreign born was two or three times greater than among the native born. These two factors pointed to the evolution of a new type for the American people.

In April, 1910, President Taft gave much satisfaction to the country by the appointment of Governor Charles E. Hughes, of New York, as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Justice Brewer.

On the morning of July 4, 1910, Chief Justice Melville E. Fuller of the Supreme Court of the United States died suddenly. He was in his seventy-eighth year, and had sat as Chief Justice for twenty-two years. He was a strict constructionist of the constitution, an individualist, not quite in harmony with the spirit of his period. Hence, while commanding universal confidence and respect, he was unable to exercise that leadership in the court over which he presided that was accomplished by some of his predecessors. As an administrator of the court's affairs he maintained its high dignity and authority and expedited its business. He died sincerely lamented by his fellows upon the bench, the legal profession, and the general public.

In July, 1910, President Taft, in pursuance of the conservation policy, issued an order withdrawing from entry forty-three million acres of coal lands, water-power sites, phosphate lands, petroleum lands, and forest lands in which coal exists.

The Sixty-first Congress ended its long session in July, 1910. After a strenuous effort on the part of President Taft and other leaders the Congress carried out in the main the promises of the Republican platform of 1908. The Payne-Aldrich bill made a revision of the tariff, neither upward nor "downward" in any marked degree. It was in effect a "log-rolling" measure, seeking to take care, as far as possible of various sectional, local, and special interests. However, a grant of $250,000 was voted to the Tariff Commission appointed to make a thorough study of and report upon industries, production, and distribution, so that future tariffs might be based upon scientific knowledge of actual conditions and needs.

The new bill for the regulation of railroads was a very important measure. It gave the Interstate Commerce Commission power to pass upon all proposed railroad rates, and also provided a Commerce Court before which differences between the railroads and the Commission could be adjudicated. The Congress also passed an act admitting the territories of New Mexico and Arizona to statehood. Thus, the last territory in the area of the United States proper came into statehood, and the circle of states was finally completed.

The United States in 1909 raised farm products of a value of $8,760,000,000, nearly twice the product of 1899. In the first ten years of the new century the total value of farm products in the nation was $70,000,000,000. In 120 days in 1909 there grew out of the ground in corn alone $1,720,000,000 of value—$15,000,000 a day. With an area of 5.9 per cent. of the world's, and a population of 5.2 per cent., the United States produced for the year 43 per cent. of the world's total production of corn, wheat, and oats, and 71.3 per cent. of cotton, 42 per cent. of iron, 37.3 per cent. of coal, and 62.5 per cent. of oil.

In 1905 in Canada two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were incorporated. The Liberal party continued in power but with reduced majorities. There was much agitation over school questions, especially in the newer provinces. The result was that both separate and public schools were retained, both under provincial supervision. To provide additional transportation for the western sections, which were developing by leaps and bounds, the Grand Trunk Pacific railway system was launched. The tide of immigration was so strong and industrial development so rapid that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister, declared "The nineteenth century belonged to the United States, the twentieth will belong to Canada." Trade with the United States in 1895 amounted to $89,426,096; ten years later, in 1905, it had increased to $203,000,000.

In 1903 the Dominion established a "Board of Railway Commissioners" with such powers as brought the railway systems under practical government control. The Board regulated rates, speed, and construction, and provided for publicity. The results of this system of public regulation were very satisfactory.

In 1906 a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon between the imperial Government and the United States regulating fishing rights and methods in Newfoundland waters. Thus a cause of constant friction was removed, and necessary control and preservation of the fishing grounds secured.

In January, 1907, Secretary of State Elihu Root, of the United States, made an official visit at Ottawa to Earl Grey, Governor General, and Premier Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This visit did much to clear up any possible misunderstanding between the two countries, and to cement the growing feeling of friendship and mutual interest.

The question of the regulation or prohibition of the immigration of large numbers of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian coolies into Dominion territory began to assume serious importance. At the solicitation of Canada, the British home Government passed a regulation that Hindus should not emigrate from India. A commission was sent to Japan to secure action shutting off the tide of Japanese immigration. The result was that Japan prohibited the emigration of contract laborers and artisans unless they came from Japan at the request of the Dominion Government.

In 1907 and 1908 treaties were signed with the United States settling accurately the water rights and the boundary line between the two countries, and regulating fisheries in the Great Lakes. In 1909 a treaty providing for the preservation of Niagara Falls was signed.

While the Dominion discouraged Oriental immigration, it invited immigrants from the United States and Europe. This policy, adopted first in 1897, resulted in amazing development in the western provinces. It was estimated that, since the opening of the new century, three quarters of a million Americans had gone into northwestern Canada, carrying with them $750,000,000.

In 1907 the "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act" was adopted. Under its workings industrial peace had been promoted, and strikes and lockouts reduced.

The "Prairie Provinces" of northwestern Canada were fast becoming the "granary of the world." Out of 171,000,000 acres of wheatlands in the northwest only seven per cent. were in cultivation in 1907, yet the production was 200,000,000 bushels.

The opening century found the Spanish American countries in their usual ferment. These Spanish-speaking states were hampered in their progress by political instability, retarded development, unsettled boundary questions, ambitious personal intrigues, and in most instances by a divided responsibility and influence between church and state.

Old troubles between Chile and the Argentine Republic flared up and war threatened. Chile's customary arrogant attitude toward her neighbor gave much offense. Because of this Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, and other South American countries, put forth strong efforts at the Pan-American Congress at Mexico City, 1901-2, to secure an arbitration treaty under which their troublesome neighbor could be compelled to submit disputed questions to an impartial tribunal for permanent settlement upon their merits. The Pan-American Congress was called because its projectors saw that the constant quarrels between neighboring states, together with frequent domestic revolutions and civil wars, accounted for the slow development and the low state of civilization, agriculture, and industry, in those countries, notwithstanding their vast and varied rich natural resources and opportunities.

The civil war in Colombia in 1900 and 1901 cost fifty thousand lives and totally paralyzed business. The war grew out of the efforts of the Liberal or Progressive party to overthrow the clerical and conservative Government. The clerical faction refused to submit to a popular election but continued in power by force. The Liberals contended for the ordinary rights of popular Government. Close relations existed between the Government of Venezuela and the Colombian revolutionists. South America had seldom known a more offensive type of dictator than General Castro, who had proclaimed himself President of Venezuela. Citizens who ventured to criticise his course were

arbitrarily thrown into prison and a reign of terror existed.

Venezuela's foreign obligations, public and private, were openly repudiated. This resulted in European complications in Venezuela. As early as 1901 Germany was compelled to take steps for the enforced collection of obligations. This raised diplomatic questions with the United States, which insisted that, while Germany and other European nations were entitled, and would be permitted, to enforce the payment of amounts due, yet, under the Monroe Doctrine, no Venezuelan territory could be acquired by any European power, nor could there be any indefinite lingering there under the guise of temporary occupation. The question raised was all the more critical because of the wide publication in numerous European periodicals that Germany had the most deliberate and unshakable intention of acquiring large interests in South America. While the United States would not consent under any circumstances to any European nation acquiring territory in Central or South America, yet the American Government would welcome a large German migration into such countries as Venezuela and Colombia, recognizing that the inflowing German element would soon give stability to a volatile and refractory population.

Just at the joining of the centuries, one of the most important questions ever settled by arbitration between nations was determined by the Swiss Government, acting in the matter of the boundary dispute of three hundred years between France and Brazil respecting the proper extent of French Guiana. The award gave 3,000 square miles of the disputed territory to France and 147,000 to Brazil.

Later in the decade Brazil caught the battleship fever, so prevalent in the northern hemisphere, and aroused no little apprehension by launching vessels of the *Dreadnought* class. Argentina, as the rival of Brazil in power and influence, in order to preserve her rank and prestige also entered upon a campaign of naval and military expansion. The Argentine purpose and policy were explained by the declaration that the Republic, in arming itself for self-preservation, became a force for the preservation of international harmony in South America, clearing the horizon, banishing suspicions, allaying fears, and satisfying the aspirations of a half dozen neighboring and friendly states for concord and permanent peace.

The year 1902 was one of extraordinary seismic convulsions. Never before had there been in historic times such a series of terrific disturbances as began in that year and continued in the following years. To give a complete list of all the earthquake shocks, volcanic eruptions, tidal waves, and other seismic commotions for the year 1902 would be impossible. Scarcely a day passed without a disturbance in some part of the earth. On May 8, the most appalling catastrophe of its kind on record up to that time occurred, the instantaneous destruction of the city of St. Pierre, Martinique, in the West Indies, with its 30,000 inhabitants, by an eruption of Mt. Pelee. Practically no region of the earth escaped some disturbance during the year, the destruction of life and property in many instances being extraordinary. In the year 1903 the disturbances were not so numerous or so violent as in 1902, but were far beyond the ordinary, and indicated most violent activity on the interior of the earth's crust.

At half-past three o'clock on the afternoon of January 14, 1907, a sudden earthquake shock, which lastly hardly more than forty seconds, transformed the city of Kingston, Jamaica, from a busy

and prosperous metropolis to a place of destruction and mourning. In a single minute eighty-five per cent. of the buildings were injured or destroyed, while the fire which followed swept out of existence ten blocks of the business and warehouse section with their contents. Several hundred people, mostly blacks, were killed or burned to death, and more than a thousand were injured.

two war vessels, fully provisioned, to the scene. He also ordered the *Missouri* and *Indiana,* under the command of Rear Admiral Davis, to steam at once to Kingston and offer such assistance as might be needed. When the vessels arrived they were warmly welcomed, and Governor Swettenham being absent, his deputy gladly and warmly accepted the proffered assistance. The Admiral was

PORT ROYAL STREET, JAMAICA.—After Earthquake.

Kingston, the capital and chief commercial city of the island, lay on the southern coast and possessed one of the finest harbors of the West Indies, a landlocked basin, available for the largest ships and defended by two strong forts. It contained, before the disaster, all the buildings which go to make up a progressive city—churches, hospitals, hotels, banks, colleges and schools, a theater and five daily newspaper offices. The losses were estimated at $10,000,000.

Admiral Robley D. Evans, in command of the United States Atlantic fleet, then stationed at Guantanamo, Cuba, on hearing of the disaster, at once dispatched

asked to land men to help protect property and care for the wounded. There was a lack of competent surgeons in the city and the demands were imperative and immediate. Both vessels sent their surgeons ashore, who erected a tent hospital which was soon crowded, while marines, under charge of the Governor's deputy were assisting in clearing the streets for the passage of ambulances. At this time Governor Swettenham returned, and in a most insulting letter requested Rear Admiral Davis to withdraw his men to his vessels and leave the harbor. This was done at once, the Admiral as required by custom, making

a farewell official call upon the Governor, who, while apparently polite, took no pains to conceal his contempt for the representative of a friendly Government and for that Government itself. His conduct was roundly denounced by the Kingston newspapers and a demand was made for his recall. Almost without exception he was sharply criticised by the British press and his action deplored. The United States Government made no complaint, but the British War Department compelled the Governor to write a letter of apology, and a few weeks later he was quietly recalled. The London *Times* voiced English opinion in an editorial which closed as follows: "This lamentable close of a mission conceived in so admirable a spirit of international goodwill certainly will not lessen the gratitude of the unfortunate colony and of Englishmen the world over to Rear Admiral Davis and his blue jackets, or to the American Government."

In May, 1907, trouble became acute between Guatemala and Mexico, and for a time war seemed inevitable. At the close of May, Mexico had an army of 16,000 men on the border ready to meet any move of her enemy. Cabrera, the President of Guatemala, had long been in disfavor in his own country, and a menace to those adjoining. Early in the spring he announced that he had discovered a plot against his life. A wild panic seized upon the Government and arrests of suspected persons were made by wholesale. Four prominent citizens were seized—three physicians, and a civil engineer—and thrown into prison, where it was claimed, they committed suicide. The soldiers took their bodies and threw them into sewers in the suburbs of the city. This act so incensed the people that the diplomatic corps was appealed to, and Minister Gamboa demanded the bodies. Upon his representation they were finally turned over and later buried with great honors. Nineteen others were arrested and condemned to death by Cabrera. All members of the diplomatic corps in the capital, knowing the circumstances, joined in a protest against the proposed execution and demanded a fair trial for the accused. It was claimed by those who were in a position to know that the whole business was a badly garbled plan framed up by Cabrera himself to arouse the sympathy of the country and of the neighboring republics in his behalf.

In December, 1907, the Central American Republics came together in a conference of peace and amity, and, with the moral co-operation of Mexico and the United States, solemnly bound themselves by treaty and proclamation to dwell together in harmony, and to submit practically all causes of difference thereafter to an International Court of Arbitration. This court was established at Cartago, Costa Rica. A strong rivalry sprang up between President Zelaya, of Nicaragua, and President Cabrera, of Guatemala, for the control of the five signatory Republics In 1909, certain cases, in which Zelaya was deeply interested, were pending before the International Court. In an effort to influence the decision of the court in his favor, he assembled troops upon the Honduras border, and dispatched an armed force to Cartago.

In March, 1909, Secretary of State Knox, of the United States, sent a vigorous note to the Nicaraguan authorities demanding the arbitration of the claim of several American citizens against Nicaragua. At the same time, three United States cruisers and a Mexican gunboat appeared in Nicaraguan waters.

The situation did not improve. A revolution, led by General Estrada, broke out in Nicaragua. Two American citi-

zens became identified with the revolutionary forces as volunteer colonels. They were apprehended on foreign soil, Costa Rica, and shot by Zelaya. He posted his country with placards denouncing the United States and stirring up violence against American citizens. He intercepted official dispatches to and from the United States.

In December, 1909, a crisis was reached. President Taft terminated diplomatic relations with Nicaragua. In addition to the six United States vessels with 1,200 marines aboard already in Nicaraguan waters, a number of other vessels were hastily sent southward.

On December 23 General Estrada overtook the retreating army of General Zelaya at Rena. A fierce battle raged for three hours, ending with the surrender of Zelaya's forces. Six hundred of Zelaya's soldiers were left dead on the field, and nineteen hundred surrendered. Estrada's losses were twenty killed, and seventy-five wounded. General Estrada said:

"There is no glory in the victory that I can claim. Knowing that many of the soldiers in General Zelaya's army are forced to fight against their will, I was desirous of avoiding a useless slaughter. I sent four separate peace commissioners to ask for the army's unconditional surrender. Zelaya's commanders maneuvered for delay hoping for reinforcements. I was compelled to order an advance and to force surrender. My army is composed of property-owners and farmers, who are fighting to restore the country to the position it held before the days of the Zelaya regime. The only hope of reward is the advantage to be gained in forever ridding the country of General Zelaya and his diabolism."

Following the battle the American and other war vessels at Bluefields established hospitals ashore for the care of the sick and wounded of both sides. The American Red Cross telegraphed $10,000 for hospital use.

Finally, on December 16, 1909, President Zelaya resigned as head of the Nicaraguan Republic, and fled to a refuge in Mexico. The Congress elected as his successor Dr. Joseph Madriz, who began at once to administer the Government. One of his first official utterances was the admission that the execution of the two Americans, Cannon and Grace, was illegal, and that the resentment felt in the matter by the United States was justified.

Meanwhile General Estrada, commander of the revolutionary forces, continued his successful campaign.

Mexico sent a special commissioner to the United States with the assurance that the asylum granted by Mexico to Ex-President Zelaya, was in no way an unfriendly act to the United States, and that Mexico would continue to co-operate with the United States to establish and maintain permanent peace in Central America.

Early in December, 1908, vessels of the Dutch navy seized certain Venezuelan ships. This caused rioting throughout the Republic. The demonstrations were directed not so much at the Government as at the Castro regime. President Castro found it conducive to his safety to go abroad. Vice-President Dr. Juan Vincente Gomez assumed the duties of the President, administering them avowedly in the name of the absent President, until late in December, when a plot to assassinate Gomez was discovered and frustrated. Gomez thereupon assumed supreme control of the Government in his own name, declared Castro no longer President, and charged him with being implicated in the assassination plot. He also cancelled Senor Castro's "letter of unlimited credit" in Europe. He reorganized and reofficered the army, and set up a cabinet of his own choosing, and

took possession of the Bank of Venezuela, and established himself firmly in power at Caracas. He demonstrated his good will and sincerity in foreign affairs by revoking, January 1, 1909, the embargo on Caracan commerce, by offering fair and reasonable terms of settlement of Venezuela's differences with the French Cable Company, and agreeing to a plan for the resumption of diplomatic relations with the United States.

Meanwhile, Senor Castro in Germany declined at first to believe the news of his deposition, but finally accepted the situation, and announced that he would place no difficulties in the way of the new administration in settling pending difficulties with foreign Governments "even if this should involve my own withdrawal from activity in the affairs of the nation"!

A few days after the High Federal Court of Venezuela had declared Senor Cipriano Castro guilty of attempting to bring about the assassination of Acting-President Gomez, and that he was therefore "constitutionally suspended from the presidency," Castro sailed from France for the West Indies. Arriving at Trinidad the British authorities would not permit him to land. He continued to Fort de France, island of Martinique, where, when he attempted a forced sojourn, the French gendarmes carried him aboard the French vessel Versailles, bound for France.

In the year 1910 was celebrated throughout the Republic of Mexico the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of independence in that nation. Three names were most prominent and most honored in this celebration

NATIVE HOUSE.—ECUADOR.

Miguel Hidalgo Costilla, born of Creole parents, was the militant and patriotic priest who first sounded the signal for the rebellion of the Mexicans against Spanish oppression. On the 16th of September, 1810, Hidalgo summoned a little band of patriots to his church in the village of Dolores, near the city of Guanajuato, and from the bronze bell in the belfry, rang out the tocsin of Mexican independence. From the altar of the church Hidalgo took a banner bearing the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico, transfixed it with a lance, and thereafter used it as the banner of his army. Hidalgo in less than a week after his proclamation found himself at the

head of a volunteer army of 60,000 men. But, from lack of military knowledge, he was unable to follow up his advantage. Within four months his army was put to rout and he himself captured and put to ignominious death, a martyr to the great cause he advocated.

determined efforts and skilled leadership Mexico was finally freed from church domination. He was chosen the second President of the new republic in 1872.

The third name honored in the celebration was that of Porfirio Diaz, also of Indian extraction on his mother's side, whose

NATIONAL LIBRARY.—CITY OF MEXICO.

But the revolution went on. Spain sought to use the church as the chief agency in checking the movement for independence. This aroused strong popular feeling against the church, and brought into prominence the second man whose memory was so signally honored in the centennial celebration. Benito Juarez, a full-blooded Zapateca Indian, became one of the revolutionary leaders. Through his

eightieth birthday fell on September 15, 1910, almost coincident with the day of the celebration. He had just entered upon his eighth term as President, having, with the exception of Juarez's term, served continuously since the founding of the Republic. He was elected first in 1876, when he served one term, and was succeeded by Juarez. In 1884 Diaz was elected again by a great majority. After

that the one-term provision of the constitution was set aside to enable him to hold the office from term to term.

During the forty-five years previous to the first election of Diaz, there had been in Mexico more than two hundred revolutions, and about fifty different rulers. Diaz transformed the country. He policed the republic, established schools, encouraged industrial development—invited American friendship, enterprise, and capital—and in general brought order out of chaos. In the first twenty-five years under his rule, population increased fifty per cent., while production, industry, and wealth increased in higher ratio. The national finances and credit were placed upon a stable foundation. Notwithstanding his advanced age, President Diaz was reelected in 1904 and 1908.

For many years Hidalgo's bronze "Liberty Bell" had hung in a most prominent place upon the facade of the National Palace in Mexico City. This bell and Hidalgo's banner were the most prominent features of the centennial celebration. The official opening of the celebration was signaled upon Hidalgo's bell by President Diaz.

Peru attracted no little attention in 1909 by negotiating domestic loans to the amount of $5,000,000, and therewith cancelling all foreign indebtedness. Peru ranked as a rich and prosperous state, with a territory equal to one-third of the United States.

The dispute between Peru and Chile over the control of the two provinces, Tacna and Arica, which had been held by Chile since the war of 1883, after seventeen years of diplomatic effort, still remained unsettled. Under the treaty of Ancon it was to have been left to a plebiscite of the residents of the two provinces to determine to which nation they should belong. This vote was to have been taken in 1894. The original inhabitants of the provinces were mostly Peruvians, while many Chilean colonists flocked in following the war of 1883. The Peruvian Government insisted that only the native inhabitants should vote in the plebiscite, while Chile demanded that her colonists should vote also. Thus it happened that the two nations failed to agree, and the question remained open and threatening, sometimes portending war.

In 1910 the Transandine Railway, extending from Buenos Aires to Valparaiso was approaching completion. This transcontinental line of communication marked a new epoch of industrial and commercial development in South America, and had a strong influence in diverting attention from political into economic channels.

Reviewing the history of and the situation in the Spanish countries of South and Central America, one can but be reminded of the interesting prophecy of General Bolivar in 1815: "Mexico will be a Republic with a President holding office for life; Central America will form a confederation whose canals shall shorten the roads of the world; New Grenada, Venezuela and Ecuador will form the Republic of Colombia; Chile will be most stable of the republics; and Peru will be the prey of lasting trials, for it has in its lap the two foes of order—gold and slaves."

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—EUROPE, AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, 1909-1910.

Nowhere was all-the-world-round movement toward the reign of the people more conspicuous than in Europe. There, as elsewhere, it was evidently a movement destined never to cease until freedom of conscience, the liberty of the press, the right of free speech, and universal suffrage with constitutional government, should become fully established from the Rock of Gibraltar to the Steppes of the Siberian line. Spain faced a political revolution in which civil strife could be avoided only in proportion as the king and his court accepted a liberal program of administration and turned the revolutionary elements into peaceful and progressive channels. Already under the new impulse Spain was making tremendous strides forward. Italy was honeycombed with radical republicanism, and her people, like those of Spain, were but awaiting the opportunity to follow France into that condition of financial, commercial, and industrial prosperity which she had found under her republican form of government.

The agitation, disturbances, and riots among the German people, and the frequent outbursts in the Reichstag, indicated a feeling so widespread, so intense, and so earnest for universal suffrage and more liberal laws that it could be satisfied only by gratification. Not since the memorable days of 1848 had public sentiment been so aroused and determined. Austria-Hungary seethed with racial antipathies, and was in a ferment of racial aspiration, which only a larger liberty and greater freedom and independence could assuage.

The new Sultan of Turkey took rank as one of the liberal, progressive, and representative exponents of modern and popular ideas among the continental monarchs. He was wise enough to profit by the examples of sultans who preceded him who had attempted to thwart the popular will. Under his enlightened administration, Constantinople was being transformed into a modern city, and the Turkish nation brought into line with the progressive spirit of the age.

Russia was progressing slowly and painfully, but steadily and surely, to better, brighter, and happier days for her millions of oppressed people. The Czar had to contend with a heritage vastly more difficult to manage, and a system less elastic and much more primitive than that of any other European potentate. The entire machinery of the empire had to be overhauled in order to bring it into harmony with the thought and action of the twentieth century. But it was not to be doubted that the dogged perseverance and the never-failing persistence of the Russian people would inevitably finally succeed in reforming abuses, and in the establishment of the fullest liberty for even the lowliest peasant.

In England the long fight between the democracy and the hereditary House of Lords seemed about to be decided in favor of the people. King Edward, the most democratic of monarchs, apparently recognized the spirit of the age, and calmly and with dignity accepted the progressive movements in his empire with clear vision and wisdom and true statesmanship. His counsel went further with the crowned heads of Europe than that of any other monarch who ever occupied a throne, and his wise example, if followed, promised to delay for a time the inevitable dissolution of the monarchical systems of the conti-

nent, and to smooth the way for the final disappearance of emperors, kings, and thrones. It was apparent on every hand, however, that the stage of royalty in Europe was set for the closing act in its long play, and that but few decades of the new century would pass until the curtain would be rung down upon the royal actors who were departing forever.

The decade was a most important one in the affairs of England. The opening

CAPE TOWN AND THE KLOOF.

years of the new century found her still engaged in the unfortunate war in South Africa. In November and December of 1900 the British had sustained defeats at Dewetsdorp in the Orange Free State. Again they were defeated in the mountains west of Praetoria, and General DeWet, in spite of all British efforts to the contrary, succeeded in crossing the Orange River into Cape Colony. Meanwhile, the victorious home-coming of Lord Roberts had been marred by Lord Kitchener's request for more troops. Reinforcements were sent, but for a time but little was accomplished by the augmented British forces. The commander-in-chief was in favor of a conciliatory policy as an initiative to peace, but the distrust of the Milner-Chamberlain combination on the part of the Boers was so great that but little attention was paid to Lord Kitchener's proposals when he presented them.

In February of 1901 an additional force of thirty thousand English soldiers was sent to South Africa, and the commander-in-chief inaugurated the policy which eventually terminated the war. Farmhouses were burned or blown up, everything destructible was destroyed, the face of the country rendered bare and desolate, and the non-combatants whom this policy made homeless were collected in vast camps, where many of them perished. In March General DeWet was driven north of the Orange River after a series of successful attacks upon British supply trains and detached bodies of troops. The Boer officials now felt compelled to listen to peace negotiations. On the 8th of March an armistice of one week was agreed upon to allow General Botha to communicate the peace plans of the British commander to the other Boer generals. The negotiations were unsuccessful, and soon General DeWet and his fellow-commanders were

waging the bitterest sort of guerilla warfare along the Vaal River, while General Botha was equally active in the Eastern Transvaal.

On the 18th of April negotiations were begun again, in this instance by General Botha, and were inspired by the English feeling that Mr. Chamberlain's rejection of the former terms had been an inexcusable blunder.

GENERAL PIET CRONJE.

During the months of May, June, and July, 1901, the Boers kept up an active campaign, but such were their surroundings that they were forced to release all prisoners after taking their arms and ammunition. The English, on the contrary, depended for ultimate success upon the imprisonment or transportation of every prisoner. These they deported in large numbers to Ceylon, St. Helena, and the Bermudas. In pursuance of their policy of devastating the country, concentration camps of the non-combatants were formed, and the suffering and sickness therein made the darkest pages in the story of the war. In October it was estimated that five hundred and seventy-two children in a thousand died of disease due to exposure and bad conditions in the camps, and of twelve thousand deaths in six months, ten thousand were children. Even the heart of England, intent upon imperialism, revolted at such a result as this, and the people began to realize what the commanders in the field had long recognized, that this was no common foe, that here were no trivial principles at war, but that this sort of men and these principles were the same as those upon which England's glory rested.

The events of the succeeding three months were favorable to the Boer cause. The dissatisfied inhabitants of Cape Colony made common cause with their brethren of the Transvaal, and thus the war progressed until the end of January, 1902, when Holland made efforts to bring about peace by suggesting an interview between English ministers and the Boer delegates then in Europe. These overtures England refused to receive, believing that negotiations could be conducted better at the seat of war. The attempt was not without effect, however, for larger forces again had been called for to garrison the constantly lengthening line of English blockhouses. General Delaney, by a brilliant bit of strategy, had divided the forces

of General Methuen, scattering one part and capturing the other, including the commander. The war already had cost the English people seven hundred and twenty-five million pounds, and the debt was increasing at the rate of twenty millions a month. England was paying heavily for doubtful glory, and the "Roman peace" which would come eventually would leave her no tangible rewards.

Both sides were seeking the way for cessation of hostilities. The Boers claimed they could continue the war for three years longer, but evidently with no permanent advantage to themselves or their cause. Meanwhile, the "Colossus of South Africa," Cecil Rhodes, had died. New ideas of the Boers were prevalent in England, where powerful friends were pleading their cause. Most powerful of all arguments was the enormous increase in taxation due to the war.

Final negotiations for peace began on March 23, 1902. After a conference, in which it was determined to submit the question of a cessation of hostilities to the burghers in the field, negotiations were formally opened with the British Government through Lord Kitchener. The majority of the fighting Boers were for peace.

On June 2 Arthur J. Balfour, First Lord of the English Treasury and Government leader, made the following announcement in the House of Commons of the terms of peace:

"His Excellency Lord Miner, in behalf of the British Government; His Excellency Mr. Steyn, General Brenner, and General Schalkburger, General Reitz, General Lord Botha, and General Delaney, acting in behalf of their respective burghers, desiring to terminate the present hostilities, agree to the following terms:

"First—The burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms and hand over all guns, rifles, and ammunition of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from further resistance, and acknowledge King Edward VII. as their lawful sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant General Botha, assisted by General Delaney and Chief Commandant DeWet.

"Second—All burghers outside the limits of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa, who are burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of His Majesty, be brought back to their homes so soon as means of transportation can be provided and means of subsistence assured.

"Third — The burghers so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or property.

"Fourth—No proceeding, civil or criminal, will be taken against burghers surrendering or so returning for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefits of this clause do not extend to certain acts contrary to the usages of war, which have been notified by the Commander-in-Chief to the Boer generals, and which shall be tried by court-martial after the close of hostilities.

"Fifth—The Dutch language will be taught in the public schools of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, where the parents desire it, and will be allowed in the courts of law for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

"Sixth—Possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection, on taking out a license according to law.

"Seventh—The military administration of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, will, at the earlist possible date, be succeeded by a civil government, and so soon as circumstances permit, representa-

tive institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced.

"Eighth—The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

"Ninth—No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal or Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

"Tenth—So soon as the conditions permit it, a commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the presidency of a magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting in the restoration of the people to their homes, and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide for themselves, with food and shelter and the necessary amount of seed, stock, and implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations. His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these commissions the sum of £3,000,000 ($15,000,000), and will allow all the notes issued under the law of 1900 of the South African Republic, and all receipts given up to officers in the field, of the late republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a judicial commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first named commission as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to which they were originally given.

"In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances, on loan, for the same purposes, free of interest for two years, and afterward repayable over a period of years, with 3 per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to benefit under this clause."

England had won the nominal victory by her stronger physical force and resources, but the Boers had won the moral respect of the world, and exhibited those qualities which gave promise of achieving peaceful victories which would be greater triumphs than their opponents had gained in war.

As the year 1900 drew to its close it became known that Queen Victoria's health was failing rapidly. She persisted in her habits of work to the last, and but a few days before her death summoned Lord Roberts to the Isle of Wight for a personal interview.

The South African war was a source of great anxiety to her. The failure to terminate the struggle, the constant calls for reinforcements, the many bereavements in her own circle of friends and associates, was a burden greater than her years could bear. Her condition became alarming, and, after three days of suspense and sorrow, she died on January 22, 1901, surrounded by her children and grandchildren. Thus ended the longest and most remarkable reign in English history.

When Victoria ascended the throne in 1837 at the age of twenty years, the foundations of monarchy in Great Britain were shaking. The republican spirit was abroad in Europe, and some of the later as well as the earlier English sovereigns had left unsavory records. It is to the lasting glory of the young Queen that, by her high character, her virtue, her wisdom, her good sense, and her broad sympathy, her tact and diplomacy, she soon established herself firmly in the confidence and affections of her people. During her long reign she rehabilitated and restored the throne, and made her queenly office the most powerful institution in the kingdom.

There have been great sovereigns of England, great Queens of England as well,

but no one of them owed that greatness to high traits of personal character to the same degree as Queen Victoria. Her early education was planned to make her an educated, accomplished woman, to develop the qualities of heart and soul, of tenderness and sympathy, of feminine tact and intuition. These qualities, with native good sense and sound judgment, carried her through the earlier years of her reign in which she won the respect of her subjects, to those later years when she was looked upon with universal love and reverence as the mother of her people.

The Queen was a marvelous worker. Her sense of duty and responsibility was profound, and was the strongest motive of her life. As time went on she accumulated a wisdom and experience that was remarkable. The sovereign of fifteen parliaments and ten prime ministers, and related also by blood and marriage to more than half the courts of Europe, she became necessarily a past-master of statecraft. She possessed an extraordinary and profound knowledge of public affairs, a wisdom, a memory, an intuitive insight, and a balanced judgment which gave her that remarkable ascendency which she wielded so many years. She maintained a steady and persistent influence on the action of her ministers in the course of legislation and reform which no one could mistake or ignore. No minister in her long reign ever disregarded her advice, or pressed her to disregard it, without afterward feeling that he had incurred a dangerous responsibility. While she never dictated she influenced, and, although she never arrogated to herself a prerogative of command, yet she always guided by a subtle influence of expostulation and argument. She was the editor, the critic, the final authority, in the policy of her realm.

During her reign the map of Europe underwent many changes, but through them all the growth of England continued undiminished. The results of British activity were concentrated into that Imperial England from whose remotest confines she was hailed as Queen and Empress.

Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, upon the death of his mother, Queen Victoria, became King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India. He was then in his sixtieth year, having been born November 9, 1841. He assumed the title of King Edward VII. When his mother reached her sixtieth year she had been Queen for forty-two years. The new King had had a long period of preparation for his responsibilities.

In his younger days the Prince had been regarded as a good deal of a profligate, with no serious side to his nature and no capacity for statesmanship. As he grew older he developed into a shrewd, well-equipped man of the world.

Wisely, or unwisely, Queen Victoria was of an excessively jealous disposition in all that related to the crown. Instead of making her son and probable successor an understudy, and preparing him to take her place sooner or later, she vigorously restricted him to the performance of ceremonial functions. For many years, therefore, there had devolved upon him the social tasks that had fallen in an earlier period to his father, then Prince Consort. His mother had never made him a confidential adviser on affairs of state. His one duty in her eyes, from a political point of view, was to efface himself, to abstain from any expression of opinion upon public affairs. The Prince, however, was not only a loyal subject of the Queen, but he had been brought up to honor and obey his mother.

Under these somewhat anomalous and trying circumstances Albert Edward had, by long practice, acquired a marvelous prudence and tact in relation to all public questions. To meet social requirements he could upon occasion don his gold lace

CORNATION OF KING EDWARD VII.

and decorations, and look and act the Prince. Yet by temperament and habit he was modern and democratic. His marked personal preference was always easy clothes, a soft hat, and a comfortable place in the smoking-room. When he became King he rose to the occasion. With his accession to the throne Albert Edward disappeared. In his place there stood Edward VII., dignified, kingly, not weighed down, but rather inspired and lifted up by a consciousness of his new responsibility and sovereignty.

As the date set for the formal coronation of King Edward approached, June 26, 1902, a very disturbing announcement of his serious illness was made. On June 24 a medical consultation decided that his condition was serious, and that a surgical operation was immediately necessary. An abscess near the appendix must be removed. The date of coronation was postponed. Happily the operation was successful. His convalescence was favorable, and finally, on August 6, 1902, he was crowned, with ceremonies modified to suit his weakened condition.

Meanwhile Lord Salisbury had resigned the office of Prime Minister and had been succeeded by his nephew, the Honorable Arthur J. Balfour.

The first problem facing the new administration, and the most important, was the serious condition of English industry. In the winter of 1903 it was estimated that seventy thousand of the returned soldiers from South Africa were unable to find work, while the idle in the United Kingdom numbered millions. Moreover, English commerce and trade had found an increasingly formidable competitor in Germany. To remedy the situation Mr. Chamberlain

proposed to organize an imperial customs union with a policy of protection, thus departing from the time-honored traditions of Bright and Cobden. This plan aroused a storm of criticism and opposition, and led to a partial rupture in the cabinet.

In December, 1905, Mr. Balfour, after a year of hesitation, resigned as the English Prime Minister, and his Cabinet followed him. King Edward summoned Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal leader, to form a new cabinet. This change ended ten years of Unionist rule.

On April 5, 1908, Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman, after three years of most strenuous service, was compelled to tender his resignation on acount of ill health. The resignation was accepted, and ten days later the ex-Premier died, at the age of seventy-three. King Edward appointed Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister, and First Lord of the Treasury.

The first Parliament of King Edward VII. assembled in February, 1906. It was the first Liberal Parliament to be returned in twenty years, and had been chosen after a most spirited campaign. The ascendency of the Liberal party to power precipitated the long-pending battle in the United Kingdom between the progressive democracy, represented by the elective House of Commons on the one hand, and ultra-conservatism, represented by the hereditary House of Lords on the other.

Various progressive measures, held more or less in abeyance hitherto, now forced their way to a hearing. The Liberal majority of 429 members in the new Parliament included 54 Labor M. P.'s, with James Keir Hardie as Labor Leader in the Commons, and John Burns in the Ministry. This made the Labor Party a formidable political factor. One of the early results was the introduction of a Government bill relieving trades unions from responsibilities for damages arising from acts of any member or members. This passed almost at once to a second reading in the Commons. The Commons also passed an amendment to the Aliens Act which provided that, when there was a labor dispute in Great Britain, no foreigners should be allowed to enter the country to take the place of striking workmen. This amendment was rejected by the Lords.

HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.
Prime Minister of England.

A startling motion was introduced in the House of Commons in February, 1907. It declared the sense of the British people to be in favor of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Established Church in England and Wales. The motion was adopted by a vote of 198 to 80.

The opening of the new century in general terms recorded satisfactory progress in English colonial government. In 1907, New Zealand became a dominion with her own parliamentary government. In the same year in South Africa was seen a splendid evidence of British genius for administering conquered possessions without incurring the rancor of the subjected peoples. The Transvaal Parliament, on motion of Premier Botha, voted to purchase the Cullinan diamond, the largest in the world, a product of their own mines, and present it to King Edward, "as a token of the loyalty of the people of the Transvaal, and in commemoration of the grant of responsible government."

In August, 1907, the Trades Union Congress held its fortieth session at Bath. There were thirty-two members of Parliament in attendance upon this highly important gathering. The reforms enumerated in the Conference included: Reduction of working hours in all trades; old-age pensions; public work for the unemployed; compulsory state insurance; reform of the poor laws; and land nationalization. Following the sessions of the Congress came the settlement of a threatened railway strike of the largest proportions. Eleven of the leading railway companies, and representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, signed a six-year agreement. This agreement covered 600,000 employes.

The problem of the unemployed proved to be one of the greatest questions England was called to face at the new century's opening. The statistics gathered by governmental and philanthropic agencies were staggering. In London, the richest capital of the richest empire in the world, there were hundreds, thousands, of able-bodied men, willing and anxious to work, driven desperate by want, literally fainting and falling in the streets from hunger. In the elementary schools it was found that 122,000, sixteen per cent., of the children were so weakened by hunger that they could not do their work—ninety per cent. in one school. In the streets of London great processions of the unemployed, running high into the thousands in numbers, were a common spectacle. They bore banners with such mottoes as—"Curse your Charity! Give us Work!" "We don't want Alms! We want Justice!" In 1908 there were over a half million of men out of work in the United Kingdom, and 250,000 paupers and out-of-door dependents in London alone. In 1909 it was estimated that there were 7,000,000 people in actual want from lack of work.

The out-of-work question became a strong factor in politics, much of the legislation being devoted to social questions. In 1907, Victor Grayson, an out-and-out Socialist, was the first of his class to be elected to Parliament. He called himself the "Member for the Disinherited Earth, the Aged Poor, the Sweated Worker, and the Starving Child." His program of reform embraced such items as: The right to work; old-age pensions; votes for women; nationalization of the land; free trade; free maintenance of school children; the abolition of the House of Lords; an income tax; and public ownership of the liquor business.

A notable outgrowth of the hard conditions of the unemployed was the work of the Salvation Army in colonizing them on open lands in Canada. In three years, beginning with 1906, the Army took 50,000 colonists into Canada. The Unemployed Workmen's Act, secured from Parliament, authorized municipalities to aid the unemployed in emigrating. The Army also lent its aid until the colonists could become established. Out of the 50,000 thus aided less than one per cent. failed to return their loans. They had found opportunity, health, independence.

There was room in Canada for 50,000,000 subjects.

A royal commission appointed in 1908 reported that, without encroaching upon agricultural lands, and with a modest initial expense, a policy of "reforesting" the United Kingdom could be inaugurated, so that, at the beginning of the next generation the profit to the State would be $100,000,000. Meanwhile, employment would be given to a vast number of men then idle through no fault of their own.

In May, 1908, the Old-Age Pension Bill was presented by the Government. It provided for the payment of a pension of $1.25 weekly to every inhabitant of the United Kingdom over 70 years of age, except criminals, lunatics, and paupers, and all persons who had private incomes of $2.50 or more per week, provided that the appropriation for pension purposes should not be over $30,000,000 in any one year. The pension would apply to about one-half million people. The Act was adopted.

In February, 1908, the Government introduced a new Liquor Licensing Bill. It was primarily a revenue bill. It fixed a time limit of fourteen years for existing licenses, and proposed to reduce the public houses one hundred thousand in England and Wales, by one-third, limiting them to one to each 750 inhabitants in cities, and to every 400 in rural districts. The Lords rejected this measure.

The matter of public education became one of the "burning" questions of politics. In 1906, the Birrell Education Bill was introduced as a Liberal Party measure. It was presented as a substitute for the Conservative measure of 1902. This Act had aroused much nonconformist resistance in the way of refusal to pay taxes for the support of schools under the control of the Established Church. The new bill provided that, after January 1, 1908, only the schools provided by the local educational authorities should be recognized as public schools, and that no public funds after that date could be expended on any other schools. This meant that all voluntary denominational schools, if they desired to continue to receive Government support, must become public schools, and be satisfied with the same undenominational religious instruction as given in other public schools. Attendance upon this religious instruction should not be compulsory, nor should there be any religious test for teachers. The measure aroused vigorous opposition from the Established Church, the Catholics, and the Nationalists. The Bill passed its third reading by a majority of 192 in the Commons, June, 1906, and went to the Lords.

This measure, while styled the Education Bill, really related more to theology than to pedagogy. It was a part of the age-long struggle between sacerdotalism and rationalism. The question at issue was: When the state pays the whole cost of maintenance of the schools, shall the control of the school be vested in the state, or shall the control be shared with the churches which contribute nothing to the schools? In December, 1906, the Lords amended the Bill so as to compel denominational instruction in public schools during regular school hours. The Commons, ten days later, rejected the amendments by a vote of 416 to 107. The Cabinet also rejected the amendments, and withdrew the Bill.

In March, 1908, a new Education Bill was introduced. It was a weak modification of the Birrell Bill, but was violently opposed by the Establishment, and finally rejected by the Lords.

In 1906, the Government introduced a measure for the improvement of the government of Ireland. This provided for a Representative Council for Ireland to consist of 107 members, eighty-two to be selected by Irish householders including

peers and women, and twenty-five to be nominated by the Crown. The Irish National Conference denounced the Bill, and it was evident the Lords would not pass it. In 1907, Mr. Birrell, formerly president of the Board of Education, was made Chief Secretary for Ireland, to succeed Mr. Bryce, who had been made Ambassador to the United States. Mr. Birrell announced a new Government bill for a Council for Ireland, and Mr. Bryce in departing announced the proposed creation of an Irish University.

In March, 1908, John Redmond presented a resolution in the Commons for giving to the Irish people legislative and executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the imperial parliament. The resolution was adopted by a vote of two to one.

In January, 1909, two thousand delegates met in the national convention of the United Irish League at Dublin. Their chief work was the endorsement of the Birrell Land Purchase Bill, which aimed to enlarge the scope of the Wyndham Act of 1903, and to insure the distribution of not only a part, but all of the landed estates of Ireland among peasant proprietors.

The agitation for woman suffrage reached a most acute stage. In 1906, James Kier Hardie, the Labor leader, introduced a motion in the Commons in favor of woman suffrage. The motion was tabled, but the discussion was made the occasion for a sensational demonstration by a number of prominent "Suffragettes." During the summer Mr. Asquith and other ministers were besieged in their homes by the earnest and belligerent women. Some women, objecting to "taxation without representation," suffered their houses and goods to be sold rather than to pay their assessed taxes.

Many women of all classes took up the suffrage propaganda with great enthusiasm, leading often to public disorder. A monster demonstration of suffragettes took place in London streets, July 1, 1908. The women besieged the House of Commons, and 5,000 policemen were required to prevent their invading the Parliament House. The occasion was the declaration of Premier Asquith that the women of Great Britain had shown no great desire for the suffrage. This was the women's answer. Even then the Premier refused to receive them.

In June, 1909, the South African Union had been ratified by the Transvaal, Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, and Natal, thus establishing a new nation, the United States of South Africa, under a form of government similar to that of Canada, except that the provinces possessed no exclusive powers. The new Federation included 660,000 square miles of territory, and a population of five and one-half millions, of which one million were white.

In India, the new century found a spirit of unrest, approaching at times to open sedition and revolution. Great changes were taking place. The long period of British rule and contact with Western civilization had tended slowly to enlighten and unify the Indian people. Old traditions and superstitions were gradually disappearing. Education was breaking down the notion of caste. The idea of autonomy, of nationalization, had taken root, the propaganda for self-government, which had been waged so vigorously for a quarter of a century, was bearing fruit. Politically speaking, India was fast becoming another "Ireland." The question turned fundamentally upon the matter of the fitness of the Indian people for self-government. It was held that it was not a matter of congratulation, that, after a century and a half of English rule, only nine out of every one hundred Hindus were literate.

In May, 1909, a new India came into

existence. Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, with the co-operation of Viceroy Minto, so amended the constitution of Hindustan that thereafter natives should be associated with Englishmen in both the legislative and administrative branches of the Indian Government. The immediate effect in India was most wholesome. It quieted revolutionary agitation, quickened the aspiration for autonomous government, infused new faith in the native in his own ability for self-government, and also in the desire and purpose of Great Britain gradually to permit the Indian to come into his own.

In April, 1907, the Fourth British Colonial Conference met in London. Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Australia, New Zealand, Natal, Canada, and Newfoundland, were represented. The urgent request of the colonies for trade preference among themselves was defeated by the Imperial Government, such a preference being construed as in the nature of a tariff, which would be incompatible with British free-trade policy.

In 1907 England entered into an alliance with France and Spain relating to all matters pertaining to the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. An understanding was also reached with Russia, covering their respective interests in Central Asia, Persia, and Tibet. About this time, England renounced the idea of further territorial expansion, stating her purpose to direct her principal efforts to the cultural development of the countries already under her scepter.

As the new century opened the latent feeling of hostility between England and Germany became more active. While no one could point to any overt act of either the German or the British Government or people, yet by 1907 the German press teemed with anti-British sentiments, and the British press was equally active in giving expression to anti-German feeling. While historically, and otherwise, there was every ground for cordial friendship between the two nations, the real ground of dissension was that, England, so long the "mistress of the seas," looked with jealous apprehension on the growth of the German navy, and the magnificent development of German commerce and industry.

The appropriations for the English navy, 1907-8, were $40,000,000. Seven new battleships, five cruisers, and a number of smaller vessels, were under construction. Premier Asquith announced it to be the policy of the Government to maintain a "two-power" standard of naval strength, which he explained meant a "preponderance of ten per cent. over the combined strength of the two next strongest powers." By 1909, the naval program had become an open building contest with Germany. It was a battle of purses.

In October, 1905, the English laid the keel of the *Dreadnought*, an all-big-gun ship of great displacement and high speed. At once a race set in among the nations, in building sea monsters of this new type. By 1909, Great Britain had eighteen such ships built, under way, or projected, Germany thirteen, and the other nations thirty-nine. These ships represented on an average an outlay of $10,000,000 each. In England the battleship craze had reached the point of an obsession. The nation which for generations had led the world in the introduction of law, the peaceful development of commerce and industry, the advancement of letters and science, and the spread of humanitarian ideas, was now given over to a fever of militarism. Notwithstanding an already over-burdened budget, against which the taxpayers were in rebellion, the naval estimates for 1909 showed an increase of $70,000,000 over the estimates of the preceding year.

In June, 1909, England mobilized her great fleet of more than 350 warships upon the east coast of Scotland for a series of naval maneuvers. One of the features was a "German invasion," represented by a portion of the fleet and routed by the remainder.

No doubt in an effort to allay in part at least the growing feeling of hostility between the two nations, Kaiser Wilhelm and King Edward exchanged visits in 1908 and 1909. The reception of each monarch in the country of the other was most cordial and kindly.

Not before in all English parliamentary history had there arisen such a crucial situation as appeared in the opening of the twentieth century. The stubborn attitude of the House of Lords against reform measures threatened their reorganization or abolition. Late in 1908, as already stated, by a decisive vote the Lords rejected the new Licensing Bill, which provided increased revenue from the liquor business, and the gradual curtailing of the trade. This bill was the result of widespread and long-continued agitation throughout the country and discussion in Parliament. It had passed the Commons by very substantial majorities. The Lords, as before recorded, also had rejected the Education Bill, another very popular measure. Their action on these two propositions provoked such a storm of indignation that the Lords themselves recognized that they must submit to some reform of the Upper Chamber. As constituted no man sat in the House of Lords except for the sole reason that he was the son of his father. The Lords took up for consideration a motion which proposed to abolish heredity entirely as a sole qualification for membership. It proposed also that the holder of a seat in the Lords must either have sat for ten years in the Commons, have held some important office, or have been elected by the Peers. This plan, if adopted, would reduce the membership of the Upper House from 608 to 350.

But before any conclusion was reached, a startling crisis was precipitated. In April, 1909, David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented in the House of Commons the annual budget. There was a deficit of over $78,000,000, coming down from the preceding year, due to the payment of the Old-Age Pensions and the vastly increased naval expenses. Revenues must be provided to meet this deficit, and to meet corresponding increased expenses for the current year. The total budget amounted to $850,000,000. The plan proposed was to derive the additional revenues as far as possible from accumulated wealth, and from "the trade" as the liquor business was popularly called. To the regular revenues were to be added higher taxes on incomes, inheritances, and real estate, stamp taxes on real estate and stock exchange transactions, an increase on liquor licenses, and taxes on spirits, tobacco, and automobiles. The Chancellor's statement was lengthy, and was characterized by one enthusiast as "the biggest instrument of social reform ever devised."

The budget was approved by the Commons, and passed on to the Lords. Then ensued one of the most notable debates in parliamentary history, bringing into the forum England's ablest statesmen, scholars, and prelates. Finally, by a vote of 350 to 75, the House of Lords declined to approve the budget until it had first been submitted to a referendum vote of the people. Thus was created a situation unprecedented in English history, at least in three hundred years. The action of the Lords was followed immediately by a manifesto of the National Liberal Federation, which, among other things said: "If the present action of the Peers is not repudiated swiftly by the people, the

rights and privileges won so dearly by our forefathers in the great struggle for freedom are all surrendered. In the fight forced upon us, the electors will have to decide whether they wish to govern themselves or to be governed at second hand by a few hundred hereditary peers, who have thrown the Constitution into the melting-pot in order to shift the burden of taxation from wealth, land, and liquor, to food and the necessaries of life."

Premier Asquith presented a resolution in the House of Commons to the effect that the refusal of the House of Lords to pass into law the financial provisions made by the lower chamber, was a breach of the Constitution, and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons. Parliament was prorogued, and the whole matter referred to the electorate.

While nominally the point at issue was the approval of the budget, the real question related to the further existence and the constitution of the House of Lords. The chief defects urged against the Lords were: The unduly large number of Peers; the hereditary basis; that they represented unearned, inherited, vested interests, instead of the popular welfare; scanty attendance; incompetency. The conflict was joined afresh between the two principles of hereditary legislation and representative government. Should the Sons of their Fathers give way to a Senate of Somebodies? The spirit of democracy was again on the march against the survival of that system of caste which was an anachronism in the modern world.

For several centuries England had witnessed the slow but sure crumbling of feudal institutions, as the forces of modern life and of an awakened democracy had made their successive demands. The House of Commons in 1909, with its great group of labor members and its enormous Liberal and Radical majority, was unlike any previous House of Commons since Cromwellian days in its firm opposition to arbitrary discriminations in favor of the aristocratic and privileged classes. The institutions of England, while in many respects most admirable and generous toward the nation at large, were in other respects monstrously unfair in the privileges they accorded to the landed aristocracy as represented by the House of Lords, to the established church, and to other favored interests. Hence it happened that when the Lloyd-George budget was presented, with its proposal of a tax on lands—a provision which to a Frenchman or an American would have seemed only as a reasonable move in the direction of obvious justice—it aroused the most vigorous opposition and virulent discussion.

This fight of the centuries for freedom from British feudalism has had many historic dates. One of them was the Reform Act of 1832. Others came in Mr. Gladstone's time, with suffrage extensions, the reform of the Irish Church, and so on. The rejection of the Liberal budget by the Lords in 1909 fixed another of these dates. The election of a new Parliament in 1910, and the discussions to follow, were to discover whether or not Englishmen at large were yet sufficiently emancipated to stand for themselves and their children, or were even yet so greatly under the mental, moral, and social thraldom of the feudal and caste system, that they still preferred to be governed by the hereditary House of Lords rather than by their own chosen representatives in the House of Commons.

After one of the most exciting campaigns in English political annals the results of the election were inconclusive. The Liberal majority in the Commons was reduced, and the Nationalists (the Irish or Home Rule party) and the Laborites

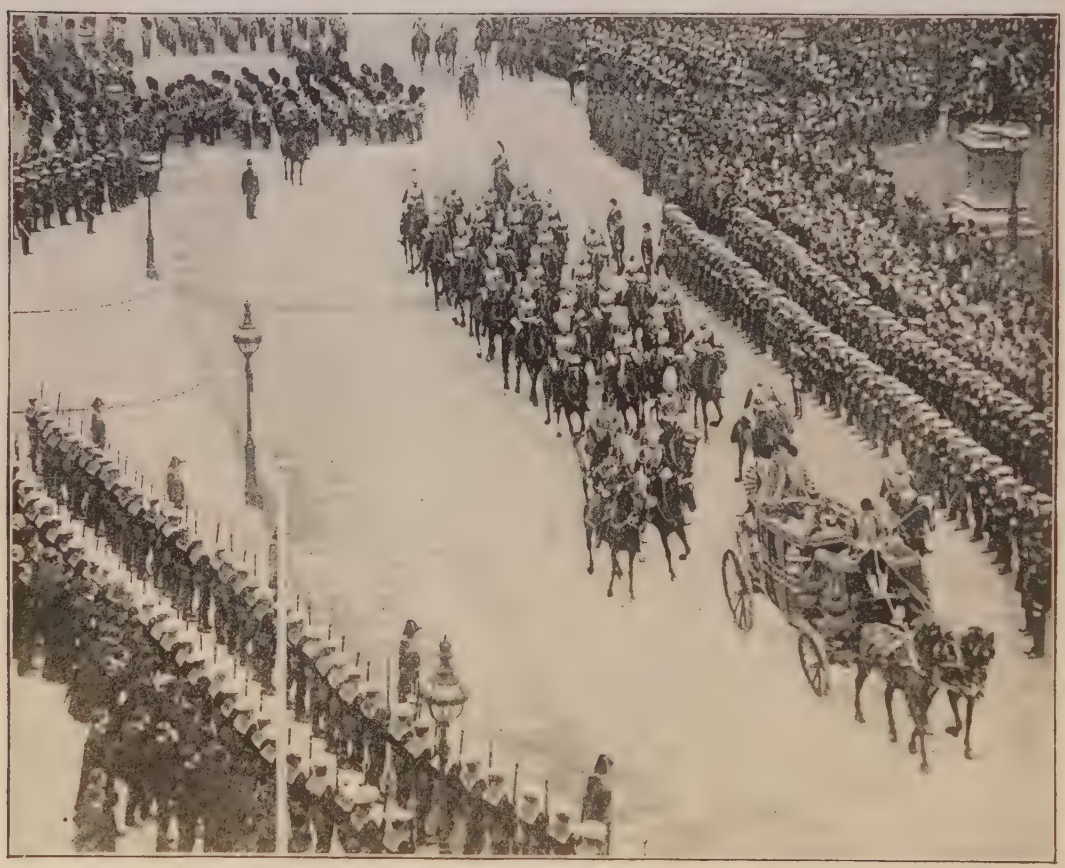
were dissatisfied with the Liberal program. Owing, however, to the absolute necessity of sustaining the administration of public affairs, when the new parliament met in February, 1910, there was a disposition on all hands to reach some compromise ground for passing the budget, leaving other questions for settlement later.

The address from the throne was the shortest ever delivered. Among other things the King said:

"Proposals will be laid before you with all convenient speed to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament so as to secure the individual authority of the House of Commons over finance, and its predominance in legislation."

Premier Asquith announced that it was the program of the Government to exclude all other questions until the budget was passed. Then the matter of the relations of the two Houses, and of the constitution of the Lords would be taken up. He declared: "It is the intention to introduce nothing further till these contentions have been set at rest forever."

Mr. Balfour, leader of the opposition, expressed an unwilling consent to pass the budget, declaring that if it could be isolated from all other questions it would be rejected. He charged the Government with insincerity in its perfunctory support of Home Rule. He had analyzed 149 speeches of Cabinet members and found but one voluntary reference to Home Rule. Under such circumstances



FUNERAL OF KING EDWARD VII.—ROYAL FAMILY AND ESCORT.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Sept. 15, 1857. Born, Cincinnati, Ohio.
1878. Graduated Yale University, second honors and class orator.
1880. Graduated Cincinnati Law School, dividing first honors.
1880. Assistant Prosecuting Attorney, Hamilton County, Ohio.
1881. Collector Internal Revenue, First Ohio District.
1885. Assistant County Solicitor, Hamilton County, Ohio.
1887. Judge Superior Court, Hamilton County, Ohio. Re-elected at end of term.
1890. Solicitor General of the United States.
1893. Judge Sixth Federal Circuit Court.
1900. Chairman Philippine Commission, and First Provisional Governor.
1900-1904. Three times declined appointment to Supreme Court Bench, his life ambition.
1904. Secretary of War, and Chief Adviser to President. "Secretary of the Colonies." Overseer of Philippines, Cuba and Panama. Builder of Panama Canal. Reorganizer and Pacificator of Cuba. "Secretary of Peace."
1908. President of the United States.

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the Irish party could be expected to give but indifferent support to the budget or any other measure of the Liberals. Upon its merits the Home Rule question should should that matter be postponed or subordinated?

Finally, on the last day of February, 1910, after a long series of skirmishes,

GEORGE V., KING OF ENGLAND.

lead all others. Again, not only the Lords themselves, but all parties in the Commons, desired that the Upper House should be reformed. The Labor party would abolish it altogether. Why, then reconnoisances, and consultations, Premier Asquith announced a tentative program for the Government. It was a compromise plan and was accepted by all parties without opposition. First the

discussion of the budget would be postponed, and temporary measures adopted to meet the immediate financial necessities of the Government. Thereafter a resolution would be presented depriving the House of Lords of all authority over finances, and all power of vetoing the measures of the Lower House, leaving to the Lords only the functions of delay and discussion. If this proposition carried, it was to be followed by a proposition to transform the House of Lords from a hereditary to a democratic body.

On May 5, 1910, King Edward of England, who had for some time been in poor health, died. His death, though not unantisipated, threw England into deepest gloom. The country was in a great ferment over the prolonged attempt to reform the House of Lords. In the midst of such a political crisis the death of the King was regarded as a peculiarly untimely event.

The announcement of the death of King Edward was received with genuine and universal national and international grief. His funeral brought together the greatest number of crowned heads ever congregated. They all humbly joined the English people in their expressions of grief and their tributes of respect. Ex-President Roosevelt of the United States was a notable figure in the funeral ceremonies, which he attended as special ambassador of the United States at the request of President Taft.

King Edward was immediately succeeded by his son, the Prince of Wales, who took the title of King George V. First as Duke of York, afterwards as Prince of Wales, King George had always conducted himself in a modest and unostentatious manner. Hence, he was to a large extent unknown in a familiar way to the English people. He had spent many years in practical service in the navy and was more of a sailor than a prince. He had visited and sojourned in the various English colonies, and was well equipped with practical knowledge of men and affairs, however little he might know of politics and diplomacy. However, he ascended the throne as a mature man—in his forty-fifth year—and ranked as a man of stable character and of conscientious devotion to duty. His accession was accomplished without any apparent disturbance of conditions at home or abroad.

At the opening of the century the election of Emile Loubet as the successor of President Faure and the re-opening of the Dreyfus case afforded an opportunity to the petty revolutionists of France for the more or less noisy publication of their doctrines. Unfortunately for the cause of the revolutionists, but equally fortunate for France, the plans of the malcontents were easily recognized as either personal or malicious. They represented destruction in any case, with consequences either reactionary or of an ultra-military tendency.

The Court of Cassation remanded the Dreyfus case to a new court-martial, which met at Rennes, August 7, 1900. All who had had any previous connection with the case were summoned as witnesses. Some of the documents used in the first trial had disappeared and much of the evidence was seen to be false or manufactured. Moreover, the statements of the witnesses did not agree as to facts. There were many points of internal and circumstantial evidence against the prisoner which it seemed the counsel for the defense could neither destroy nor explain. This evidence, in the opinion of the military court, was sufficient to secure a verdict of guilty by a vote of five to two. A sentence of ten years in a military fortress was imposed, but the five years spent in Cayenne were deducted and the remainder remitted by the President because of the prisoner's impaired health.

Dreyfus and his large number of influential friends and supporters were entirely unwilling to accept anything short of absolute acquittal. They finally secured an impartial rehearing and July 12, 1906, witnessed the end of the famous case which had claimed the attention of the world for twelve years. Captain Dreyfus was finally and fully cleared of the charge of being a traitor and a spy, which a corrupt army clique had so persistently and unjustly urged against him. He was restored to the army with advanced rank, and decorated with the insignia of the Legion of Honor.

The dangers which had so disturbed the Republic had led the Liberals to believe that the religious orders, which had controlled the education of the upper classes, were responsible for the unpatriotic attitude of their former pupils. Moreover, it was charged that one or two of the orders had contributed directly to the financial support of the revolutionary parties.

Two methods were adopted to counteract this influence—one by preventive legislation, the other by popular education. This latter experiment, the Universities Populaires, was the counterpart of the English University Extension movement. The object was not so much to give a regular course of instruction as to bring the masses of the people into direct contact with the greatest minds of France, to disseminate knowledge of all sorts, and in particular to stimulate individual thought.

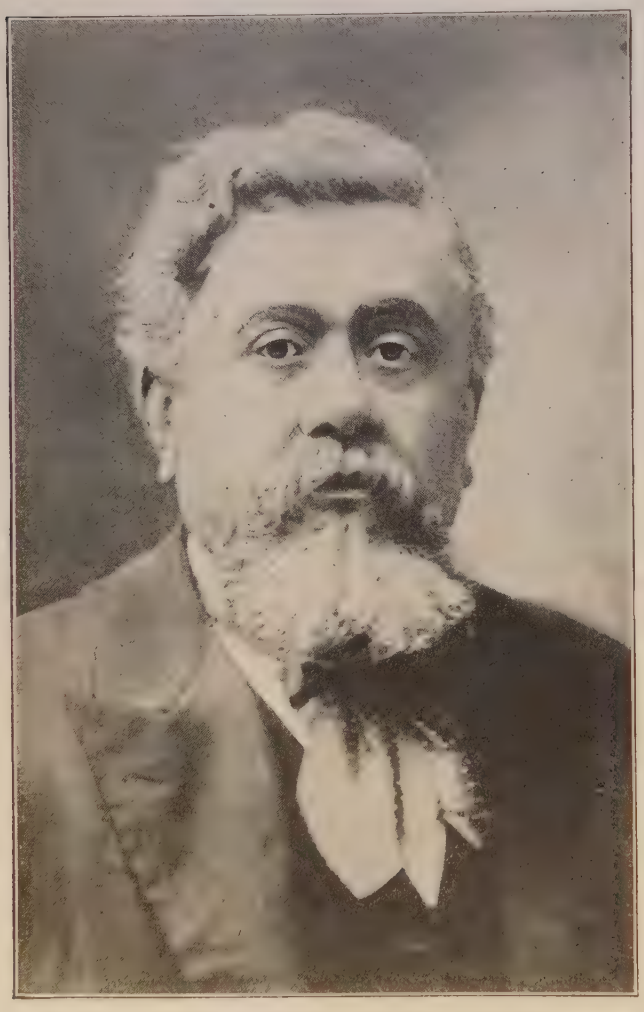
In 1901, the Government introduced in the Chamber of Deputies a "Clerical" or "Friars" bill of far-reaching consequence. The bill placed such restrictions upon the ownership of property by the religious orders that its enforcement would practically cut off the further existence of all such orders in France under the former regime. One clause debarred any person educated in any but a public school from holding any office or drawing pay from the State. An official return showed the value of properties belonging to the religious orders to be $215,500,000.

This Law of Association was intended to place the religious orders within the control of the Government, which would thenceforth shape their policy and direct the application of their funds. It was claimed that there was no desire to interfere with the work of the parish clergy in any way or to violate the Concordat in the matter of payment to the secular clergy. Associations were required to register and obtain the necessary authorization under penalty of dissolution. When the time for making applications expired, October 2, 1901, it was found that not more than a third of the different establishments had complied with the law. Many of the orders took refuge in foreign countries. Others were allowed to remain, the Government believing that they were acting in good faith. The movement to secularize the schools met with resistance in many places, and in Brittany, the stronghold of royalism and the church, soldiers were required to execute the provisions of the law.

Meanwhile, the severity of the Government toward the schools conducted by religious orders increased, and a serious breach with the church was threatened by the demand that the Pope confirm the selection of bishops chosen to fill five French sees then vacant.

Much disturbance followed. In January, 1905, the Combes ministry resigned because of inability to harmonize the factions which arose. In March following Premier Sarrien announced a new ministry. As time went on rioting and violence which had prevailed slowly subsided, and differences became minimized. The more thoughtful perceived that it was not the program or intention of the Gov-

ernment to desecrate the churches or to confiscate their valuables. Pope Pius X. issued a long encyclical to the French clergy and people in which he inveighed against the injustice of withdrawing Government support from the church. Yet he did not lose faith in France, for in an interview later, he declared optimistically: "France will never separate finally from the church to which she has always remained faithful, nor will the church forsake her." It should be remembered that nine-tenths of the population were Catholic.



ARMAND FALLIERES, President of France.

In February, 1906, Armand Fallieres became President. In May the parliamentary elections gave a strong endorsement to the new President and ministry, thus giving popular approval to the separation laws. In response the Pope, in August, issued another encyclical to the French bishops, expressing strong disapproval of submission to the law. Thus a deadlock between the Government and the Vatican was established.

In October, 1906, because of ill health, M. Sarrien resigned his premiership. M. Georges Clemenceau was called to the vacancy. He formed a new ministry, and announced that his program would include: The following-up of the church separation law; the establishment of old-age pensions for workingmen; the extension of the law governing labor unions; the reform of the mining laws; the reduction of army service to two years; the abolition of the death penalty and courts martial; a progressive income tax, and relief of the winegrowers.

The Catholics were given another year to arrange for compliance with the separation law. This resulted in the Pope issuing a new encyclical emphasizing the stand of the Vatican against the law, and a vote in the French Parliament sustaining the law by an overwhelming vote. The fundamental objection to the law was the fact that compliance with its provisions would compel the abandonment of the hierarchical system which had always prevailed in the Catholic Church, and the adoption of a congregational system of holding church property and administering church affairs, which was regarded as contrary to the very constitution and spirit of the church itself.

A revolt of the winegrowers of Southern France known as the "Winegrowers' Rebellion" arose on the 10th of June, 1907, when nearly half a million people gathered at Montpelier, and solemnly agreed to pay no more taxes to the general Government until the parliament afforded relief. They demanded the immediate resignation of the departmental, city, town, and commercial officials. For days this section of the country was in a state bordering on anarchy. What was demanded was legislation forbidding the making or selling of wines containing no grape juice, or the adulteration of grape wines. An enormous amount of wine, so-called, was manufactured in another part of the country from potato alcohol, sugar, and cheap chemicals, and skillful imitations of different brands were prepared for exportation. This interfered with the sale of the genuine productions of the winegrowers, and drove them, they claimed, to the verge of starvation. A vineyard no longer paid for itself. The sufferers began with what might be called a "passive strike." They were counselled by their leaders to abstain from all violence, but simply to refuse to pay taxes. Premier Clemenceau, conferring with the prefects of the four disaffected departments—those of Herault, Aude, Haute-Garonne, and Pyrennes Orientales—instructed them to refuse to accept the resignation of the mayors who were in sympathy with the movement, and to remind them that refusal to pay taxes would bankrupt the local treasuries, and that the Government would refuse to make any advances to meet the usual expenses. The Premier also declared that the conditions of which they complained were owing to overproduction more than to the causes they alleged.

PALACE OF JUSTICE.—PARIS.

However, a bill providing for the suppression of the manufacture of fraudulent wines was passed by the Chamber of Deputies. It did not satisfy the demands

of the winegrowers, and disorderly meetings were held in several of the cities, followed by riotous proceedings. So serious did matters become that a strong military force was sent to several places where the feeling of revolt was strongest, the leaders were arrested, and martial law proclaimed. By the last of June over 10,000 troops were stationed in the towns and cities of the Midi, as the region was locally known.

The real trouble lay in the falling off in the demand for French wines and consequent overproduction. Public disorder was suppressed by force, and the growers were induced to turn their attention to the cultivation of other crops.

In May, 1908, the Old-Age Pension bill was passed which provided pensions for some 2,000,000 workmen, and involved an initial expenditure of $150,000,000. In the same month, President Fallieres visited England, for the opening of the Franco-British Exposition, and was most cordially received. This visit established a new precedent and had the cordial approval of both nations.

Following a "revolutionary strike" of the compositors, bakers, and cab-drivers of Paris, in July, 1908, came a general strike of more than 50,000 of the governmental post-office, telegraph, and telephone operators in May, 1909. For a time the strike almost assumed the proportions and character of a rebellion. Premier Clemenceau used strong military measures for its suppression, and public opinion setting in strong against it, it soon subsided. However the agitation continued. The Government held that government employes should not form labor unions, while the employes organized into such unions in defiance of official restrictions. The Government granted some of the demands of the operators, and by conciliation on the one hand and compulsion on the other, gradually gained control of the threatening situation.

In July, 1909, Premier Clemenceau resigned, and France, for the first time in her history, was under the political guidance of a Socialist Prime Minister, M. Briand, a scholarly and gentlemanly publicist, of statesmanlike caliber and rare gifts of speech and style. The French Government came more and more into touch with the needs of the people. Its just expenditures for purposes of administration and general welfare were met out of the thrift of a populace whose ability to earn and save was unsurpassed. France, in the new century's opening decade, stood higher in the world's admiration and regard than ever before in her history.

In February, 1910, Paris and adjacent territory was visited by an unprecedented flood, caused by a vast overflow of the river Seine. All underground Paris was flooded, and low-lying districts were under water for some weeks. The direct losses were estimated at $15,000,000, while the inconvenience, the interruption to business, and the sickness and individual suffering were incalculable.

The problems facing Germany at the opening of the century were to increase facilities within her borders for cheap transportation of her products, to provide foreign markets for her wares, and to establish colonies for her surplus population.

A system of canals joining the great waterways was planned as early as 1863, but work was suspended when the Franco-Prussian War came on. The project was revived in 1899, and was steadily advocated by the government but not without vigorous opposition from the chief source of government support, the provinces of Brandenburg, East and West Prussia, and Pomerania. The relief

promised to the already overloaded railways, the saving by an all-water transportation of heavy freight, and the increased number of highways for internal trade provided by the proposed canal system, were advantages which eventually secured popular support.

German industry had prospered greatly under the system of high tariff adopted in 1879. A general movement of population toward the industrial centers set in which, combined with a corresponding protection by means of the tariff, hampered and depressed the agricultural interests. It was the policy of the Agrarian Party to delay or defeat an increase of the tariff and to secure some of the advantages of protection for agriculture as well as manufacturing. The Government had depended upon this party for support in bringing about some of its most desired measures for German expansion. It was possible, therefore, for the Agrarian Party to secure favorable concessions in the form of high tariffs upon agricultural products. This resulted in higher prices for food necessities and a corresponding increase in the cost of living, placed an additional burden upon industry, thus becoming an important factor in the elections of 1903.

BISMARCK MONUMENT.—BERLIN.

The voters of Germany numbered about eight millions, and of these three-eighths voted for the Socialist ticket in 1903. By the arrangement of the electoral districts the Socialists had eighty-one seats in the

Reichstag, or about one-half the number to which they would be entitled under a strictly proportional system of districting. This number was sufficient, however, to defeat the extreme plans of the Agrarians, and to secure the adoption of commercial treaties favorable to German industry and trade. Meanwhile the general tendency of Germany was toward foreign trade and colonization with a navy sufficiently large to protect German interests wherever they might be exposed to attack. The policy at this time also was for the preservation of the Triple Alliance, and cordial relations with England and the United States, and a further extension of the system of old-age pensions and reliefs.

January, 1908, witnessed a radical departure in German parliamentary methods. Kaiser Wilhelm and Chancellor von Bulow found themseves blocked in their endeavor to get the approval of the Reichstag for the budget which contained liberal appropriations for the navy. Chancellor von Bulow called together the leaders of the parliamentary coalition groups and informed them that unless he could gain their support for the government measure, he must either resign his office or advise the Emperor to dissolve the Reichstag. Thus, for the first time in the history of the empire, a Chancellor appealed to the majority in Parliament for its support. He could not have taken this step without the sanction of the Kaiser. His appeal therefore meant the concession that the German ministry was responsible not to the crown but to the Reichstag. It amounted to the actual establishment of constitutional practice in the empire. As a result of the Chancellor's concession and appeal, the Government received a vote of confidence. The naval appropriation was $84,000,000 for 1908, and $105,000,000 annually until 1917. The proposed heavy expenditure provoked so much discussion and opposition that the parliamentary *bloc* secured by the Chancellor for its support was weakened.

In June, 1909, the long discussed and much criticised finance bill of the Government finally came to a vote, and was defeated by a decisive majority. Von Bulow's *bloc* had gone to pieces. Fearing that a dissolution of the Reichstag and an appeal to the country through a new election would result in an increase in the Socialist representation, and thus in a further defeat of the Kaiser's plans, Bulow gracefully resigned, but minimized the effect of his resignation by indicating as his successor Dr. Theobold Von Bethmann-Hollweg, a man highly acceptable to his imperial master.

Thus retired the fourth Chancellor in the history of the German Empire—Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bulow. Prince von Bulow rose from the ranks, and in many respects was quite the equal of the great Bismarck. He stood for Germany all the time and everywhere, but proceeded by conciliatory methods. He brought about friendly relations with Italy, England, France, and other nations. Under him the German sea-power grew to such proportions that it was even recognized as a menace to England, the "mistress of the seas." However he always insisted that the German navy was not for aggressive purposes. The striking events of his term of office were the development of Kiau-Chau in China, the tilt with France over Morocco, and his "diplomatic muzzling" of the Kaiser when disposed to talk too freely. Indeed, his cardinal virtue was his ability to manage his impulsive master. He retired to private life at Rome with his Italian wife.

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg came to high office without any special previous training for his important position. He and the Emperor had been warm personal friends since their college days. He had

had considerable experience in German provincial Government, but had no particular qualifications for or knowledge of international politics.

In July, following the appearance of the new Chancellor, a compromise budget was adopted. In proroguing the Reichstag, the Chancellor stated that he was in cordial accord with his predecessor's fiscal views, and that he did not approve the new measures. The situation left the Kaiser re-established as autocrat in foreign affairs, and facing a most grave financial situation, destined to tax to the utmost the powers of the new Chancellor.

The election of 1909 witnessed a remarkable increase in the Socialist vote. This was a popular protest against the burdens imposed by the so-called financial reforms which the Government forced the *bloc* in the Reichstag to vote in order that it might be able to build more *Dreadnoughts*. The successes of the Socialists were due also in large measure to the splendid organization and tireless energy and progaganda of the party.

The true key to German progress was to be found in the application of modern science to industry, to public administration, and to all departments of life. In this respect Germany and Japan ranked as models for the world.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE KREMLIN.—MOSCOW.

During the ten years of the new century's opening, Germany continued to grow in population, industrial development, and as a great world power. This growth was reckoned as fortunate for France, since it lessened the temptation to war, which could have been only destructive to France, unless all Europe became embroiled in the struggle. Germany continued to prosper under her new Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, who had come up from the ranks of the common people, while all of his predecessors had been of the high nobility.

Russia, following the close of the Japanese War, kept upon her sad and chastened course of inevitable progress. The full story of plot and counterplot, of intrigue and assassination, of devotion, sacrifice, banishment, and martyrdom, is too long and too sad to repeat in detail. It must suffice to recite some of the way marks of progress.

On the last day of November, 1905, the entire postal and telegraph service was disorganized owing to an order forbid-

ding employes to join a union. For a week both departments were closed. Finally, the Government yielded to the men. December 6 the Zemstro Congress presented a memorial to Count Witte, reviewing the desperate state of the country and urging the Government to take prompt action in accordance with the resolutions passed at Moscow a month before. In reply the Government promulgated a formal system of arbitrary restrictions and punishments, placing the ministry in direct opposition to the progressive elements of the country. The chief symptoms of disaffection appeared in the Baltic provinces, which were declared in a state of siege. As a consequence they were at once in a blaze. At Riga the revolutionists had several bloody encounters with the soldiery. Great suffering was experienced by the inhabitants of the city, as the military cut off all communication with the country, and no food supplies could be had but by the sea.

On the 14th the Socialistic Labor leaders and the various unions issued a joint appeal, urging the people to help overthrow the Government by refusing to pay taxes, and calling upon the soldiers to rise in defense of popular rights. The Government answered by ordering a dissolution of the unions and making wholesale arrests of the leaders. Warrants were also issued for the arrest of the editors of all the papers which had printed the appeal. On this a general strike of all the unions was ordered. It began simultaneously at St. Petersburg and Moscow December 20, and became universal. The closing of the gasworks left the large cities in a state of darkness; the railways and the factories were deserted, and in St. Petersburg alone 125,000 men were on strike. On Christmas Eve a pitched battle was fought in the Red Square in Moscow between the strikers and the Cossack troops, and the official report declared that 1,500 people were killed and wounded. Several cities were placed under martial law, as was the whole of Poland. Gradually the strike weakened, mainly because of promised reforms, and the men returned to work.

On October 30, 1905, the Czar issued another manifesto assuring wider civil liberty, freedom of the press, extension of the suffrage and consent and co-operation of the Douma in the enforcement of the laws.

On December 26 another imperial ukase was issued ordering the first Douma (the lower House) to be immediately chosen. The military rule was made more severe and everything pointed to a reactionary and repressive policy. From all parts of the empire came complaints of oppression and arbitrary injustice, accompanied by disorder and revolutionary outbreaks.

The prisons were filled to overflowing. Rigid censorship was exercised over the press. Seventy-eight of the leading journals were suppressed, and a state of siege was declared in ninety-six towns and cities. Ten thousand arrests were made, and fourteen hundred persons were executed.

The ukase of the Czar constituted a virtual *coup d'etat,* a break of the constitution only justified by the law of absolute necessity, the advisers of the Emperor holding it impossible under existing conditions to secure a parliament capable of co-operating harmoniously with the crown to secure Russia from anarchy and revolution.

The Douma and the Council of the Empire met May 10, 1906, but failed to agree on any one point. The ministry, while prepared to introduce certain reform legislation, refused to consider the more important issues urged by the Douma. The Douma was therefore prorogued by the Czar.

The adjournment was followed by fresh disorders. A frightful massacre of the Jewish population of Bialystok occurred June 14. The army now began to show signs of disaffection, and two battalions of artillery at Sevastopol mutinied and were disbanded, while others were degraded. A portion of the Baltic fleet mutinied, and for several days held possession of a number of important war

THE RED SQUARE.——MOSCOW.

ships. All this time there was no general head to the revolt; the outbreaks were independent of each other, and often showed nothing but a brutal, ignorant display of strength. Property was destroyed, the mansions of the rich were burned, and men murdered without reason.

A new Douma was ordered by the Czar to assemble March 5, 1907. In the meantime M. Stolypin had been made premier. The Government had by this time learned wisdom, and was ready to grant some of the demands of the Douma which it had before opposed. One of these was the removal of certain disabilities of the peasants, and opened to them new and never before enjoyed opportunities of progress. Three obnoxious laws were also repealed, which had occasioned much bitterness and dispute. One was a temporary measure instituted by Premier Stolypin, which provided for the punishment of persons publicly expressing approval of political crimes, or who were under police supervision. The repeal of the third law, penalizing private instruction in Poland, was at the request of the ministry.

From the first day the sessions of the

Douma were characterized by bitterness, division and recrimination, with countless evidences of determined hostility to the Government and opposition to any schemes of reform it might attempt to introduce. The House was filled with non-intelligent deputies, devoid of all training for the comprehension of matters of state administration, a considerable portion of whom lacked even elementary education. Many of the members were not of Russian blood, but from provinces under Russian rule. These represented an extreme radical section, who were opposed to every move of the Imperial Council, and so irritating at last became their action that the Czar abruptly dissolved this Douma also by a ukase in which he charged a majority of the members with an attempt to augment the troubles of the country by their action and with the intent of a disruption of the state. The Douma, he declared, had "either failed to discuss important measures that were brought up by the Government, or delayed their discussion, or else rejected them, not even refraining from the rejection of laws which punished the open support of crimes, and particularly the disseminators of trouble who had evaded condemnation of assassination and acts of violence. The Douma did not lend its moral support to the Government in the restoration of order, and Russia continues to suffer the shame of an epoch of crimes and disasters." The Douma, it was declared, was summoned to strengthen the Russian state, and ought to be Russian in spirit, and that, in localities where the people had not attained sufficient civic development, the elections to the Douma should be temporarily suspended.

The dissolution of this new Douma created a profound impression throughout the empire. In Poland it was believed that the ukase was issued to suppress the elections in that country. Evidently the Government expected a popular outbreak, for 300,000 troops were assembled at Warsaw, in case of need, and an equal force was stationed at Moscow and St. Petersburg. Simultaneously with these proceedings the Black Sea squadron showed signs of disaffection and seven hundred sailors and marines were arrested.

The immediate cause of the dissolution of the Douma was its refusal to consent to the demand made by Premier Stolypin for the arrest of 55 of its members on the charge of conspiring against the state. Following the dissolution, orders were issued for the arrest of sixteen Social Democratic leaders in the Douma. Seven of these succeeded in escaping from the country. The situation entered upon its final phase when the revolutionary members went over to London and took part in a congress which had for its avowed purpose the overthrow of the Russian Government.

In the five years following the Czar's promulgation of "parliamentary Government" up to 1910 not much actual progress was made. Sentiment gradually found expression in two parties, the liberals (Octobrists), and the conservatives (Reactionaries). Constitutional ideas were very vague among the great masses of the ignorant Russian population. It was hard for the hereditary aristocracy and the military and civil bureaucrats on the one hand, and long repressed and benumbed population on the other, to digest and assimilate the idea of civic equality. It was evident that true civil liberty and democratic practices could be reached only by the slow and painful processes of education in the hard school of primary political experience.

With the opening of the new century indications of a financial reform began to manifest themselves. For a century and a half Russia had been a debtor nation,

able but rarely to pay even so much as the interest upon her accumulated indebtedness, save through the floating of fresh loans. Yet she had never failed to meet her obligations in one way or another to the satisfaction of her creditors, and thus her credit was unimpaired. In no other country was population increasing so rapidly—1½ per cent. annually. In no other country was so large a percentage of the population in the landowning class.

Under the Land Act adopted in 1909 the way was opened out of the old commune system by which so many peasants had theretofore been bound to the soil. Under the new act, in the first half of 1909, more than a million independent farmers were created from the old peasant community. The Government Land Bank helped these peasants to get their farms by granting them long time loans.

The savings banks desposits increased from $30,000,000 in 1888 to $545,000,000 in 1908. Such facts as these, considered in connection with the vast undeveloped resources of the great domain, furnished the basis for the constantly growing credit.

With the introduction of representative government, and the participation of the Douma in the direction of financial affairs, ways and means for reducing the public indebtedness, and the better adjustment of revenues and expenditures came under more intelligent and responsible consideration. With increasing ability to pay taxes, and with ultimate control of the public purse in their own hands, the great Russian people gave promise, sooner or later, of being able to solve the vexatious problem of the balance-sheet with which the bureaucrats had vainly wrestled for so many years.

In February, 1910, the Russian Budget Committee announced to the Douma that, instead of an anticipated deficit of $42,000,000, there was asurplus of $1,850,000, the first time in twenty-two years that a balance was shown on the right side of the ledger. Extensive appropriations were made for education, railroads, and local reforms. A new navy was begun. The naval plans called for an expenditure of $500,000,000 in the next ten years.

The most remarkable change in the political map of the world in the nineteenth century was the shrinkage in the dominions of Spain. In 1800 the whole of South America, except Brazil and the Guiana settlements, belonged to Spain. All of Central America and Mexico belonged to Spain. In what in 1900 was the United States, Spain a century before owned Florida and a very large part of all the territory west of the Mississippi River, including California and the Pacific Coast as far north as Puget Sound. Shortly previous to 1800 Louisiana territory also belonged to Spain. Spain also owned Cuba and other West Indian islands, and off the coast of Asia the great Philippine group. In 1901 the Spaniards had left—Spain itself.

These vast changes in territorial conditions were brought to prominent notice by the assembling in Madrid in 1900 of the Spanish-American Congress. This meeting was under the auspices of the Spanish Government, and for the purpose of cultivating trade, commerce, and friendly relations, on the basis of community of race, language, and literature. The Congress favored an arbitration tribunal to settle all Spanish-American differences. It favored the unification of the civil, penal, and administrative laws of Latin-speaking countries. A common medium of exchange was favored. The church was no longer to be exempt from taxation.

It was clear as the new century opened, that Spain as a nation had gained by her loss of her vast foreign dominions. These dominions had long meant to the Spanish

people themselves only an empty point of pride, a terrible military tax both of money and of blood, and civil and military official corruption of the most scandalous character. The Spanish colonial system had grown so corrupt that it poisoned government, not only in Havana and Manila, but in Madrid itself.

A regenerative process now set in and a new spirit of solidarity sprang up among the Spanish people, and numerous domestic reforms, political and industrial, were inaugurated. When the troops came home from Cuba and the Philippines the budget was increased by sums necessary for pensions and retirements. The release of the soldiers increased the labor supply and stimulated agriculture, mining, and manufacture, and domestic development generally. The chief need of the country was recognized as increased educational facilities, and attention turned to the development of the schools, as well as to public works and internal improvements.

An attempt at domestic improvement led to the formation of a National Union in January of 1900. It was the object of this organization to secure the reduction of taxes and a reform in the army by reducing the number of officers and increasing the efficiency of all branches of the service. The reformers demanded also a change in the system of justice, compulsory education, decrease in the number of civil officers, opposed any increase in the navy, and recommended that commerce, agriculture, and the development of natural resources be the especial care of the Government.

The program of 1901 was broad and thorough, contemplating the reform of the currency, reduction of the army, regulation of the religious orders and governmental control of the schools. There were minor outbreaks of the anticlericals and anarchists which were soon suppressed. Adjustments of taxes increased the revenue without greatly increasing the burdens of the mass of the people.

In 1902 there were labor riots in Barcelona, in which a number of persons were killed. The affair, coming after a serious disagreement as to financial measures, and with public feeling on the clerical question running high, caused a dissolution of the Cabinet in March. An attempt was made to form a coalition Cabinet based upon a pledge of neutrality by both parties. The party leaders refused to agree to this program and a party Cabinet was formed with Señor Sagasta as President of the Council.

On May 17, 1902, the young King, Alfonso XIII., having reached the required age of sixteen, took the oath of office and ascended the throne. Thus came to an end the regency of his mother. The Sagasta ministry were requested to remain in office for the present. The new King declared for a policy of educational and internal progress. Though but a youth he had some proper sense of his responsibilities as ruler of a great people. It will be remembered that he was born a king, his father having died six months before the birth of Alfonso, his mother having ruled as Queen-regent during his whole life. Thus from his earliest babyhood he had been trained and educated for the responsibilties that awaited his arrival at young manhood.

Shortly after the coronation a crisis was occasioned by the clerical question which resulted in the adoption of general rules for the authorization of religious orders, with which all but three of the associations complied.

In 1903 an attempt to increase the navy led to another change in the ministry. Clearly the best interests of Spain and her people demanded, for some time, the development of internal resources, the extension of trade, with

the equalization and reduction of taxes. Under such a program the recuperation of the peninsula was a matter of a few years only.

Three events of grave importance to Spain occurred almost simultaneously—the death of the Pretender, Don Carlos; the revolution in Morocco; and the abortive domestic revolutionary movement in Barcelona and other provinces. Don Carlos died in Italy in the summer of 1909, at the age of sixty-one. He was succeeded in his claim to the throne by his son, Don Jaime, a man full of the ardor of youth, and accustomed to war. Would he try to make valid his claims by an insurrection as his predecessors had done? The Carlist party already held twenty seats in the national legislature, controlled forty newspapers, and had organized clubs in nearly all cities. Would the youthful pretender rejuvenate the Carlist movement? Side by side with this situation was the steady development of the democratic spirit which had arisen in Spain as in all other autocratic nations.

The death of the Sultan who had signed the Algeciras agreement, and the refusal of his successor to abide by that act, and the attack of the Riffian Moors upon the workmen of the railway of the Spanish mines at Melilla, compelled an intervention in Moroccan affairs by France and Spain. In August and September, 1909, a Spanish army of more than 50,000 men was in motion against the Riffian Moors, and the situation was a serious one and increasing in gravity.

Coincident with these critical conditions, much dissatisfaction developed among the Spanish citizenship. The soldiers returned from the colonial armies, as well as those who had seen service in the numerous insurrections, revolts, and civil wars at home, made many most serious complaints of their harsh and unjust treatment. They pointed to the fortunes accumulated by many of their officers, and compared their luxurious style of living with the meager pay and wholly insufficient supply of the men under their command. Great popular indignation was aroused, when fathers, sons, and brothers, who had marched away, one, two, and three years before, in good health, and patriotic spirit, returned exhausted, nothing but specters, skeletons supported by sheer courage, and filled with these stories of their heartless exploiting and neglect by their superiors.

ALFONSO XIII., King of Spain.

With the call for troops for the Moroccan campaign serious outbreaks occurred in Coruna, Barcelona, Gerona, and Valencia, which were subdued with much difficulty.

Out of this troubled situation came an event which shocked the world and provoked much criticism of Spain. The Government adopted the policy of relentless prosecution of the active instigators of the riots that had occurred. This policy culminated, October 13, 1909, in the execution of Professor Francisco Ferrer, one of the best known Spanish educators, a man of

wide influence and of radical tendencies. He was the founder of the Escuelo Moderna (Modern School) in Barcelona. While he readily admitted his radical opinions, he earnestly denied any connection whatsoever with the uprisings. His trial was secret, and he was not permitted to hear the direct charges against him or to face his accusers, or to speak in his own defense.

Political conditions in Italy in 1900 were marked by extreme turbulence in the Parliament, chiefly over the public safety bill of 1899, which had become a law by royal decree June 22 of that year. There were riots in Rome, Milan, and other industrial centers, which the Government suppressed with some difficulty. The elections in June resulted in serious losses for the ministerial party. The policy of the new Cabinet was a conciliatory one, giving official assurance of relaxation in the severity of rule of procedure in Parliament and less activity in colonial enterprises.

King Humbert was urged to take greater precaution for his personal safety. He replied that assassination was one of the risks of his profession. On July 27, 1900, the king was at Monza to distribute prizes to the winners in an athletic contest. As he was driving away, followed by the cheers of the people, he was shot by an anarchist named Bresci and instantly killed. The assassin was an Italian who had lived for some years at Newark, New Jersey, U. S. A., where he was known as a careful, industrious workman. He denied that he had any accomplices, and attributed his deed to a desire to better the condition of his country. Upon his trial it appeared that he was known to be an anarchist, and had probably undertaken the murder with the knowledge and support of noted members of that order.

King Humbert, second king of United Italy, was a brave soldier, a business man of ability, a man of simple tastes, of frugal habits, a man to whom the show and glitter of royalty were irksome. Personally he was a man of great courage, and in other circumstances might have been a heroic figure in history.

Except in one or two instances he conducted his reign as a strictly constitutional king, and declined to use his powers for the benefit of party or class. Indeed it was a common complaint of Italian statesmen that he neglected to enforce the prerogatives legally his under the constitution. In foreign affairs his policy was more definite and decided. He conceived with Crispi the idea of the Triple Alliance as an offset to the diplomacy of the church. As a supporter of colonial expansion the responsibility for the terrible disaster in Abyssinia must rest in part upon him. He left his country greater than he found it, united and defended, more esteemed at home and abroad, and in greatly improved economic condition. He ranked among his own people as a good, noble, generous, loyal and faithful ruler.

King Humbert's only son—only child—succeeded to the throne under the title Victor Emmanuel III. He was practically unknown to the public. He had kept himself out of politics, and in the background generally. He had given no indication of exceptional ability or statecraft. He was thirty-one years of age, was married in 1896 to the Princess of Montenegro, a beautiful woman, simple and unostentatious, and little qualified by her training in the mountain hamlet of Catingo to play the role of a great European Queen. The royal couple were without offspring. This fact made the King's cousin, the Duke d'Aosta, the heir-apparent. The Duke was the son of King Amadeus of Spain, who married a sister of the Duke of Orleans. He was a military officer of commanding presence, and considerable oratorical ability. He had a family of sons and daughters, so that the succession to

the Italian throne was fully secured. The Duke d'Abruzzi, the Arctic explorer, was a younger brother of d'Aosta.

There devolved upon the new king the difficult task of preserving the monarchy from shipwreck upon the rocks of party. The advocates of monarchy were hardly more numerous than the republicans, and were held together chiefly by motives of personal and class advantages. The question of the continuance of royalty depended largely upon the young king.

Disaster threatened principally from the poverty, ignorance and hopeless want of large numbers of the population, and grinding taxes which stifled growth.

During the reign of King Humbert the Pope remained a self-constituted prisoner in the Vatican, and, although the Clerical party was not outspoken against the Quirinal, it remained a source of danger.

VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of Leo XIII. was celebrated in March, 1903. Although sixty-eight years

of age when elected in 1878, Pope Leo entered upon the duties of his office with the vigor and enthusiasm of youth. As the years passed it became evident that few greater men had ever filled the chair of St. Peter. Without yielding any of the claims or pretensions of his predecessors, he so modified them and clothed them with the charm of his own personality that he rarely failed in his undertakings.

POPE PIUS X.

It was feared that the anniversary ceremonies would be a serious strain upon his energies, weakened by extreme age and ill-health. He bore the fatigue remarkably well, however, and in jocular words often said that he expected to live to be a hundred years old. This wish Protestant and Catholic echoed alike, but evidently the Pope's condition was more serious than he himself believed. After an illness of several weeks he died on the 20th of July, 1903.

Leo XIII. was the last link binding the old era to the new, the peer and survivor of the great men whose achievements were the glory of the nineteenth century. For a quarter century he stood the foremost figure in Christendom—a man of exquisite tact, unwearied patience, of infinite charity and love.

When he was elected to the high office in which he displayed so many virtues of his faith, the Papacy was embroiled with many of the nations of Europe. "We will not go to Canossa," said Bismarck, but even the "man of blood and iron" made the pilgrimage freely and willingly. At the end of the quarter century the church stood higher than for centuries in spirituality, in the efficacy of its ministrations to the people, for Leo XIII. was familiar with all the needs and tendencies of the people of his day. Men forgot sect and creed as they appreciated more fully the religious and moral strength of Leo XIII., and the spontaneous sympathy and help which was given to every worthy cause. The high esteem in which Pope Leo was held was well illustrated in the words of W. T. Stead, the great English writer and editor, who said:

"When the Pope died, the greatest among us passed away—greatest in station, greatest in fame, greatest in the wisdom of the statesman. Leo XIII. was the Nestor of the human race. He had no fellow while he lived, and in his death he had no peer. Venerable alike from his age, his station, and his personal piety, the late Pope was even more venerable as a sovereign who had no rivals, a man who had no foes."

The members of the College of Cardinals assembled in Rome on the last day of July, 1903, to choose the successor to the

deceased Pope. The prominent candidates were Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal Secretary of State, and Cardinal Gotti. The latter was said to be the candidate favored by the Triple Alliance and the German interests, while Cardinal Rampolla was committed to a pro-French policy. Cardinal Rampolla led in the first ballots and at one time lacked but three votes of the necessary two-thirds. Austrian opposition was sufficiently strong to prevent his election, however, and on the seventh ballot the choice fell upon Cardinal Guiseppe Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, who took the title of Pius X.

The new Pope was a man of the people. He was born at Riese in 1835, was graduated from the Seminary of Padua, and received priestly orders in 1858. In 1884 he was made Bishop of Mantua, and became Patriarch of Venice in 1893. Pius X. was noted for the simplicity of his life and manners, his great charity, his sympathy with the poorer classes, and his direct, sensible, and vigorous administration of affairs. At the outset of his pontificate he was confronted with the difficult situation of the religious orders in both France and Spain, while the attitude of the Italian Government toward the papacy was not friendly.

Measured by the immediate destruction of human life and of property, and the resultant misery and suffering to human beings yet alive, the earthquake of December 28, 1908, in Sicily and Calabria was the most direful in the world's history. More than 200,000 lives and $1,000,000,000 worth of property suddenly destroyed, give a hint of the terrible story of Italy's loss, misfortune, and grief. The cities of Messina and Reggio, together with many smaller towns and hamlets were, early that December morning, with no warning whatever, in five minutes' time, reduced to smoking heaps of ruins, and made the tomb of thousands of human beings and the pest-haunted prison of thousands more of injured whose cries of terror and distress reached to the farthermost corners of the earth.

The city of Messina had not awakened to its duties for the day when at 5:20 o'clock on that fateful Monday morning the disaster occurred. Suddenly, without warning, the earth began to tremble. Language is inadequate fully to describe the horrors of the opening earth, the falling buildings, the inward rush of the sea, and the shrieks of the stricken people. The greater part of the destruction was accomplished in the first thirty-two seconds. The violence of the shock was unprecedented.

The whole world arose at once *en masse* for the relief of the stricken region. The brotherhood of mankind and the kinship of the nations never had a better demonstration. Money, food, medical supplies, and organized workers—military, police, Red Cross officials, and individual volunteers—poured in from all directions. Russian, German, and British ships in the harbor sent officers and sailors ashore to do heroic rescue work. The King and Queen of Italy reached the scene in a few hours. The Italian military took charge of the rescue and relief work. The American battleships—*Wisconsin*, *Kearsarge*, and *Illinois*—were detached from the United States fleet, which had just passed through the Suez Canal on its voyage around the world, and ordered to Naples to aid in the work of rescue. The *Celtic*, an American supply ship just leaving New York with supplies for the returning fleet, was sent to Messina instead, with rations for 40,000 people for one month. Within a few days $7,000,000 had been cabled to Italy from all over the world for the relief fund. The Italian Parliament met in special session January 8, and adopted measures for directing the relief and restoration of the sadly stricken region.

The dual empire of Austria and Hungary continued to be the source of fierce struggles between German and Czech, foreshadowing a separation when the two sections should be released from their sole bond of union in the person of the aged Emperor Francis Joseph. Apparently the time approached when the geography of Eastern Europe would be changed and the new lines would be run upon the basis of race rather than national control. A part of the Austrian Empire was German in policy and sentiment, and its logical political position would be under the German flag.

THE DEVASTATED WATER FRONT.— MESSINA, SICILY.

Meanwhile the Balkans continued to be the storm center of Europe. There was constant friction between Bulgaria and Servia, and at times Bulgaria showed a decided tendency to throw off what still existed of Turkish control.

Macedonia was still the "No Man's Land" of the Balkans. Austria, Servia, and Bulgaria contended for its control. Turkish influence predominated in the East, Albanian in the West. In 1899 the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, under the presidency of Boris Sarafoff, began active operations against the Turks. Every village had its spies, and from all the border bands of insurgents swooped down upon the Turkish towns, and, their work of destruction completed, vanished as quickly as they came. The situation became acute in August of 1903, when Bulgaria issued a memorandum to the powers showing that the Turkish Government had failed in every respect to carry out the reforms promised by the Treaty of Berlin.

The Sultan, in the meantime, poured his forces into Macedonia, and a series of atrocities followed, paralleled only by the previous conduct of the Turks in Bulgaria

and Armenia. A settlement was reached finally, late in the year 1903, by which Austria and Russia agreed to enforce a system of reform, to which the reluctant consent of the Sultan was obtained. By this plan the control of Turkey over Macedonia was made nominal only, and the projected reforms were to be enforced by Christian officers appointed from the nominations of Russia and Austria.

June 11, 1903, Alexander of Servia, the degenerate son of the most disreputable ruler of Europe, ex-King Milan, was assassinated in the royal palace at Belgrade. The king had been guilty of repeated violations of the constitution, and had lost

A GROUP OF MACEDONIAN INSURGENTS.

the support of his people by his notorious relations with a Servian widow, Draga Maschin, whom he made his queen in 1900, and who perished with him. The immediate cause of the murder was the rumor that the queen's brother was to be declared the heir-apparent to the throne. Alexander was succeeded by Peter, the grandson of that George Petrovitch, known to his companions as "Black George," who was the principal instrument in liberating Servia from the Turkish rule.

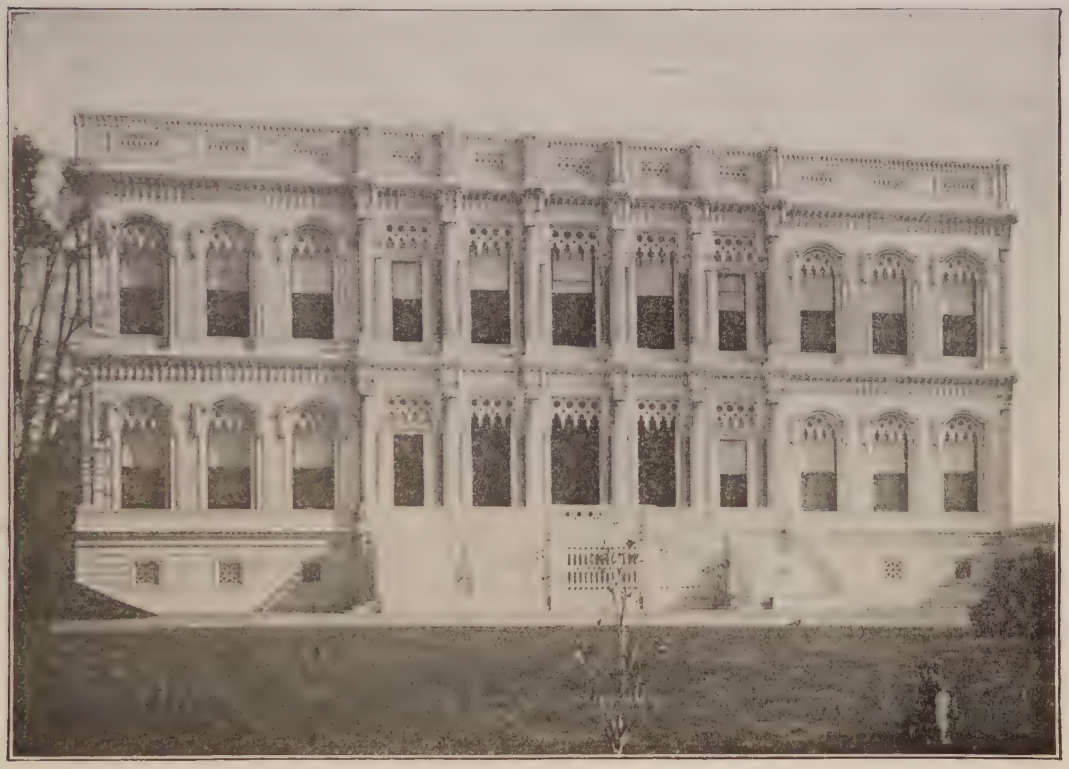
A feature in the ever-changing kaleidoscope in the Balkan regions was the enforced release of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Servia to Austria-Hungary, March 31, 1909. This transfer was approved, not to say compelled by the British, French, Russian, German, and Italian ministers. This action, instead of solving the ever-present Balkan crisis, only shifted the pressure. Austria by her course in coercing Italy, virtually broke up the Triple Alliance, cooled her relations with England and France, made Servia and Russia bitterly hostile, and antagonized all the Slav peoples of the world, and put herself under heavy obligations to Germany. It was now the German against the Slav, with strong allies on either side.

For centuries the regions about the Black Sea in Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia might well have been described as the whirlpool of humanity, never at rest, and carrying upon its varying currents and into its many eddies the flotsam and jetsam of differing races, nations, and religions. Turkey, from its position in Europe and Asia, had been the center of this whirlpool, the scene of unending friction and contest. The double problem of the empire arose from European pressure upon a lower civilization by disintegrating commercial and industrial competition, and the friction caused by a population five-sixths Moslem and one-sixth Christian in Asiatic Turkey. Out of this condition came the Armenian massacres, which branded Abdul Hamid before the Christian world as a most cruel monster, but which were condoned and applauded by his Moslem subjects and his Moslem neighbors on the East. No Oriental ruler would condemn massacre as an art of state. No great sultan had been unstained of it. Measured by Europe and Western civilization and progress, the worst that had been said of Turkey was true. Measured by Asiatic standards Turkey was a most progressive nation.

Abdul Hamid was the Moslem sultan of a Moslem empire. The Christian population was not as large relatively as the negro population of the States that formed the Southern Confederacy in the United States. In Asia Minor a fifth of the population was Christian, and in Armenia a third, in Syria a fifth. Vast regions had next to no Christian population. The miserable fact was that in Asiatic Turkey some 3,000,000 Christians, oppressed, down-trodden, scattered, unarmed, defenseless, despised, treated as an inferior caste, fresh from a subjection and ignominy but three generations before akin to that of the medieval Jew, stood face to face with 15,000,000 Moslems of the best fighting races of Asia—Turk, Kurd, Arab—conquerors each in his day. Looking back, before the days of Mahmoud II. (1808-'39), it was evident that the Ottoman Government of the opening years of the twentieth century, with all its faults, had given to this Christian population a rude order and opportunity, joined to a pitiless taxation, which was a distinct advance on the past. But man of all creeds and colors—Jew, Christian, Moslem, pagan, barbarian, black, yellow, red, or white—is happily so constituted that any amelioration of oppression increases the thirst for liberty. Short of

equality no man is satisfied, or ought to be satisfied.

A Moslem sultan of Moslems, facing the constantly rising Christian tide, was driven to a Moslem revival. This took the form of a patient effort through twenty years to undo the "Capitulations." These arbitrary regulations dated back for centuries. The European nations, by their overpowering force, compelled agreement from Turkey that all their subjects resident in Turkey possessed ex-territorial privileges, that they were subject only to the laws of their own nations, their own consular courts. They were free from arrest (but not of surveillance) by the Turkish police, and their accountability, personal and pecuniary, civil and criminal, was to their own respective sovereignties only. These ex-territorial privileges and immunities gave special advantages to the foreigner, and were to the disadvantage of the native, and hence were the means of many forms of injustice, and a constant source of irritation. Foreign traders and missionaries were among the favored, and hence among those hated and subjected to constant petty annoyance and persecution. Naturally, they retaliated by appeals for the support of their home governments, in consequence of which Turkey was constantly the scene of the intervention of one foreign nation after another upon one and another pretext.



SULTAN'S PALACE.—CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY.

Under the ex-territorial system, foreign traders, foreign capital, and foreign missionaries, practically dominated and ruled. Such prosperity as there was was little felt by the Moslems. There seemed to be that about the Moslem creed, code, and character, which incapacitated for

all practical affairs except war and rule. Under the system in vogue Turkish treasury accounts were kept by Greeks and Armenians. Turks might own land, but some Christian kept the rent roll. If a Turk owned a business or mines Christian clerks managed it. Profits went to the Christians. Armenian and Christian villages and sections waxed rich, bought lands, made loans. Economic strain and stress produced by this disproportionate prosperity of the small Christian fraction, gaining in wealth, education, and political aspiration, and largely under foreign protection, was a perilous irritant to the pride of a ruling and soldier caste, and the fanaticism kindled by Moslem renaissance. The match of administrative order, or even administrative suggestion, had only to be touched to these explosive conditions to bring on Armenian massacres. These resulted in foreign intervention and reprisals, and the decline of the power and authority of the Sultan Abdul Hamid.

The year 1909 witnessed the first meeting of a Turkish Parliament. The composition of this Parliament was typical of racial conditions in the Ottoman Empire, and illustrated the cause of the endless friction and unrest in Turkey and her neighboring states. In no other parliament in the world had there been such a variety of nationalities. The Parliament appeared like a repetition of the assembly in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, as described in New Testament history. There were Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Albanians, Armenians, Kurds, Jews, Bulgarians, Servians, and Koutzo-Valaques. In religion there were 213 Mussulmans, 4 Jews, 32 Orthodox Christians, 10 Gregorian Christians, and one Roman Catholic Christian. Upon the assembling of the Parliament, Mr. Santo Semo, "the John the Baptist of the Young Turkish Movement," declared that the convening of the Parliament marked "the definite establishment of constitutional government in Turkey," and that "no regime would ever be strong enough to overthrow it."

On April 13, 1909, thousands of Turkish troops in Constantinople mutinied and surrounded the parliament house and demanded the deposition of Grand Vizier Hilma Pasha and his Cabinet. Making grace of necessity the Grand Vizier and Cabinet resigned, whereupon Tewfik Pasha, formerly Foreign Minister, was appointed Grand Vizier by the Sultan.

On April 23 the mutinous soldiers of Constantinople were reinforced by the Third Army Corps from Salonica. At the end of three days the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, was formally deposed. The National Assembly then elected the deposed Sultan's brother, Mohammed Reshad Effendi, to be his successor.

There was much disagreement as to the real character of the deposed Abdul Hamid. There were strong advocates of his sincerity, his religious devotion, and his intelligent patriotism. Yet the common verdict condemned him for the cruelty and savagery of his personal rule. He was held responsible for the Armenian massacres, and the devastating, exterminating wars in Macedonia. Of his native shrewdness and diplomatic *finesse* there was no doubt. For thirty years he held combined Europe at bay, all in the name of patriotism.

On the morning of December 17, 1909, King Leopold II. of Belgium died after two weeks' illness at the age of seventy-four years. This ended the career of one of the most striking and picturesque monarchs in the history of Europe. He had occupied the Belgian throne since 1865. Leopold was a cousin of Queen Victoria of England and a brother of the hapless ex-Empress Carlotta of Mexico, widow of Maximilian. He was married in 1853 to the Austrian Archduchess

Marie Henriette, who died in 1902. Four children were born to them. The three daughters survived the King. One of the bitterest experiences of his long and strenuous life was the death in 1869 of his only son, Prince Leopold.

Leopold II., though ruler of one of the smallest of the European States, had been a prominent factor in European politics ever since his accession to the throne. Shrewd, thoroughly conversant with the details of international politics, he had maintained the unity of his kingdom and fostered its prosperity through periods of turmoil and times of peace. He advocated and carried through numerous measures for the people. He fostered the old-age pension bill and obtained better houses for the working people. The sum of 2,000,000 francs which was raised to celebrate his accession to the throne he refused to permit to be spent upon himself, but turned the whole amount over to a hospital fund to care for injured workingmen, and thousands have since been eased in their sufferings by his generosity. Like most European monarchs, Leopold was marked by the anarchists. In 1902, when an Italian "Red" fired three times at him point-blank, he sat in his carriage without raising an eyebrow or showing in the slightest degree that his life was imperiled.

He traveled all over Europe and Asia, and was undoubtedly the most traveled monarch of the world. He had an extensive knowledge of international affairs and a clear judgment. His intimacy with the English court helped greatly to protect his kingdom against the encroachments of Napoleon III. and the King of Prussia. He urged colonization and the extension of trade for his people. In this he was successful, though his tactics were harshly criticised by his enemies.

He was a shrewd and enterprising man of business. He saw the possibilities of trade and colonization in Africa, and in 1876 he formed in Brussels the African International Association. Toward the exploration and advancement of the colonization of that country he gave the greatest energy of his life. He was struck with the wonderful wealth and natural resources of the Congo district, as told by Sir Henry M. Stanley, in his reports of African conditions after his famous expedition in search of Dr. Livingstone. King Leopold decided that the advantages for colonization and trade

SHIPPING DOCK.—ANTWERP, BELGIUM.

were great. In 1879 he dispatched Stanley to Africa to explore the Congo district, paying the expenses of the expedition out of his private fortune. Stanley spent five years of incessant toil in founding stations from Vivi, on the lower Congo, to Stanley Falls, 1,300 miles up the river, and he made treaties with four hundred and fifty native chiefs.

This work resulted in the establishment of the Congo Free State, which was declared under the personal sovereignty of King Leopold by the Berlin Conference in 1885. It was made, however, a neutral country, open to the trade of all nations. King Leopold in 1889 by will bequeathed this domain to the Belgian State. In 1890 a convention was entered into by the Congo Free State and Belgium, by which, for the consideration of 25,000,000 francs, Belgium received the right to annex the country at the end of ten years. This agreement was continued under the act of 1901.

By a treaty passed by the Belgian Parliament on September 10, 1908, King Leopold abandoned the crown domain in the Congo to Belgium, making a free gift to the nation of a territory larger than France, retaining only the usufruct during his lifetime. Belgium at the same time assumed the obligations of the Congo State, amounting to $21,000,000. In addition, King Leopold gave to the Belgian nation his beautiful property in the south of France, which he had purchased with revenues from the crown domain of the Congo, retaining the usufruct during life. By his death all the property passed absolutely to Belgium.

King Leopold received terrible attacks from his opponents for his policy in the Congo, but his undertakings also were as strongly defended. Reports regarding scandals in the conduct of his agents in the state were innumerable, but the authenticity of the reports was as repeatedly denied. The King was charged with having been heartless and selfish. It was declared that his work was not that of a colonizer inbued with the desire to uplift the inhabitants from their depraved and benighted condition, but that his sole aim was to advance trade and gather gold even at the expense of the life and liberty of the blacks. Tales of horrible cruelties practiced and of slavery and murders innumerable were told.

That there was some foundation for these stories there can be little doubt; that King Leopold's agents resorted to severe measures to bring about the end they sought was not wholly denied, but that the King of Belgium deliberately set about to wring money from the natives, to exploit the country because of his own greed, may well be doubted.

The King fostered trade relations, but he also had a broader view, having introduced educational and wise governmental systems. That he had sometimes to deal harshly with savages who themselves practiced slavery and cannibalism can hardly be condemned. In a thorough study of the conditions existing which he had to face, the measures he adopted would not seem to be more severe than those any nation would be compelled to adopt to maintain a semblance of peace and unity in the country. His individual agents may at times have resorted to barbarous methods in the treatment of the natives, unknown to and unsanctioned by the King, but his work in the Congo cannot be judged by this. The true test can only be measured by the ultimate result, by whether conditions at the time of his death were better or worse in the Congo district than when he first took up the work. And it would be an extremely bitter opponent of the King indeed who would say he made conditions worse on the whole.

The Congo was his chief enterprise, but

he also had large personal interests in railroads in his own country and China, in Japanese promotion schemes, and in nitrate fields in South America. He was one of the most astute business men that ever sat upon a throne.

Under the salic law of succession the throne of Belgium passed the three daughters of the deceased King Leopold, and was vested in Prince Albert, the only son of Leopold's youngest brother, Count Phillippe of Flanders. In December, 1909, Prince Albert ascended the throne as the third King of Belgium, taking the title of Albert I. The new monarch was thirty-four years of age, and was one of the most popular members of the royal family. He was of democratic disposition and studious nature, with a talent for civil engineering, which he had put to practical service in many parts of the globe. He had traveled extensively, and was a devoted student of politics and economics. He was a thoroughly enlightened man, averse to pomp and display, affable and free in manner, possessed of a keen sense of duty, and profoundly interested in social questions. He carried to his court an atmosphere which promised much for his reign and his people

Reference already has been made to the friction between Norway and Sweden, which had existed in a more or less aggravated form from date of the union in 1814. At that time it was agreed that each country should be absolutely free and independent of the other, excepting that both should be ruled by the same king. Each had its separate parliament, made its own laws, and elected its own officers, with the exception of the diplomatic and consular services, members of which were appointed by the King. This last fact constituted the main source of disagreement between the two States. The foreign minister was always a Swede, as were the majority of the consuls. The Norwegians claimed the right to their own consuls apart from those of Sweden. This was denied.

HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.—NORWAY.

The King, Oscar II., a most excellent man in private life, but wholly controlled

by his cabinet, was unable to satisfy the demands of the Norwegians. On February 11, 1905, negotiations between the two countries came to a deadlock. There were threats on both sides, and open war seemed imminent. On the 7th of June,

HAAKON VII., KING OF NORWAY.

M. Michelsen, the Norwegian Premier, in a speech in the Storthing, the Norwegian Parliament, declared that "the first duty of the King imposed by the Constitution was to give the country a constitutional government, and the moment he refused he made the formation of a responsible Council of State impossible and ceased to be King, and the union ceased to exist." This statement followed the resignation of the entire Norwegian Cabinet, and the refusal of the King to form a new one.

It was finally agreed that the question should be referred to the people of Norway, and August 13, 1905, was appointed as the day for taking the vote. The result was almost unanimous in favor of dissolution of the union, there being 368,392 yeas to 184 nays. A week later the Storthing passed a resolution requesting the Swedish Government to assist officially in carrying out the necessary negotiations. On August 26, M. Michelsen, Premier, M. Loveland, Foreign Minister, M. Berner, President of the Storthing, and M. B. Vogt, advocate of the Supreme Court, were appointed as representatives of Norway to a conference to be held at Karlstad. Sweden also sent commissioners to this conference. The session lasted from August 31 to September 23. A neutral zone was agreed upon to be kept free for all time from fortifications or military occupations of any kind. Norway also agreed to dismantle eight of her border ports. On the 6th of October, King Oscar formally acknowledged Norway as an independent nation.

The Norwegians had no personal feeling toward the Swedish royal family, and, immediately after the separation, an offer of the crown was made to one of the sons of King Oscar. It was declined, however. The Storthing then authorized the Government to offer the crown to Prince Charles of Denmark, who accepted it in the following words sent by

telegraph: "With His Majesty the King, my exalted father's permission, I will accept the choice fallen upon me as King of Norway, taking the name of Haakon VII., and giving my son the name of Olaf. My wife and I pray for God's richest blessing on the people of Norway, to whose honor and happiness we give the whole of our future life." The royal entry into Kristiana was made November 25, 1905. Two days later the King took the oath before the Storthing, but the coronation ceremonies at Trondhjem did not take place until June 22, 1906.

Radical changes were made in the Swedish suffrage law, brought about by compromise action in the two chambers of the Riksdag in 1907. To become effective the new law had to have the approval of the Riksdag to be elected in 1908. A reduction in property qualification for membership in the first chamber, and salaries for the members of that chamber (theretofore unknown) were not of great significance except to Sweden herself. The reduction in term of service in the upper chamber from nine years to six was an innovation in a time-honored continuance of service. Universal suffrage in election for the second chamber and proportional representation for minorities in the Riksdag were noteworthy changes. Another significant indication of the changing conditions of Sweden's political development was the growing sentiment for female suffrage.

Exploration and exploitation of Africa was very active during the first decade of the twentieth century, and the foundation was laid for most interesting and important future history. The closing year of the nineteenth century was especially notable in the exploration of hitherto unknown portions of the continent. One of the most daring and remarkable achievements of modern times was a continuous journey from the Cape of Good Hope through the heart of the Dark Continent to Cairo and the Mediterranean Sea. This feat, never before accomplished, was by a young explorer, Ewart S. Grogan, but twenty-five years of age. Some seven or eight other expeditions in different parts of the continent during the same year opened up large sections of the theretofore *terra incognita*.

Since 1850 explorers had covered Africa with a network of 1400 routes which they had followed into the hitherto unknown. The twenty-five years from 1885 to 1910 were a period of rapid settlement and marvelous development. When Stanley penetrated "Darkest Africa," he was eight months in reaching Lake Victoria Nyanza. As early as 1902 the journey could be made by rail in two days. By the end of 1910 the dream of Cecil Rhodes of a railway from "Cape to Cairo" was well on the way to realization. The Boer war, deplorable as it was in many respects, nevertheless had greatly stimulated the physical development of the continent and hastened the day of the South African Federation, which meant the speedy transformation of all Africa from barbarism to civilization. Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and other European nations, engaged in the industrial development, commercial conquest, and political organization of Africa.

That civilization was awake to the moral necessities of Africa was well attested by the earnest and expensive mission work put forth there by different Christian denominations, and by the various educational institutions and systems that were founded and liberally supported. At the African Diamond Jubilee, inaugurated at Washington, D. C., in January, 1909, by the Methodist Church, President Roosevelt said:

"The twentieth century will see, and is now seeing, the transformation of

Africa into a new world. Within a few years, its vast domain has been partitioned among various European nations. Steamship lines encircle the continent. A continental system of railroads and river steamers will soon extend from Cape Town to Cairo. The results of science are being utilized in mining and agriculture. The future growth of commerce can not be estimated. The white man rules. But there is only one white man on the continent to one hundred others, who are either barbarous black heathen or fanatical Mohammedans. But there is a question that is larger than either government or trade, and that is the moral well-being of these vast millions. The representative of the Christian religion must have his place side by side with the man of government or trade, and for generations that representative must be supplied in the person of the foreign missionary from America and Europe. Civilization can only be permanent and continue a blessing to any people if, in addition to promoting the material well-being, it also stands for an orderly individual liberty, for the growth of intelligence, and for equal justice in the administration of law. Christianity alone meets these fundamental conditions."

Of the native African races there were many grades and varieties. In the opinion of those who had had the best opportunity to form correct judgment, that is to say such men as Henry M. Stanley, Cecil Rhodes, Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, Theodore Rooveselt, and others, some of these aboriginal peoples possessed high capacity, which needed only favorable opportunity and environment for its development. While from the very nature of the circumstances the white race would inevitably dominate in Africa, yet some of the black races would furnish the bone and sinew of progress. Thus, for instance, the Bantus, the dominant native race, were the real makers of South Africa. The Bantu, differing from the yellow races, and from many of the black races, did not die out from contact with white civilization, but rather increased and flourished under its influence. He was able to adopt it and make it his own. Under white guidance, he opened the mines, built the railroads, worked the fields, performed domestic labor, handled and bought goods, and developed the material wealth of his continent. The dominant European element of the African population was derived from the most virile northern races, and the Bantu, or working element, was the finest breed of African stock.

On December 5, 1908, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., gave out an official statement concerning a projected African scientific expedition to be headed by the soon-to-be ex-President, Theodore Roosevelt. The expedition sailed from New York City in March, 1909. The purpose of the expedition was to secure natural history materials for the Government collections, to be deposited by the Smithsonian Institution in the United States National Museum, and in other scientific collections.

The party was composed of Mr. Roosevelt; his son Kermit, as assistant hunter and official photographer; Major Edgar A. Mearns, medical corps United States Army (retired), physician and naturalist; Edmund Heller and J. Alden Loring, naturalists. Mr R. J. Cunningham, an English fieldman, was employed as guide and manager of the caravan. Mr. Cunningham had high rank as a naturalist and experienced collector, having made collections in Norway and Africa for the British Museum.

The party reached Mombasa, Africa, April, 1909, and took to the field with a caravan of 260 retainers.

The expedition was in the field nearly

a year. They covered extensive territory, and penetrated to sections seldom visited previously. They finally reached the waters of the upper Nile, where taking boats, they ended their sofari in Egypt in March, 1910.

The expedition was very successful in the accomplishment of its object. Some thirteen thousand zoological specimens were secured, many of them rare and not before in any collection. Most of them were of the smaller fauna, but the number, quality, and rareness of the larger animals secured was remarkable. The scientific purpose of the expedition was observed strictly. There was no wanton killing, only those animals being taken which were needed for the collections or for food. The expedition, notwithstanding the large number of principals and retainers and the risks and dangers involved, was so well managed, that it was remarkably free from accident and sickness, Colonel Roosevelt coming out apparently in better condition than when he went in.

In March, 1910, the African Smithsonian expedition came to an end, and Mr. Roosevelt turned his face homeward. He was met at Khartum by many newspaper men, from Europe and the United States, and his journey thenceforward partook of the nature of an ovation. He delivered a notable address to students in Cairo. At Rome he received much attention, but, due to some tactless mismanagement by some in official position, his proposed interview with the Pope was abandoned and his program in other respects modified. On April 23 he delivered an address before the Sorbonne in Paris on "Citizenship in a Republic." On May 5 he spoke before the Nobel Prize Committee at Christiana on "International Peace." This address was the required recognition of the Nobel prize conferred upon him for his successful efforts in securing the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War. The death of King Edward of England on the day following the Christiana address necessitated changes in the programs previously arranged for his reception at Berlin and London. He, however, gave his address on the "World Movement" before the university at Berlin on May 12. On June 7 he concluded his series of formal addresses in Europe by speaking upon "Biological Analogies in History" at Oxford University, England. In connection with his two months of journeying between and sojourning in the various capitals of Europe, he made many informal addresses which commanded the closest attention from potentates and populace alike.

Undoubtedly the unofficial touring of Europe by Mr. Roosevelt added much to the growth of international good will. The tour, planned originally on his part to be entirely free from ostentation, was made the opportunity by the European peoples, rulers, officials and populace, to show their liking and enthusiasm for the honesty, intelligence, efficiency, and courage exemplified in such a product of American opportunity, education, and environment as they found in the ex-President. His didactic addresses, exalting and dignifying the common and obvious virtues, had a most wholesome effect in stimulating and clarifying the public and private conscience of the world. Perhaps no other man in history had at any time so completely commanded the ear and attention of the world.

In January, 1909, President Roosevelt, of the United States, sent to Congress a report of Secretary of State Root, upon conditions in the Republic of Liberia, with a recommendation for an appropriation to cover the expenses of a thorough investigation. Liberia, to all intents and purposes, was an American colony, having been founded in 1819 by the United

States Government. Secretary Root's report indicated that the country was rich in magnificent possibilities, but that the people, from temperament, and lack of proper discipline and training, were shiftless and very poor, and constantly pressed upon by their French and British neighbors. The rich hinterland of the country was absolutely undeveloped. A comparison with the remarkable progress of Sierra Leone, a colony founded by the British under exactly the same conditions, showed the vast possibilities of the country, and the negligence of the United States in its failure to look after the interests of the colony. It would be unfortunate for American prestige to fail to give needed oversight and assistance to the Republic.

In March, 1909, President Taft, with the approval of Congress, appointed a Commission of three to make a tour of investigation of the black republic, and to suggest ways and means to rehabilitate its Government, and improve its general financial and economic condition.

In March, 1910, the Commission presented its report to President Taft. They found that the rapid and extensive exploitation of Africa had resulted in serious encroachments upon Liberia. The rich natural resources of the republic were a very attractive lure to European adventurers. The country, being without adequate protection, diplomatic, civil, and military, was easy prey to aggressive neighbors. With no proper financial system foreign promoters and schemers were taking every unfair advantage of the pecuniary distress of the Government and people. The Commission made the following recommendations:

1. That it was the moral duty of the United States to give necessary aid and protection to the Republic.

2. That steps should be taken for the legal and permanent settlement of boundaries so as to end all the territorial encroachments and disputes.

3. That a proper financial system for the country and its people should be devised, introduced, and fostered.

4. That a constabulary and military service to meet the requirements of the country should be organized, trained, and maintained.

5. That research stations should be established to search out, test, and direct the exploitation and distribution of the natural resources of the country.

6. That coaling and commercial stations should be established.

President Taft forwarded the Commission's report to Congress, with the recommendation that the facts and suggestions therein should be given prompt and proper attention.

The enabling act by which the Australian confederation was formed passed the British Parliament July 9, 1900, as the result of a referendum vote favoring union in the provinces of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania. The legislative power of the new confederacy was vested in a Federal Parliament consisting of a Senate of thirty-six members, six from each state. One-half of the Senate was to be renewed every three years. There was also a House of Representatives in which the number of members was based upon population. Qualifications for the franchise were fixed by the States. The Federal Parliament could not restrict, but might extend the franchise. All powers not granted to the Federal Government were reserved to the States, but it was notable that among the powers granted was the right to legislate upon railroads, shipping, immigration, and arbitration in labor disputes. The executive authority was vested in a Governor-General appointed by the Crown.

Among the first measures of the Parliament of the Federation were stringent laws against the importation of Chinese, Japanese, Kanaka and Hindoo labor, and a tariff bill, with a tendency decidedly protectionist, but providing for a suspension of duty in cases where the imposition of it would lead to the formation of industrial or commercial monopolies.

The Australian Federation was the result of deliberate judgment and was the people's choice. Many previous confederacies owed their existence to conditions which compelled union, to circumstances similar to those in which the United States came into being. With Australia the case was different. Eight years of constant discussion separated the inception of the plan from its completion. The resulting Government was, perhaps, the most democratic yet established, a new power in the South Pacific destined, probably, to be one of the great powers of the world. Her people were wealthy, intelligent and progressive, with unlimited resources for development and expansion.

The island of Tasmania was included in the Federation. In 1850 the total population of continent and island was 400,000. When the Federation went into force in 1901, the population had increased tenfold and was 4,000,000. Australia produced about one-fourth of the world's wool crop. This, with other pastoral products, both of sheep and cattle, reached a value of $200,000,000 per year. The mineral exports in 1900 amounted to $100,000,000. The annual increase of wealth from these two sources alone amounted to $75 for each inhabitant.

CHAPTER CLXXV.—ASIA AND THE FAR EAST, 1900-1910.

The events following the war between China and Japan and the consequences of the Boxer uprising in China have been related. The situation in the Far East continued to be the chief problem of diplomatic negotiations among the great powers, each seeking to obtain the greatest possible commercial advantage in the form of ports of entry and railway concessions.

Manchuria and Korea, by their position, were destined to be the objective points of control sought by Russia and Japan. But the plans of Japan were baffled for the time by the terms of peace with China that had been imposed by the powers.

It was inevitable under the circumstances that Japan should attempt to guide the destinies of the Oriental races. It was the possibilty of Mongoloid union under Japan's leadership that constituted the "Yellow Peril," the bugbear of European alarmists. Actual danger from this source, however, while well within the limitations of possibility, was a matter for the future. The Japanese protectorate for the time could mean little more than the absorption of Korea, and the continued preservation of the territorial integrity of China, with Chinese control of Manchuria. Japan, however, would thereby be gaining a foothold for future continental expansion, and an outlet for a population already three hundred to the square mile and rapidly increasing.

The advancement of Japan in commerce, manufactures, education, legislation, and government, had placed her far in the vanguard of the native peoples of

the East. By reason of this marvelous change Japan was now seeking recognition as a world power, and as the dominant nation in the Orient.

On the other hand, Russia controlled in Northern Asia a territory twice as large as the United States, a vast undeveloped expanse, rich in natural resources, capable of supporting a large population, lacking only proper outlets for its products. The Russian limitation on the South by Chinese territory was not unlike the barriers opposed to the advance of the United States when France controlled the Mississippi River, or Spain the western slope of the Rocky Mountains.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, MUTSUHITO, Emperor of Japan.

It must be remembered, also, that Russia had progressed in spite of her autocratic monarchy and the weight of her bureaucratic government. Expansion was as necessary for Russian progress, for the promotion of Russian civilization, as it was for Japan. Moreover, Russia, notwithstanding her defects, had dealt effectively and justly with the eastern races on her borders.

A brief review of territorial conditions in Northern Asia is essential to a proper understanding of the situation. The Russian advance into Manchuria began as far back as the latter half of the seventeenth century with Cossack expeditions in search of furs. The conquests of these early fur-traders over the Manchurian native tribes had long been celebrated in the Cossack war ballads. However, no permanent settlement or occupancy was accomplished

until two hundred years later. In 1848 the Russian Governor of Siberia, having discovered that Sakhalin was an island and not a peninsula as had been supposed, established a military and trading post on the Amur river. From this point the Russians maintained and extended their influence until the outbreak of the Crimean War. This war gave them a pretense for seizing the country, alleging the danger of English or French occupation to the detriment of their own already established trading interests. Formal treaties in 1858 and 1860 confirmed to Russia the territory north of the Amur river and east of the Usuri river, with the natural seaport of Vladivostok.

Russia had now reached the Pacific, as previously she had extended her power to the Baltic and Black Seas. Vladivostok, with all its natural advantages, was locked in the ice for a great part of the year. Siberian trade demanded an outlet further south, and uninterrupted communication with the West. The Siberian railway was planned as early as 1858, but it was not until the spring of 1891 that definite efforts were made to carry out the colossal undertaking.

The war between China and Japan gave Russia the long-desired opening for the securing of a southern port. A concession was obtained by which Russia was allowed to build a railroad with Port Arthur as the terminus. The right to build meant also the right to protect Russian property, and it became evident that Russian military occupation once established could not be given up. Work upon the railroad was pushed rapidly. Port Arthur was strongly fortified as a military base, and across from Port Arthur, on the Korean Gulf, the city of Dalny, perhaps the first city built to

VLADIVOSTOK.

order in the world's history, was founded as a commercial port.

The Siberian railway was now completed, a continuous line six thousand miles long, from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur. The branches to Vladivostok and Khabarovka on the Amur became tributary to the new line, running under the name of the Chinese Eastern railway from Harbin to Port Arthur.

The rapid extension of the sphere of Russian influence alarmed both England and Japan. An agreement made between these two countries and published January 30, 1902, provided for the maintenance of existing conditions in Korea and Manchuria; bound the signing nations to unite to prevent injury by internal disturbance or foreign interference affecting the interests of either power in the East; provided for strict neutrality in case of a war arising from a dispute over the territory in question; and, finally, an alliance both offensive and defensive was to be formed in case of interference by any European power in a subsequent war. England's ostensible purpose was to preserve existing conditions, while that of Japan was to prevent Russian influence from gaining ground in Korea.

England's interest in the *status quo* applied from the Balkans across the Bosphorus and into Arabia to the borders of China. Wherever Russian diplomacy was active English counter schemes were prevalent. Japan, also, had much reason to fear that, after the exhibition of weakness shown in her attempted government of Korea from 1894 to 1897, the Koreans themselves would welcome the Russian advance as the best means of relief from the irregularities of their government and the aggressions of the Japanese who were pushing actively their colonies on the western coast.

Immediately following the publishing of the Anglo-Japanese alliance the purposes of France and Russia were announced. England was to be prevented from furthering by force the plans of Japan, while France, as the guardian of neutrality in the West, secured the support of Russia for her colonization and extension movement in North Africa.

The next step was a further advance upon the part of Russia. When the exiled Chinese court returned to Pekin, after the Boxer uprising, Russia and China signed the Manchurian treaty, defining the position of Russia in that province. Meanwhile Russian capital was seeking investment; Russian colonists were pouring into Manchuria; the Russo-Chinese Bank had contracted for the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway from Harbin to Port Arthur, and Russian administrative methods were freely employed. Order was restored in the province, while the irregular, oppressive and inequitable taxing system of the Chinese Government was reformed.

During the progress of these events Russia had been considered only as a temporary sojourner in Manchuria. Two separate dates were named as the time of her final withdrawal, the last being the 8th of October, 1903. As the day approached, however, Russia announced that China had failed to guarantee protection to Russian interests, and that evacuation would be postponed indefinitely. In this case the expected happened. Some alarm was shown in certain quarters due to the fear of trade restrictions, but Russia denied any intention to close the ports or limit commerce in any way. Evidently such a course would not comport with her policy of development. So long as she could not supply manufactured articles from her own shops and factories, she must favor the cheapest market.

Meanwhile, Russian diplomacy percolated throughout Korea, and Japan had

been building up her army and navy, until in 1903 each had reached a state of high efficiency. Japan had everything to gain by precipitating a war. Each succeeding month strengthened the Russian forces and forts. After another year a definite agreement concerning the partition of territory might be impossible.

Moreover, Russia was by no means prepared for war. Her officials in the East assumed that air of calm indifference with which western diplomacy views the Orient, and proceeded to carry out their plans despite the protests of Japan and the rapidly growing war sentiment of her people. Apparently these officials misunderstood, or at least misrepresented the condition of affairs to the Government at St. Petersburg, where the general desire was for peace.

On the 13th of December, 1903, Japanese troops were landed in Korea for the ostensible purpose of protecting Japanese trade. To this Russia made no objection, and seemed to believe that the Japanese Government, at least, was committed to a protective and peace policy. Moreover, it was intimated from St. Petersburg that the Czar's Government was ready to make concessions—concessions which would in no way interfere with Russia's ultimate designs.

Various plans were proposed during the negotiations which preceded and followed this occupation. Russia proposed the Yalu river as the southern limit of her territory, but added the control of that river and the establishment of a neutral zone on the Korean bank. Japan insisted on the integrity of Korea, a decrease of Russian influence in Manchuria and a definition of her future policy there. Russian replies told nothing. They were polite, peaceful in tone, and evasive. Japan insisted upon the recognition of her influence in Northern and Southern Korea, upon the use of Korea as a strategical base, and upon the independence and territorial integrity of Manchuria and China.

To this demand Russia answered on January 6, 1904, proposing again the neutral zone in Korea, with the exclusion of Japanese influence from Manchuria, but pledging herself to recognize and respect all treaties made by China with other powers. The Muscovite Government was as silent as before upon the question of its future policy in Manchuria.

Finally on February 6 diplomatic negotiations were broken by the withdrawal of Count Kurino, the Japanese representative, from St. Petersburg, followed soon after by the departure of Baron Rosen, the Russian minister, from Japan. Matters had now progressed so far that war was seen to be inevitable. Public sentiment in Japan was aroused to a fighting pitch and would permit no delay. Official Russia affected a belief in peace, but Japan entered immediately and vigorously into the struggle.

Meanwhile, on the 8th of February Secretary of State Hay, of the United States, addressed a letter to Germany, Great Britain, and France, asking these powers to suggest to the belligerents the restriction of hostilities to the smallest possible area, as well as the maintenance of the integrity of China. On February 11 the invitation was extended to Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, and Belgium. At the same time the provisions of the note were communicated directly to Russia and Japan. This communication was well received and the main provisions agreed to, but both Russia and Japan excepted Manchuria from the conditions contained therein.

Japan floated a war loan of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, fifty per cent. of which was taken by popular subscription. At the outbreak of the war Japanese securities declined twenty-

five per cent.; those of Russia about fifteen per cent. All classes of the Japanese united their patriotic endeavors to provide for the successful financing of the war.

The resources of Russia, while vastly greater than those of Japan, were scattered and not immediately available. Practically all of the equipment necessary for large armies in the field had to be transported thousands of miles overland to the seat of war, and rapid movement, difficult in any case, was rendered doubly so by the necessity of guarding the long line of communication in the severest season of the year.

ADMIRAL TOGO.

Japan was able to take the offensive at once. Her position enabled her armies to move upon shorter lines and directly across the Russian line of defense. The weakness of Japan lay in her long coast line, vulnerable, however, in but few places, and in the necessity of uninterrupted water communication with the mainland.

With these facts in mind the nature of the Japanese campaign becomes apparent. The investment of Port Arthur by land and by sea completely enough to prevent the escape of the Russian fleet and its union with the northern squadron at Vladivostok; the establishment of a sufficient base of supplies in Korea; the successful operation of an adequate transportation service, and a complete severing of the Russian lines of communication southward, with a gradual advance into Manchuria—these were some of the tasks confronting Japan at the outset of the war.

Diplomatic negotiations were scarcely closed when Japan struck the first blow. Between ten and twelve o'clock on the night of February 8, 1904, the Japanese fleet, commanded by Admiral Togo, consisting of six battleships, four armored cruisers, six commerce destroyers and a number of torpedo boats, entered the outer harbor of Port Arthur, where, behind a sentinel line of torpedo craft, the Russian squadron of seven battleships and six cruisers was stationed. The contest which followed was marked by all the spectacular features of modern warfare. The broad flashes of the dancing searchlights

illumined the harbor, while in the heavy shadows the torpedo boats dashed forward to launch their bolts against the enemy's ships. The contest was as short as the attack was fierce and vigorous. When the Japanese fleet withdrew, they had battered the Russian battleship *Czarevitch* and destroyed the *Retvizan* and the armored cruiser *Pallada.* The battle demonstrated the value of torpedo boats under certain conditions, and the comparative helplessness of the battleships in close quarters with this species of destructive war craft.

On the morning of the following day the attack was renewed, and the Russian battleship *Poltowa,* with the cruisers *Novik, Diana,* and *Askold,* were seriously damaged. The first point in the Japanese campaign was won. The crippled Russian squadron at Port Arthur was no longer a serious menace to the transportation of Japan's armies to the mainland.

On the day of the second engagement of Port Arthur, February 9, the Japanese won another off Chemulpo by the destruction of the Russian cruisers *Variag* and *Koreitz,* with the loss of most of the men on board.

Before these engagements the opposing fleets were almost evenly matched. The moral effect of the victory on the people of Japan was as great as the movements themselves had been brilliant. Evidently the Russian Viceroy Alexieff had underestimated Japanese valor and ability. Japan could no longer be considered as an unimportant Oriental nation. In spirit and in skill she had suddenly taken rank with the European powers. She was found possessed of the most modern and complete military and naval equipment, manned with soldiers and sailors disciplined and trained for the most effective service. Japan was the first to introduce wireless telegraphy and the submarine boat in active warfare.

By the middle of April, 1904, seven

ADMIRAL ALEXIEFF.

attacks upon Port Arthur had been made, primarily to close the harbor if possible, and thus prevent the escape of the Russian fleet, while allowing the employment of the blockading squadron elsewhere; and secondarily, to demoralize the land and naval forces of the enemy.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, the Russian viceregal government established by Admiral Alexieff was modified, and the land forces were placed under command

of Prince Kuropatkin, formerly Minister of War, while the united fleets in the East were entrusted to Admiral Makaroff, known to the Russian navy as "The Cossack of the Sea." In the early morning of April 13, soon after the Admiral's arrival at Port Arthur, a fleet of Japanese torpedo boats and destroyers was sent to decoy the Russian vessels from their

ADMIRAL MAKAROFF.

anchorage. The Japanese movement was successful in its object, and, but for a sudden clearing of the morning mist, the Russian fleet would have been surrounded. Admiral Makaroff saw the danger, however, and started to return to the harbor under the guns of the fort, when the Russian flag-ship, the *Petropavlovsk*, struck a mine, or was torpedoed by a submarine boat, and sank in three minutes with all on board, including Admiral Makaroff and his friend from childhood, the great painter, Verestchagin, who had gone to the seat of war in search of new subjects for his brush. The Russians lost, besides the flagship, a torpedo-boat destroyer, and the battleship *Pobieda* was seriously damaged.

Up to the middle of April the war had been fought almost entirely on the sea. The Japanese were compelled to cripple the Russian fleet before any movements of consequence could be undertaken by land. This accomplished, they began to throw division after division into Korea. They covered the Yalu River and compelled the Russians to evacuate Antung and retire to the fortified heights of Kiu-Lien-Cheng, where the first land engagement was fought on the morning of May 1, 1904. After a sharp artillery duel the Japanese drove the Russians from their entrenchments. The losses on both sides were heavy. By nightfall the Japanese were strongly entrenched on the Manchurian side of the river, while the Russians were in retreat to Feng-Wang-Cheng.

The local effect of these successes was to turn public sentiment in China strongly to the side of Japan. The Korean Government revoked all concessions made to Russia, while the Russians, despairing of holding anything but Port Arthur, destroyed a large part of the city of Dalny, including the public buildings and docks.

The Russian retreat continued toward Mukden. The victorious Japanese com-

mander, General Kuroki, allowed the enemy no rest. Other Japanese divisions were landed at Takushan, midway between the Yalu and Port Arthur. Kinchow, thirty miles north of Port Arthur, was occupied by the Japanese, and fierce fighting occurred on the nearby Nanshan hills, which the Russians had strongly fortified. The Japanese won the heights by repeated charges of their infantry in the face of a withering artillery fire, and forced the Russians to hasty retreat. At Vafangow, on June 15, the Japanese overtook the Russians and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat.

In July, the Russian forces, amounting to one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, occupied a long line, with Mukden for its northern extremity and Faschichao its extreme southern point, whither General Stalkelberg had retreated after the defeat at Vafangow. On the 25th of the same month the Japanese entered Newchwang, establishing there a new base and opening the city to neutral trade.

The three armies, in the meantime, continued their advance, and by the middle of August met before the Russian fortified city of Liaoyang. Here a nine-day battle was fought, beginning August 23, 1904, in which four hundred thousand men are said to have been engaged. Field Marshal Oyama, in command of the united Japanese forces, attacked the Russians along their entire front. The Japanese center, under General Oku, displayed magnificent courage in repeated bayonet charges without being able to drive the enemy from his intrenchments. But General Kuroki crossed the Tai-tse river, and completed the investment of the Russian flank. On September 4, 1904, the victorious sun-flag waved over Liaoyang while General Kuropatkin was making a masterly and undisturbed retreat toward Mukden.

For three weeks the armies rested. Then followed the most sanguinary struggle of the war, excepting the siege of Port Arthur. The armies were engaged October 8 to 17, 1904, chiefly along the Shahke river. General Kuropatkin tried to break the Japanese center, hoping then to crush the wings in detail. But he failed by reason of the courageous tenacity with which the Japanese center maintained its position, and a timely attack by the Japanese upon his own weakened flanks. During the eleven days the little village of Shahke was taken and retaken five times. The entire loss was estimated at fifty thousand men, of which somewhat more than half were Russians. The advantage of the struggle rested with the Japanese since they had checked the advance of the enemy, had somewhat smaller losses, and had taken a large number of guns.

Meanwhile the siege of Port Arthur was being pressed with unremitting vigor. A very decided advantage was gained by the Japanese by the capture of Wolf Hill, July 27, 1904. From Wolf Hill it was possible for the heaviest Japanese guns to command every part of the harbor, endangering the fleet to such a point that on August 10 another attempt was made to run the blockade. Five vessels returned in a more or less damaged condition, others reached neutral ports and were dismantled, some were destroyed, and one or two reached Russian waters and safety. In the meantime Admiral Kamimura had met and defeated the Vladivostok squadron in the Straits of Korea, thus removing all possibility of help from that source for the besieged city and fleet.

Attacks were made upon Port Arthur August 27 and September 1, 1904. No advantage was gained until September 12, when the Japanese took and held some important positions on the slope of Golden Hill. Fighting was constant and attended

with some of the severest losses known to modern warfare. Persistent, indomitable bravery was shown daily by the opposing forces, but the Russian lines were beaten back until, by November 10, the entire outer ring of strongholds was in the hands of the Japanese.

The garrison, probably not more than twenty-five thousand at first and now reduced one half, showed no signs of weakening. On December 2 the struggles of a month resulted in the capture of 203 Metre Hill which commanded the harbor and the inner town. Here heavy Japanese guns were mounted and, after a bombardment of forty-eight hours, the Russian ships remaining in the harbor were destroyed. It was evident that no help could come from the outside. The fortress was untenable, both because of the Japanese positions and the weakness of the garrison. Yet the defenders held out for a month longer, not admitting that their task was hopeless until the morning of New Year's day, 1905.

Meanwhile the armies faced each other in Manchuria from intrenchments along the Shahke river; nearly five hundred thousand men in trenches or bomb-proof huts gathered into winter camps, an immense city requiring for its sustenance a thousand tons of food a day. The Russian forces awaited recruits from home; the Japanese expected soon to have their army augmented by the victorious veterans from Port Arthur. Both nations expressed an unyielding determination to continue the war. Russia announced improvements in the Siberian railway which would double its facilities as a line of

PORT ARTHUR.

transportation and threatened to break the convention concerning the Dardanelles and send the Black Sea fleet to the East. Japan, intoxicated by her success, announced that for a complete victory she was prepared to sacrifice her last cent, her last man. In Russia there was a party which questioned the wisdom and justice of the war. There was no peace party in Japan, but the entire people favored war to the last extremity.

On the sea Russia was more helpless than upon land. It was evident that what was left of the Russian fleet at Port Arthur could be of no further help to Russia. The Vladivostok squadron had failed to change the situation, and it was determined to send the Baltic squadron to the Far East. Seven battleships, four cruisers, with torpedo boats and attendant transports, sailed from Libau on October 16, 1904.

An unfortunate incident of the 21st threatened for a time to disturb the peace of Europe. Mysterious reports of Japanese torpedo boats in disguise, and warnings of impending danger, had reached the Russian Admiral Rozhestvenski, and apparently had produced in the minds of the commander and his chief officers a condition of apprehension and fear not far removed from hysteria or panic. On the night in question the Russian squadron was moving through the North Sea, the reputed danger zone, and fell in with a fleet of vessels on the Dogger Banks. The searchlights were turned on these vessels, the guns opened fire, two men were killed, a number wounded, and one boat was sunk, before the Russians discovered that they had attacked a lot of English fishing-boats. The squadron did not halt or turn back however, but pursued its course to the designated stopping-place, Vigo, in Spain.

ADMIRAL SKRYDLOFF.

England made a vigorous protest at once, to which the Russian Admiral replied by asserting that he had been attacked by torpedo boats belonging to Japan, thus creating the inference that England, officially neutral, had privately

assisted her ally, perhaps after the manner of her conduct during the American Civil War. The reply was only less exasperating than the incident. There were three ways out of the difficulty—submission, arbitration, or war. But, while the temper of the English people was aroused and the home fleets were put in condition for action at once, France suggested arbitration according to the rules of the Hague Conference. The commission chosen consisted of Admirals Fournier, of France who presided, Davis, of the United States, Beaumont, of England, Kaznakov, of Russia, and Von Spann, of Austria selected by the other four.

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FIELD MARSHAL OYAMA AT MUKDEN.

The Board reported the precautions of the Russian Admiral not excessive, his fears not unfounded according to apparently authentic information which he had received. However, no torpedo boats were among the fishing-vessels, and the firing was not justified. Again, it was found that the attack had been unduly prolonged, that the mistake should have been discovered sooner, that Rozhestvenski was justified in holding on his course, but that it was to be regretted that immediate and full particulars of the incident had not been sent to the maritime powers. Sixty-five thousand pounds damages were awarded the sufferers, a sum that Russia paid immediately upon the announcement of the finding.

In the meantime the position of the hostile armies in the East had remained practically unchanged. The last of January, 1905, an attempt was made to turn the left flank of the Japanese position. The Russian losses were reported as fourteen thousand, that of the Japanese at about half that number. Both armies retired again to the shelter of their winter quarters.

The three main Japanese armies in the field were commanded by Generals Kuroki, Nodzu, and Oku, the whole under Field Marshal Oyama, the most distinguished

soldier of the Empire. Nearly a hundred thousand veterans from Port Arthur were sent northward and formed into two additional corps operating upon the extreme right and left flanks. Both armies extended in a crescent before Mukden, the sacred city of the Manchus, in the valley of the Hun River. The Russians had fortified most of the strongholds, and hoped to check here the Japanese advance, while on the other hand the Japanese commander believed that the war might be ended by a successful envelopment and consequent surrender of the Russian forces. Here a series of engagements occurred lasting from the 20th of February to the 15th of March, 1905, extending over some forty miles, and in which three-quarters of a million men were engaged. By the 8th of March the Russians were almost surrounded, Mukden was entered on the 10th, Fushun was taken on the 11th, and the Russian army, broken, disputed, worn out, moved northward through Tie Pass.

This Pass, forty miles from Mukden, three hundred from Harbin, is the gateway through which the Liao River runs to the Gulf. It commanded the railway line to Harbin and had therefore been strongly fortified, but on the 16th of March it was taken by the Japanese. Immediately after Mukden, General Kuropatkin had telegraphed the situation in these terse words: "The armies are surrounded." And then: "The armies have escaped." Of the petty jealousies, the human weakness, the effects of official ignorance and official corruption, of the desperate courage, the bitterness of defeat, the superhuman effort by which the escape had been effected, the messages contained no trace. Kuropatkin was recalled on the 17th of March, and his successor, General Linevitch, assumed control.

The Russian retreat continued along the railway toward Harbin. The Japanese followed slowly, allowing time for recuperation, and extending their lines until all of the Russians were forced from Liao Valley. An attack upon the Japanese took place at Chang-tu. Defeat followed and the Russians withdrew. About the middle of May the armies were in motion again toward Vladivostok in the north, where the outlook was so serious that all foreign agents were warned to leave the town by June 1.

The fleet of Admiral Rozhestvenski was reported at Singapore, April 11. On the 8th of May the fleet was reinforced by its union with the squadron under Admiral Nebogatov. In number of guns the fleets were about equal, in effectiveness and training the Russians could not be compared with the Japanese.

"We must have not only a triumphant entry into Vladivostok, but must sink a part of the Japanese fleet upon the way," had been the message of the Czar to the Russian Admiral, who had been given, to accomplish this result, officers of the army commanding crews part of whom were landsmen, insufficient supplies, and vessels rendered ineffective by reason of the long voyage.

From his base at Mesampo, Korea, Admiral Togo patrolled the sea and waited for the Russian fleet to fall into the trap which he had so carefully prepared. When word was brought of the Russian approach, the Japanese fleet collected north of Tsu Island in the Straits of Korea. Early in the morning of May 27, Admiral Rozhestvenski's squadron entered the straits. A part of the Japanese fleet had already formed in line of battle, another section was ready to reinforce the first, and others were held in readiness to attack the flanks and rear. The channel is about thirty miles wide and afforded the Japanese ample room to prepare and execute the necessary maneuvers.

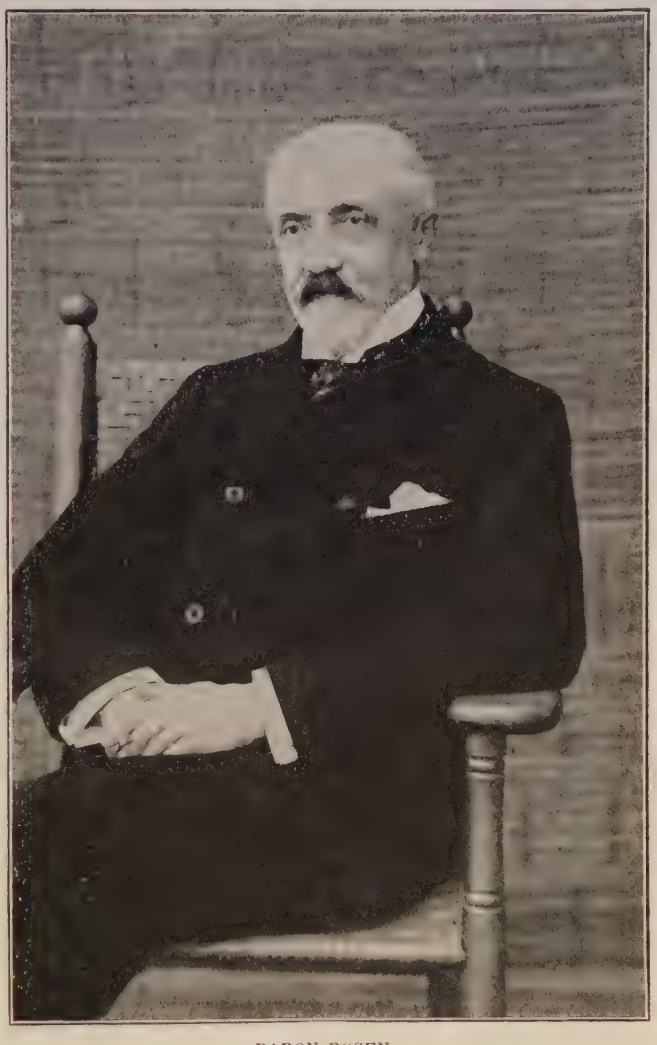
Almost a century after Nelson's famous bulletin at Trafalgar, Admiral Togo displayed from his flagship, the *Mikasa:* "The destiny of our Empire depends upon this action. You are expected to do your utmost,"—and right nobly did his fleet respond. The Russian squadron entered the straits in three parallel lines, the battleships leading, the cruisers following or guarding the rear, colliers and transports in the center line, and behind them the coast-defense vessels and torpedo craft. At a few minutes past two, the Russian flagship, the Suvarov, fired the first shot, and the engagement soon became general along a line of fifty miles. Attacking squadrons bore down upon the Russian fleet from every side. While the deployed line of cruisers delayed the advance, the Russian battleships were in turn attacked by the faster Japanese cruisers from the east, and from the west, direct upon the flank of the Russian line, the battleships of Japan advanced under the command of Admiral Togo himself. The reenforcing squadron from the west, and that from the south joined to force the Russian fleet toward the Japanese coast.

JAPANESE CELEBRATING FALL OF PORT ARTHUR.

All the natural advantages were with the Japanese. The Russian vessels, painted orange and black, were clear targets for the Japanese gunners, while their fleet, light green and gray, in the mist, seemed almost to form a part of the sky and the sea. Later in the engagement the Russians had the sun in their eyes, and were firing against the wind and to the rear, while the vessels of Japan had sun, wind, and direction, all in their favor. The Russian gunners fired more rapidly, but few of their shots were effective. The Japanese, as far as possible, concentrated their fire upon one ill-fated ship after another until each vessel was sunk or hopelessly crippled. In an hour the victory was won; in two hours the Russian fleet was disorganized and broken. When the heavy work of battleship and cruiser had been done, the fresh torpedo boats and destroyers came from their places of concealment to complete the work of destruction. That Saturday afternoon and evening four

of the Russian vessels were sunk, the next day six were destroyed and four captured. Four ships of the squadron under Admiral Nebogatov were captured Sunday evening, the 28th, two hundred miles north of the scene of the battle. But one vessel of the squadron escaped, only to run upon a reef and be blown up by the commanding officer. Three cruisers reached Manila June 3, and were interned until the close of the war. One cruiser and three destroyers reached Vladivostok in safety.

The Russian commander was wounded early in the engagement, and made prisoner by the capture of one of the Russian torpedo boats off the coast of Korea. Of the eighteen thousand men who manned the Russian fleet, fourteen thousand lost their lives, three thousand were made prisoners, and but one thousand escaped. The Japanese losses were three torpedo boats, and about eight hundred men from the entire number of vessels engaged. Russia had formerly been sixth among the maritime powers, but, as a result of this engagement, yielded the place to Japan. There was no longer a question of Japanese supremacy on the eastern seas. Russia's last hope of making successful opposition was destroyed.



BARON ROSEN.

The maneuvers of the Russian army in retreat and the Japanese army in pursuit toward Harbin continued, but, before a general engagement could take place, other events had made peace probable, and hostilities were suspended until the result of negotiations might be known. As early as October of 1904, Japan had begun to discuss the probable terms of peace. She was anxious for peace on honorable terms. Russia, injured but little, save in her accessions outside her home territories, shrank from the humiliation of asking peace, yet was disturbed by internal dissension and economic conditions which made peace advisable.

From the beginning of the war the United States had shown a deep interest in the results, for America had more than a passing interest in each of the belligerents. With Russia her relations

had long been friendly, and she had introduced Japan to the nations of the western world. Under the direction of Secretary of State John Hay, whose death Europe and America united to mourn, the United States had secured the restriction of hostilities to a limited field and decreased the chances of a general war. The interest of the American people in the contest remained unabated, and, when it became apparent that the welfare of the combatants, as well as that of the world, demanded peace, President Roosevelt, by his pacific overtures, made peace possible.

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BUILDING IN WHICH PEACE ENVOYS MET.—PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

On the 7th of June, 1905, President Roosevelt addresesd a note to the Czar and the Mikado with the object of preparing the way for peace negotiations. After a reference to that clause of the Hague Convention which established the principle that overtures by a third party should not be considered as an unfriendly act, the note continued: "The President feels that the time has come when, in the interest of all mankind, he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible struggle and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States has inherited ties of friendship and good will. It hopes for the prosperity and welfare of each, and it feels that the progress of the world is set back by the war between these two great nations. The President, accordingly, urges the Russian and Japanese Governments, not only for their own sakes, but in the interests of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for

peace with each other." It was suggested further that the negotiations be conducted by the two nations only, but the aid of the United States was offered in determining the time and place.

By the middle of June both had agreed to a conference, and the preliminaries only remained to be adjusted. Japan was not inclined to accept as a place for the conference any European point, since there it might be expected that Russian influence would be most powerful. Russia refused, for like reason, to consider an Asiatic city. Washington was accepted without difficulty by both parties, and the month of August was selected as the earliest possible time for the beginning of the negotiations. The climatic conditions in Washington in the summer made it unwise to attempt to hold the meetings there, but the Government offered to the envoys suitable quarters within the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

From both nations men were sent whose primary desires were for peace. They were men of broad statesmanship, with a full knowledge of the wishes and needs of their respective countries, and a determination to look to future welfare rather than to present advantage. Russia sent as the heads of her commission Count Witte and Baron Rosen,—the former the foremost statesman of the Empire, the latter the Russian ambassador at Washington and minister to Japan at the outbreak of the war. Japan was represented by two from the younger group of diplomats, Baron Jutaro Komura and Kogoro Takahira, resident minister at Washington.

The ceremonies of introduction were speedily accomplished on the arrival of the envoys. On board the *Mayflower* they met President Roosevelt, who welcomed them and expressed his wish for a speedy peace. They then proceeded to Portsmouth, where on August 9 the sessions of the committee began. Twenty days later a final agreement was reached.

At times it seemed that a rupture of the negotiations was inevitable. Largely through the personal efforts of President Roosevelt, concessions were made by both sides which prepared the way for a successful termination of the conference. It was understood that the bankers of London, Paris, Berlin, and New York, aided the President by emphasizing the financial difficulties which both nations would encounter in attempting carry on the war for a longer period.

On the 29th of August the Russian envoys came to the conference, believing it to be the last session. They were firm in their refusal to pay indemnity or to give up territory. But they found new propositions from Japan waiving entirely the former demand and offering to abate the second to one-half the island of Sakhalin. To make easier the assent of Russia to this condition, it was represented that Japan was not asking accession of territory, but a retrocession of what had once been hers and of which she had been forcibly deprived. The Russian envoys assented to the final proposition, and the war was over.

The chief provisions of the treaty were the recognition of the preponderant interest of Japan in Korea, Russia agreeing not to oppose any measures which might be taken for its government or control, provided the private rights of Russian subjects and Russian corporations were not endangered, but were granted the privileges accorded to those of other countries. All rights possessed by Russia under the lease of Dalny and Port Arthur were to revert to Japan. Manchuria was to be evacuated simultaneously by both parties, and China was to be unhampered there in her methods of developing the natural resources of the

country. Along the line of the railway through Manchuria, separate zones were to be marked out, and each of the contracting nations was to be supreme within its own sphere. Russia ceded to Japan the southern part of Sakhalin to the fiftieth parallel, granted free navigation in the Bays of La Perouse and Tartary, and obtained permission for Russian colonists to remain in the ceded territory without changing their allegiance. Japan acquired fishing rights within Russian territorial waters. The previous commercial treaties were renewed.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WITH THE RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE PEACE ENVOYS.

Prisoners were to be exchanged upon the payment of the cost of subsistence. Additional articles provided for the details of execution, and for the final approval of the treaty by the sovereigns of the two nations. Once more there was peace in the Pacific, and under conditions which ushered in a new era and the supremacy of a new power.

The Treaty of Peace was signed by the sovereigns of Russia and Japan on October 14, 1905. Contemporaneously the text of a new treaty between Japan and Great Britain was made public. This provided for mutual support and assistance in the consolidation and maintenance of the policy of the two governments in the region of eastern Asia and India; the preservation of the common interests of all powers in China, by insuring the integrity and independence of that country, and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industries of all nations in that empire.

On October 23, the Mikado reviewed the victorious Japanese fleet, which numbered 380 warships, over 100 of which were captured from Russia. In the year following, 1906, the Japanese Government completed a dock at Najasaki capable of receiving a vessel 714 feet in length, and proceeded to the construction of new and larger war vessels. Her success in raising the Russian vessels sunk at Chemulpo and Port Arthur, which added four battleships, three cruisers and many smaller vessels to her naval list, bore witness to the skill of her naval engineers.

In this same year, 1905, the country of Korea, by forced legislation, passed under Japanese control. Although vigorous protests were made by Korean officials, the necessity for such action was unquestioned, and, after thorough investigation, the United States Government was the first to withdraw its representatives from the Korean capital and to place the conduct of American affairs in Korea in the hands of its Minister in Tokio. A new coinage, framed on the Japanese model, was established on a gold basis. The Korean military establishment was reduced to 1,500 men, and

AIMARU SATO.

its ranks above that number were filled with Japanese, while all the government departments were either taken by the Japanese or presided over by Japanese "advisers." The coast and inland waters were opened to Japanese shipping, and, by treaty in November, 1905, the entire control of Foreign Affairs, subject to

existing treaties, was relinquished to Japan, that government pledging itself "to maintain the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea."

The work accomplished by the Japanese in Korea during the single year of 1905 was remarkable. Two important lines of railway, with numerous branches, were constructed, with wharves, bridges, storehouses and public works, while extensive plans were made for future construction. Korea possessed enormous resources of wealth, mineral and agricultural, and in the production of lumber, the importance of which the people were too ignorant to appreciate and too indolent to develop. The government had been rotten to the core, and its policy rapacious, non-progressive, and cruel. It needed a strong hand, like that of Japan, to reform its abuses and to guide its steps toward a modern and decent standard of civilization.

The rapid rise of the Japanese people, as described somewhat in previous pages, was the marvel of modern history. The awakening of Japan dated from the visit of Commodore Perry of the United States Navy to the Island Empire in 1854. This resulted in treaties of friendship and commerce with the United States and European nations and contact with the outer world. Soon the spirit of progress took hold upon the Japanese people, and a modern progressive policy was definitely announced by the new Emperor in 1868, based upon the following five principles:

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be established on a broad basis, in order that governmental measures may be adopted in accordance with public opinions.

2. The concord of all classes of society shall in all emergencies of the state be the first aim of government.

3. Means shall be found for the furtherance of the lawful desires of all individuals without discrimination as to persons.

4. All purposeless precedents and useless customs being discarded, justice and righteousness shall be the guide of all actions.

5. Knowledge and learning shall be sought after throughout the whole world, in order that the status of the Empire of Japan may be raised ever higher and higher.

Following the adoption of the policy thus outlined they sent, at state expense, representatives, who held or were to hold responsible posts in the government, to various countries of Europe and America, in order to widen their views. These were soon followed by young students, who were sent out to complete their education in a regular manner in colleges and universities abroad. At the same time colleges and universities were established in Japan under the ablest teachers and professors to be found in other countries, to educate youths in all branches of the modern sciences and arts. Elementary schools were established everywhere so that all the boys and girls could be taught by teachers trained in the normal schools. They also engaged expert specialists, engineers, and managers, for army and naval service, and for the development of their mines, railways, agriculture, industries, and financial and governmental institutions.

Deliberative assembles of various grades—village, town, and province—were established. Finally, in 1889, a formal national constitution was promulgated, and in the following year a National Assembly was established. Under the constitution the broadest political, civil, and religious liberties are guaranteed. The administration of justice was also organized upon the most enlightened models, and the laws, civil and penal, were codified.

Upon this enlightened and just foundation the progress of modern Japan was based, thus furnishing a latter-day illustration of the Scripture declaration: "Righteousness exalteth a nation." The radical changes and the rapid progress in Japan were without precedent in history. It is doubtful if any people were ever before so completely transformed. Once the governing minds of Japan became convinced that Western civilization was in many respects superior to their own, and that it would be to the advantage of their country and people to adopt ideas and methods from the West, they proceeded with the task unhampered by any of the prejudices and traditions that hindered the competitive nations. They were free to examine impartially institutions the world over, and to select and adopt or adapt those which seemed most promising for them. As a result of this open-minded and progressive policy, Japan in the opening years of the twentieth century was found among the leaders in the forward march of the nations.

The superiority of Japanese military, naval, medical, and hygienic organization was demonstrated and recognized in the Russian War. In education, both academic and technical, in industry, manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, finance, governmental administration, penology, and all other features of modern civilization, the Japanese people had stepped at once into the front rank of progress and had become an example to other nations.

In October, 1909, the whole world was shocked by the assassination of Prince Hirobumi Ito, of Japan, at Harbin, Manchuria, whither he had gone for a conference with M. Kokovstoff, Russian Minister of Finance. The Minister invited Prince Ito, when he alighted from his train, to inspect the Russian Guard of Honor drawn up in the station, and flanked on the right by a number of civilians. As the inspecting party drew near the civilians, one of them opened fire upon Prince Ito with a revolver. The first three shots inflicted mortal wounds. The other three bullets fired by the assassin struck members of the Prince's staff who had instantly crowded about him for his protection. Prince Ito cried out, "I am done for—three bullets have hit me," and walked thirty yards to his car where he expired in half an hour.

No other such funeral as that of Ito was ever witnessed in Japan. To the usual simple, somber pageant, was added five thousand troops—cavalry and infantry—and all the great generals and admirals of Japan and her leading officials, all in full uniform. The procession was three miles in length and without a vehicle of any kind in the lines. The cortege halted at Hibiya Park for the funeral ceremonies. Foreign ambassadors and representatives took a prominent part in these.

Thus passed away the foremost maker of modern Japan. Rising from lowly parentage and humble surroundings, he became Japan's most prominent citizen and most useful public official. He was the Emperor's chief adviser, Japan's leading diplomat and greatest statesman. His death was a most cruel blow to the Emperor and the Japanese people.

In 1909 Japan sent a Commission of forty of her leading men to visit the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition at Seattle, U. S. A., and to make a tour of the United States. This Commission was headed by Baron Eiichi Shibusawa, who held the same rank in the industrial and commercial development of Japan that Prince Ito did in its political progress. He was born a farmer's son, and, like Ito, rose by his own efforts and abilities to the highest rank in his nation.

The Commission was made up of experts and specialists in the educational, civil, political, industrial and commercial departments of life. The purpose of the Commission was to promote amity between the two nations, and to learn all they could of American institutions that might be useful to them at home, and to develop trade. November 30, 1909, the Commission sailed for Japan. Baron Shibusawa expressed the warmest appreciation of the courtesies received everywhere. The Commission was impressed especially with the enormous extent and diversity of the natural resources, and the wide distribution of the industrial activities of the United States, but ventured to express surprise at the wastefulness in handling the timber resources and of the agricultural methods which they witnessed.

One of the most marked and important features of the opening years of the twentieth century was the apparent "awakening of China." Venerable in her antiquity, gigantic in the potentiality of her four hundred millions of people, occupying the most fertile section of the greatest continent on earth, isolated from the rest of the world by her lack of transportation facilities, cut off from the industrial activity and markets of the earth, China had long stood as the problem of the modern world. What would be the result as this great silent, persistent, and tireless people, stirred by the impact of western progress, began to take their place in the industrial world and to seek their share of its trade?

The history of China covered a period of five thousand years. In that long time, many other civilizations had arisen and gone to decay. Chinese civilization, established before them all, but built upon a different foundation, had outlived them, and continued to exist with a vigor and strength that confounded its critics. The long history of China revealed the trial and failure of almost every panacea advocated by modern reformers, and constituted the greatest existing record of human experience in economics, industry, and government. Might it not be that the modern world had as much to learn from this patriarch among the peoples as it had to impart to the ancient nation?

The fundamental note of Chinese civilization was peace—peace in the mind and soul of the individual, harmony in the family, quiet in the community, and amity with neighbor nations. It embraced the wholesome virtues of industry, order, decency, civility, truthfulness, consideration for the feelings of others, reverence for elders. In its material aspects Chinese civilization had fixed the people to the soil.

And now had come the modification or loosening of these ancient conditions. Modern pressure was breaking down the wall of exclusion. Concessions already made to English, German, French, Russian, Japanese, Belgian and American capitalists, provided for thousands of miles of railroads penetrating to many parts of the great empire. The Chinese themselves were becoming world travelers. There had been and there would be friction between the old and the new. But the door was open and no man could close it.

Educational reform was a marked feature of the modern Chinese life. Following the Chino-Japanese War, some of the leading educational institutions of the Empire were reorganized. In April, 1903, an edict was issued, announcing the abolition, within ten years, of the traditional literary examinations. The old system of education was confined to the ancient Chinese classics, which furnished both literature and religion to Chinese scholars. The study of these classics had degenerated into a system

of trivialities which obscured rather than elucidated the real meaning of the ancient writers. The new educational system involved the modification of the ancient classical course so as to retain its ethical value, and the addition of the modern sciences and technical branches. Many thousands of Chinese, young men, and a smaller proportion of young women, were sent abroad for education, and to imbibe the spirit of modern progress. Schools and colleges for advanced pupils were established throughout the eighteen provinces, and large bodies of teachers from foreign countries were put in charge to give instruction in all modern branches of learning.

Japanese and western text-books were translated into Chinese, and the entire country bristled with new ideas.

To introduce a complete system of national education in so vast a population was a titanic task. The primary school must be the basis of such a system, and the universal public school could be established only as a vast army of teachers were prepared for the work, and public sentiment was aroused to support the movement. The Chinese being a highly intellectual race, and with their patient industry and habits of thoroughness, rapid and far-reaching development along modern educational lines progress was soon apparent.

At the opening of the century the negotiations for the adjustment of the difficulties arising out of the Boxer uprising in China were well under way. These negotiations were conducted between the foreign ministers stationed at Pekin and the Chinese authorities. The terms of adjustment finally adopted were practically the following:

The Chinese Government should be charged with the infliction of the severest punishment upon the principal offenders, and should acknowledge liability for injuries to governments, corporations, and persons, and agree to pay damages, actual and exemplary, to be fixed in such manner as the peace plenipotentiaries should decide; China should erect a monument to the memory of the German Baron von Ketteler and send an imperial prince to Berlin to apologize for his murder; officials failing to prevent outrages on foreigners in their districts should be dismissed and punished; a single minister of foreign affairs should displace the foreign board; direct intercourse between the diplomatic corps and the Emporer should be permitted; forts between Pekin and Taku and on the coast of Pechili should be razed; importation of arms and munitions of war should be prohibited; permanent foreign guards at the Pekin legations, and at points between Pekin and Taku, should be maintained; edicts for the suppression of Boxers should be posted throughout the empire for two years; monuments should be erected by China in international burial places that had been profaned; new treaties of trade and navigation should be negotiated; Chinese employed by foreigners should be paid indemnity for injuries.

In 1879 the Chinese Government purchased the first railroad constructed on Chinese soil, tore it up, and dumped it into the sea, because it had "offended the Earth Dragon." In 1907, the steel works at Hanyang, China, made and shipped, 600 miles by river and 14,000 miles by sea, 1,500 tons of pig iron, and laid it down in Brooklyn, New York, at $17.50 per ton, a threatening competitive price. China had progressed in the thirty years. In 1896, the mammoth empire was pitifully beaten by little Japan. In 1910, China had a model army of 200,000 men. She had progressed. To undertake the transforming of an inert mass of 400,000,000 people

after 2,000 changeless years was a heroic task. What wonder that many of the early efforts were abortive, that action was followed by reaction, that progress was crippled by incapacity and inadaptability! Yet China was at last awake, and falling in line with the modern world.

Up to 1904, the all-powerful Empress Dowager Tsi-An, the *de facto* ruler, was identified with the most reactionary elements of her country, and manifested not only a pronounced aversion to everything in the nature of foreign innovations and reforms, but seemed disposed to lean toward Russia and Russian methods as her model. But, when she beheld the conservative giant Russia overthrown by her pygmy but progressive neighbor Japan, she was clever enough to perceive the mistake of her previous policy, and proceeded to change the course of the Chinese ship of state. Reversing in a way her previous history, she took occasion to celebrate her seventieth birthday by issuing an edict liberating all those she had previously imprisoned for participation in reform movements, and also restoring to their former rank and office every mandarin and other dignitary who had suffered disgrace for engaging in the agitation for reform.

OPEN ALTAR TO HEAVEN.—PEKIN, CHINA.

In 1905, by imperial decree, a commission was sent to Europe and America to study the institutions, and the "Western learning," in order that a constitution might be granted to China. The five commissioners, in their joint memorial, upon their return from their trip around the world, reported that the wealthiest and strongest nations were under constitutional forms of government, that even Russia had granted such government to its people, and that China was the only great country that had not adopted that principle. As a result of their careful studies of the systems of England, Germany, the United States, Japan, etc., the commissioners earnestly requested the throne to issue a decree fixing five years as the limit within which China would adopt a constitutional form of government. As a result, in September, 1906, there came an imperial decree promising a constitution when the nation was fit for it, and outlining certain immediate financial and administrative reforms.

The prejudice of centuries had been weakened, and there was now an "open door" to all forms of modern industry. Railroads were built, iron and steel plants established, textile mills, flour and rice mills, and soap factories were intro-

duced, and daily papers issued. Foreigners and natives alike were encouraged in efforts to introduce modern inventions and arts. All sorts of foreign devices and innovations, such as electric bells, electric lights, telephones, phonographs, etc., were introduced into the Imperial Palace itself. In short, a complete industrial revolution set in.

Yielding to pressure from the foreign powers, China, in 1904, had opened four of her most important ports to the commerce of the world. In 1906, sixteen additional ports were thrown open. The Chinese regarded the opening of these ports a matter of foreign coercion. Incidental to and following the Russo-Japanese War, some of the leading Chinese statesmen had begun to raise the cry, "China for the Chinese." Suspicions of Japanese aggression began to be aroused, provoked chiefly by Japan's absorption of Korea and her influence in Manchuria. In 1905 a favorable treaty with Japan was secured for the regulation and control of Manchuria. About this time also preparations were well under way for the organization and training of a national army. Following the settlement of the troubles of 1904, and taught by the success of Japan, China set at work to reconstruct her army. In the fall of 1905 the foreign military attaches were invited to be present at the maneuvers of 70,000 soldiers, and were surprised at their efficiency.

China, in retaliation for the enforced opening of her ports, attempted, in May, 1906, to put all native and foreign officials at the Customs House under Chinese control. This was frustrated, however, by the co-operation of the various foreign diplomatic legations. But, to mollify and reconcile the Chinese, many changes were introduced in the customs service more favorable to the natives. Chinese were given preference as employes, and a school was established to train natives for this service. It was also arranged that customs revenues should be devoted to the increase and improvement of the army.

In connection with the changes in the customs service, and as a symptom of the anti-foreign feeling created by the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States, a boycott on American goods was started in the southern provinces in 1905. As one measure to aid in relieving irritation a United States Court for China was appointed to sit at Shanghai. This court soon succeeded in clearing the port of various swindlers and notorious characters who had been a cause of reproach to Americans. Hostile feelings against American goods were further allayed and finally eliminated by the cautious and generous policy of the American administration through President Roosevelt and Secretaries John Hay and Elihu Root. Assurances were given of the assistance of the United States in preserving the integrity of China, and, as recorded in another place, $13,000,000 of the indemnity for damages during the Boxer rebellion were returned to China. Liberal subscriptions to the famine fund were secured through the American Red Cross of which President Roosevelt was the head. In October, 1907, when Secretary of War William H. Taft touched at Chinese ports on his return trip from the Philippines, he found that the anti-American feeling of two years previous had well-nigh disappeared. His addresses were well received, especially when he declared his belief that the United States would actively interfere whenever necessary to preserve the open door to all parts of the Chinese Empire.

In the popular mind of the world, China was long regarded as a vast opium den. This notion was exaggerated and unjust, yet the best statistical estimates

indicated that 40,000,000 pounds of the opium drug were consumed in China each year. The general use of opium in China, India, and other oriental nations, had long been recognized as one of the giant twin evils of the world, ranking alongside the use of alcohol among the Western nations.

In 1906, the Empress Dowager, still intent upon reform among her people, issued, and caused to be issued, edicts of the most radical character, relating to the production and use of opium. These edicts directed all farmers to reduce their opium fields by ten per cent. every year,

CONFUCIAN TEMPLE—NANKING, CHINA.

and provided that no opium at all should be cultivated after the end of ten years. They required that the merchants decrease their opium sales twenty per cent. every year, and close out their whole business in the space of five years. They ordered that all public opium dens should be summarily closed, and that the retail opium shops should gradually be abolished. At the same time they inaugurated dispensaries where free medicines might be had to take away the opium craving, and encouraged the establishment of opium hospitals for those who had contracted the habit.

In the same edicts it was provided that all users of opium should be registered; that they should be examined by the police, and the habitual users should be allowed only a given quantity of the drug at certain fixed periods. These allowances were to be reduced gradually so that at the end of five years all persons under sixty years of age would be free from the habit. All users of opium were required to wear badges so that everyone would know an opium victim as he walked through the streets.

All Government officials, including princes, dukes, viceroys, and generals, under sixty years of age, had six months in which to give up the habit, or to tender their resignations; and all teachers and scholars were required to stop opium-smoking within the space of one year. As to the officers of the army and navy, they were commanded to abandon the habit at once.

To appreciate fully the stupendous character of this reform, let Western readers imagine what would have happened had the ruling powers of Germany, England and the United States, abruptly proceeded to abolish the manufacture, sale, and use of alcoholic beverages, or tobacco, in their respective dominions in the year 1906.

In the early part of 1907 the United States Government informed the Chinese authorities that the United States did not intend to collect the full indemnity of $24,000,000 awarded for damages and expenses in the relief of Pekin during the Boxer rebellion. This indemnity was to be paid in small installments, running over a series of years, with interest, which would bring the total up to $40,000,000. It was found that $11,000,000 would re-

imburse the missionaries for their losses, and repay the United States for the expenses in the joint expedition. The proposal was to leave the remaining $13,000,000 in the hands of the Chinese authorities, to be expended in paying the expenses of Chinese students in the United States. China gladly accepted the proposition.

On November 6, 1909, thirty-seven Chinese students arrived in San Francisco, and proceeded to Washington and reported to Yung Kwai, Secretary of the Chinese legation. This was the first delegation of students sent to the United States from the Boxer Indemnity fund. It was estimated that the fund would be sufficient to pay the expenses of one hundred new students each year for thirty years. The students were selected by competitive examination at Pekin from applicants from all parts of the Empire. The students were to remain five years in the United States, during which time they were to complete university courses, mainly in mechanical and electric engineering and in agriculture. Each of these students was expected, upon his return to China, to give five years' service to the home government in return for his five years of education in the United States. Considerable numbers of Chinese students were in England, Germany, France, and the United States each year, paying their own way. But the Boxer fund took the majority of students to the United States. This fund would keep five hundred Chinese Government students in American universities annually, beside the considerable number of private students. This tended to bind the two nations more closely together in friendly political and commercial relations.

In October, 1907, the Dowager Empress, contemplating abdication, surprised the world by issuing an edict, declaring China henceforth a constitutional monarchy. The decree established at once a legislative council, known as the Council of Administration, and appointed eminent statesmen to draft an actual code of executive and administrative laws.

In November, 1908, the Chinese Empire and the whole world were surprised by the announcement of the deaths within two days of the Emperor, Kuang-Hsu, and the Dowager Empress, Tsi-An. Following this announcement came an edict placing upon the throne Prince Pu-Yi, the three-year-old son of Prince Chun, a brother of the late Emperor, who, in accordance with an arrangement made by the Empress Dowager some years before, became Regent until his son should attain his majority.

Kuang-Hsu came of age in 1887, and took over the reins of government from Tsi-An, the Dowager Empress, and for the following eleven years, he was to a considerable extent the real head of the state. His sympathies were naturally liberal, and, through influence exerted by a European teacher, he attempted a series of reforms through the Empire, beginning with an organized scheme of education, and attempting a rapid and radical reform of legislative and administrative methods. To this program he was more fully persuaded by the result of the war with Japan, for he saw that the triumph of Japan was due chiefly to the Occidental training and methods employed. His somewhat erratic and rapid efforts at reform alarmed the reactionaries at court, and led his aunt, the Dowager Empress, to head a palace revolution. The Emperor was practically deposed and held a prisoner until his death, Tsi-An once more assuming the reins of government.

The Empress Dowager was a truly remarkable woman. She began life as a Manchu concubine of the Emperor, Hien-Fung, Kuang-Hsu's uncle. By intrigue, audacity, and marked ability she worked

herself into position and power. She ruled China with an iron hand, made and unmade ministers, viceroys, and governors, tricked and flouted Western governments, and turned a deaf ear to suggestions of reform along modern lines. Her authority and status were weakened by the defeat of China in the Japanese War, and by the partial partitioning of the Empire among foreign nations which followed soon after. Then she retired, and Kuang-Hsu made his abortive attempts at reform. Thereupon she assumed authority again, as narrated above, only to be met by the Boxer uprising, and the capture of Pekin by the combined armies of the foreign powers.

PU-YI, Emperor of China.

Her nature was softened somewhat by her personal contact with representatives of foreign peoples, and the tide of reform which had set in among her own people. Indeed, in her own way, she was a Progressive. She was not only a commanding person in her age and country, but she was also endowed with some of the recognized qualities of true greatness. In a different and more favorable environment she probably would have developed into an ideal woman. Indeed, it would seem, that, in its long history of decadence, China has not seen another so strong and beneficent a figure appear in any dynasty.

There was no open dispute to the rightful succession of Pu-Yi. The Regent, Prince Chun, was recognized as a liberal, progressive, and humane man.

Important incidental features of progress were seen in the plans that were adopted for securing a uniform written and spoken popular language for the entire Empire. The movement for the elevation and education of women was also a most notable innovation. Of this the abolition of the foot-binding custom for girls was an important factor. The establishment of local self-government, and the liberty of the press, and the multiplication of newspapers were marked signs of the new regime.

In 1909, a regulation was adopted forbidding a native of China to become naturalized in any other country. "Once a Chinaman always a Chinaman," was the spirit of the new law. The purpose was to preserve the solidarity of the Chinese people, and also to prevent expatriation in order to avoid military service in the new army being organized.

In 1904 the British authorities, under the pretext of protecting British subjects and interests sent an expedition under

Colonel Francis Edward Younghusband to the "Forbidden City," Lhasa, in the unknown "Hermit Kingdom" of Tibet. Though this forced profanation by foreigners of their exclusive holy city of Lhasa was bitterly resented and resisted by the faithful Buddhists, the expedition secured certain concessions in the matter of foreign trade and diplomatic relations. A Provisional Government was established under the sovereignty of China, and the Dalai Lama, the Buddhist "Pope," was deposed from political power. Thereupon he fled into the deserts of Mongolia. Here he wandered for four years, enjoying the hospitality of various monasteries, cities, tribes, and courts, in Northwestern China. He was received everywhere with great honor—and forwarded with great dispatch—for the entertainment of the priests and servants, camels and horses, forming the long retinue of the incarnated Buddha entailed a serious expense. In the fall of 1908 he arrived in Pekin, where he was received by the Chinese Emperor with the veneration due to his exalted rank, but was politely urged to return to Tibet.

In December, 1909, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa with authority from Pekin to take over authority again from the Provisional Government. He was installed in the palace amid a great popular demonstration, and was again given civil power along with his office as the head of the Lamist Hierarchy. He issued pardons to all the young Tibetans who had given aid to Colonel Younghusband, and all went well for a short time. The Chinese officials and soldiers were resentful at loss of authority, prestige, and material emoluments. A force of Chinese troops soon appeared for the nominal purpose of enforcing the sovereignty of China, and frustrating any intention that the Lama may have had of declaring his independence. The Chinese army was well armed and efficient, having been drilled by Japanese officers. The Chinese troops and followers were guilty of various excesses, sacking certain monasteries and killing the monks, and stirring up strife generally. Against these excesses the Dalai Lama protested, and received a reply so arbitrary that the whole Tibetan question was reopened.

The Chinese Amban charged that the Lama, upon his return home, with the object of organizing a revolt, had reported that China intended to exterminate Lamaism, and also that British trade under Chinese protection was injuring Tibet. He represented that the Lama, being the recognized head of the Buddhist religionists, and regarded by many of his followers as the reincarnated living Buddha, his charges as to China's hostile intentions toward the Buddhist faith aroused strong feeling among the Buddhists, not only in Tibet and other Chinese provinces, but throughout India. It was charged also that the Lama made active efforts to interrupt foreign trade. All of this, it was set forth, resulted in a Tibetan revolt which the Chinese sent troops to quell, whereupon the Lama fled for the second time, and his official deposition followed. The edict deposing him characterized him as one of the worst Dalai Lamas ever known, "an ungrateful, irreligious, obstreperous profligate, tyrannical, unacceptable to the Tibetans, and an unsuitable leader of the Lamas." Probably the real reason for China's drastic action lay in the fact of the discovery that the Dalai Lama had been endeavoring to enlist the support of Russia and Great Britain in opposing China's sovereignty in Tibet.

The Dalai Lama, making a narrow escape, again went into exile, seeking asylum in India, where he found personal safety, and because India offered the shortest route to Pekin where he

could personally lay his grievances before the Chinese throne. Lord Morley, English Secretary of State for India, invited the Grand Lama to proceed to Calcutta and occupy Hastings House. He was treated with the courtesy and respect due to a ruler of high spiritual authority and an object of veneration to many millions of his Majesty's subject.

In the opening decade of the new century the unrest in India increased rather than diminished. This unrest was the local manifestation of the world-wide ferment of the rising democratic spirit. On August 21, 1906, Lord Curzon had resigned the Viceroyalty of India on account of differences between himself and Lord Kitchener regarding the Indian military policy, and was succeeded by Lord Minto. In December, 1908, the growing dissatisfaction was aggravated, when Viceroy Minto secured the adoption by the Legislative Council of a new Crimes Act, conferring upon magistrates almost complete arbitrary autocratic power in the arrest and punishment of any one under suspicion of conspiring against the life of a British official, or against the established government. The passage of the act was followed by the arrest and deportation, without formal charge or trial, of nine of the prominent and influential educational and progressive men of the province of Bengal. The act and the deportations greatly intensified the friction and excitement, and precipitated an exceedingly critical situation for continued British rule in India.

HINDU TEMPLE.—MADRAS, INDIA.

Moved by the danger of the situation, Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, hastened to announce in the House of Lords in London, December 17, 1908, a scheme of reform government for India. The reforms proposed were mild and not far-reaching but were accepted for the time as constituting a real beginning of provincial self-government. In the presidency provinces—Bombay and Madras—whose governors were appointed every five years from England, the executive councils of the senior officials were increased to four, one of whom should be an Indian. In the other five provinces—Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma, administered by lieutenant governors belonging to the Indian Civil Service—executive councils were estab-

lished with native representatives. The Legislative Councils of the seven provinces, with an overwhelming official membership, were remodeled and transformed. The Viceroy's Legislative Council was increased in membership from twenty-four to sixty-two by the addition of elected members. An Indian was appointed to the Supreme Executive Council. To further allay the keen apprehension that had been aroused in India by the ill-advised Crimes Act and the deportations, many leading Englishmen in England, including members of Parliament and other Publicists, formed themselves into an Indian Civil Rights Committee, pledged to use every effort to obtain the restoration to the people of India of "those elementary civil rights of which they have been deprived."

SHAH OF PERSIA ON THRONE.

The great Iranian race for nearly five thousand years withstood both foreign barbarism and the native tyrant and usurper. In the opening years of the twentieth century, however, the world-wide wave of democratic reform reached even that benighted and remote people. In 1906 the Shah, Muzaffar-ed-din, reluctantly signed a "harat" assuring the Persian people of a constitution and free institutions. This manifesto was confirmed by Ahmed Mirza, when, on April 27, 1909, he succeeded his father, who meanwhile had been deposed, to the Persian throne. But from the beginning there was powerful opposition and a strong reactionary influence, and directly the Liberal movement was stifled, and its leaders driven out of the country. The revolutionaries rallied at Nedzef, the Mecca of the Mussulman world, and issued a proclamation declaring that "the preservation of Islam and the power of the government depend upon a constitutional order of things." The reactionary forces, under General Eynud, made a vigorous campaign against the

revolutionaries at Tabriz. Another proclamation was issued by the Ulems of Nedzeb calling for a holy war against the Shah's government. When Eynud finally made an attack upon Tabriz, he was beaten back, with heavy loss. Many of his soldiers now deserted and went over to the revolutionaries. Then the Ulems of Kerbel, and the Chief Ulem at Teheran, issued a proclamation declaring that all opposing the Shah and the existing system were apostates. This strengthened the Shah and weakened the revolutionaries. The latter reorganized however and recruited a new army and vigorously continued their propaganda. They made fine military progress, and finally the army of Eynud deserted to the revolutionary standard. Then came another proclamation from the Ulems of Kerbel, reversing their previous manifesto, and declaring themselves now in full sympathy with the revolutionaries. The Shah's government made another rally under the leadership of Lyakov, a Russian colonel. Thus the strife went on, sword against sword, and proclamation against proclamation. But, by the end of 1908, the cause of the people had triumphed and Persia's absolute monarchy was at an end. England and Russia announced that they would no longer recognize any but a constitutional regime in Persia.

The status of the Far East at the end of the decade was well illustrated in the formal exchange of notes between the United States and the Japanese governments, December 1, 1908. Except for a slight difference in the preambles the notes were identical, and read as follows:

"1. It is the wish of the two governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce in the Pacific Ocean.

"2. The policy of both governments, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo* in the region above mentioned, and to the defense of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

"3. They are accordingly to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in said region.

"4. They are also determined to preserve the common interest of all powers in China by supporting, by all pacific means at their disposal, the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that empire.

"5. Should any event occur threatening the *status quo* as above described, or the principle of equal opportunity, as above defined, it remains for the two governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take."

This formal declaration of a peaceful and promising understanding between these two nations served to quiet apprehension and jingo agitation within their own borders. Moreover, since these two nations dominated the Pacific Ocean and the situation in the Orient, this declaration was the cue for other powers to fall into line in support of a peaceful, progressive, and equitable policy in all Oriental affairs, which they were not slow to do.

In 1910 a Pan-Asiatic movement began to manifest itself in the Orient. A Japan-Hindu Association was formed with headquarters at Tokyo, Japan. The constitution of the society was drawn up by Count Okuma, of Japan. It was a sort of Declaration of Independence. In its opening paragraphs it declared:

"All men are born equal. The Asiatics have the same claim to be called men as the Europeans themselves. It is there-

fore quite unreasonable to consider that the latter should have any right to predominate over the former."

Previous to the Russo-Japanese war the whites in Asia enjoyed a double prestige. They were considered invincible. They were also credited with being a united race indissolubly joined together by a permanent solidarity, which would ally them all at any time of need in conflict with an Oriental foe. The success of the Japanese against Russia disillusioned the Orientals. The white man lost his invincibility, and the Asiatic awakened to the advantages of coalition and solidarity. The contest with Russia on the north and English contact on the south awakened the yellow races to a sense of their native strength, and showed them the weak side of their white adversaries. China was already under the influence and dominance of Japan. India must now be taken into the coalition. This indicated the beginning of a moral, social, industrial, and commercial boycott of the yellow races of the East against the white races of the West. One of the noticeable indications of this movement was seen in the gradual withdrawal of Hindu students from colleges and universities of Europe, and their transfer to the educational institutions of Japan.

CHAPTER CLXXVI—REFLECTIONS.

THE concluding paragraphs of a historical work may well be brief and simple. It is not permitted to the writer of history to moralize at length upon the events which are sketched by his pen. He is forbidden to conjecture, to imagine, to dream. He has learned, albeit against his will, to moderate his enthusiasm, to curb his fancy, to be humble in the presence of facts. To him the scenery on the shore of the stream that bears him onward—tall trees and giant rocks—must pass but half observed, and for him the sun and the south wind strive in vain to make enticing pictures on the playful eddies of human progress.

None the less, the writer of history may occasionally pause to reflect; he may ever and anon throw out an honest deduction drawn from the events upon which his attention has been fixed. Particularly is this true when he has come to the end. All of a sudden he anchors in the bay of the present, and realizes that his voyage is done. In such a moment there is a natural reversion of thought from its long and devious track across the fields, valleys, and wastes of the past, and a strong disposition to educe *some lesson* from the events which he has recorded.

The first and most general truth in history is that *men ought to be free.* If happiness is the end of the human race, then freedom is its condition. And this freedom is not to be a kind of half-escape from thralldom and tyranny, but ample and absolute. The emancipation in order to be emancipation at all, must be complete. To the historian it must ever appear strange that men have been so distrustful of this central principle in the philosophy of human history. It is an astonishing fact that the major part of the energies of mankind have been expended in precisely the opposite way—in the enslavement rather than the liberation of the race. Every generation has sat like a stupid image of Buddha on the breast of its own aspirations, and they who have struggled to break their own and the fetters of their fellow-men have been regarded and treated as the common enemies of human peace and happiness. On the contrary, they have been saviors and benefactors of whom the world has not been worthy. The greatest fallacy with which the human intellect has ever been beguiled is, that the present—whatever age may be called the present—has conceded to men all the freedom which they are fit to enjoy. On the contrary, no age has done so. Every age has been a Czar, and every reformer is threatened with Siberia.

Nevertheless, in the face of all this baleful opposition and fierce hostility to the forward and freedom-seeking movement of the race, the fact remains that to be free is the prime condition of all the greatness, wisdom, and happiness in the world. Whatever force, therefore, contributes to widen the limits which timid fear or selfish despotism has set as the *thus-far* of freedom, is a civilizing force, and deserves to be augmented by the individual will and personal endeavor of every lover of mankind; and, on the other hand, every force which tends to fix around the teeming brains and restless activities of men one of the so-called "necessary barriers" to their progress and ambition, is a force of barbarism and cruelty, meriting the relentless antagonism of every well-wisher of his kind.

Let it be remembered, then, that the battle is not yet ended, the victory not yet won. The present is relatively—not absolutely, thanks to the great warriors of humanity—as much the victim of the enslaving forces as was the past; and it is the duty of the philanthropist, the sage, the statesman, to give the best of his life and genius to the work of

breaking down, and not imposing, those bulwarks and barriers which superstition and conservatism have reared as the ramparts of civilization, and for which an enlightened people have no more need than for a Chinese wall.

One of the greatest enemies of freedom, and therefore of the progress and happiness of our race, is *over-organization*. Mankind have been organized to death. The social, political, and ecclesiastical forms which have been instituted have become so hard and cold and obdurate that the life, the emotion, the soul within, has been well-nigh extinguished. Among all the civil, political, and churchly institutions of the world, it would be difficult to-day to select that one which is not in a large measure conducted in the interest of the official management. The Organization has become the principal thing, and the Man only a secondary consideration. *It* must be served and obeyed. *He* may be despised and neglected. *It* must be consulted, honored, feared; crowned with flowers, starred and studded with gold. *He* may be left a starving pauper, homeless, friendless, childless, shivering in mildewed tatters—a scavenger, and beggar at the doorway of the court.

All this must presently be reversed. Organization is *not* the principal thing; man himself is better. The institution, the party, the creed, the government,—that does not serve *him;* does not conduce to *his* interests, progress, and enlightenment; is not only a piece of superfluous rubbish on the stage of modern civilization, but is a real stumbling-block, a positive clog and detriment to the welfare and best hopes of mankind.

Closely allied with this overwrought organization of society is the pernicious *theory of paternalism*—that delusive, mediæval doctrine, which proposes to effect the social and individual elevation of man by "protecting," and therefore subduing, him. The theory is that man is a sort of half-infant, half-imbecile—a hybrid of child and devil—who must be led along and guarded as one would lead and guard a foolish and impertinent barbarian. It is believed and taught that men seek not their own best interests; that they are the natural enemies and destroyers of their own peace; that human energy, when liberated and no longer guided by the factitious machinery of society and the State, either slides rapidly backward into barbarism, or rushes forward only to stumble and fall headlong by its own audacity. Therefore, society must be a good mistress, a garrulous old nurse to her children! She must take care of them; teach them what to do; lead them by the swaddling bands; coax them into some feeble and well-regulated activity; feed them on her insipid porridge with the antiquated spoons of her superstition. The State must govern and repress. The State must strengthen her apparatus, improve her machine. She must put her subjects down; she must keep them down. She must teach them to be tame and tractable; to go at her will; to rise, to halt, to sit, to sleep, to wake at her bidding; to be humble and meek. And all this with the belief that men so subordinated and put down can be, should be, ought to be, great and happy! They are so well cared for, so happily governed.

On the contrary, if history has proved—does prove—any one thing, it is this: Man when least governed is greatest. When his heart, his brain, his limbs are unbound, he straightway begins to flourish, to triumph, to be glorious. Then, indeed, he sends up the green and blossoming trees of his ambition. Then, indeed, he flings out both hands to grasp the skyland and the stars. Then, indeed, he feels no longer a need for the mastery of society; no longer a want of some guardian and intermeddling State to inspire and direct his energies. He grows in freedom. His philanthropy expands; his nature rises to a noble stature; he springs forward to grasp the grand substance, the shadow of which he has seen in his dreams. He is happy. He feels himself released from the domination of an artificial scheme which has been used for long ages for the subjection of his fathers and himself. What men want, what they need, what they hunger for, what they will one day have the courage to demand and take, is less organic govern-

ment—not more; a freer manhood and fewer shackles; a more cordial liberty; a lighter fetter of form, and a more spontaneous virtue.

Of all things that are incidentally needed to usher in the promised democracy and brotherhood of man—the coming new era of enlightenment and peace—one of the most essential is *toleration.* It is a thing which the world has never yet enjoyed—is just now beginning to enjoy. Almost every page of the ancient and mediæval history of mankind has been made bloody with some form of intolerance. Until the present day the baleful shadow of this sin against humanity has been upon the world. The proscriptive vices of the Middle Ages have flowed down with the blood of the race, and tainted the life that now is with a suspicion and distrust of Freedom. Liberty in the minds of men has meant the privilege of agreeing with the majority. Men have desired free thought, but fear has stood at the door. It remains for the present to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest of men who walks therein more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart.

Proscription has no part nor lot in the modern government of the world. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumbscrews, swords, and pillory, have no place among the machinery of civilization. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties, beliefs, and practices. Essential freedom is the *right to differ,* and that right must be sacredly respected. Nor must the privilege of dissent be conceded with coldness and disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good-will. No loss of rank, abatement of character, or ostracism from society must darken the pathway of the humblest of the seekers after truth. The right of free thought, free inquiry, and free speech to all men, everywhere, is as clear as the noonday and bounteous as the air and the sea.

A second auxiliary in the forward movement of our age will be found in *the emancipation of woman.* There are two stations to which woman may be logically assigned. One is the harem of the Turk; the other is the high dais of perfect equality with man. The Middle Ages gave her the former place. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sought to fix her in a station *between* the two extremes. The present, having discovered that human rights are not deducible from physiological distinctions, seeks to make her as free as man. The tyranny and selfishness of political parties will for a while retard what they cannot prevent, and then, by an attempted falsification of history, will seek to make it appear that *they* have been the champions of the cause by which one-half of the human race are to be enfranchised—removed from the state of political and domestic serfdom to become a great and salutary agency in the social and political reforms of the age.

It follows naturally to add that the creation of *a universal citizenship by means of universal education* is a third force, which is to bring in and glorify the future of all lands. Just in proportion as the democratic principle encroaches upon absolutism in the domain of Government, will the necessity for enlightening the masses become more and more imperative. The development of a high degree of intelligence is, in all free Governments, a *sine qua non* of their strength and perpetuity. Without it such Governments fall easy victims to ignorant military captains and civil demagogues of high or low repute.

Whether, indeed, the republican form of government be better than monarchy turns wholly upon the intelligence of the governed. Where this is wanting, the king appears, and the people find in him a refuge from the ills of anarchy; but when the antecedent condition of public intelligence exists—where every man, by the discipline of virtuous schools, has been in his youth rooted and grounded in the fruitful soil of knowledge, the salutary principles and practices of self-restraint, and the generous ways of freedom—there indeed has neither the military leader with his sword, the political demagogue with his fallacy, nor the king with his crown and

Dei gratia, any longer a place or vocation among the people.

Gradually—as we devoutly hope—the New Order of Humanity is coming into the world. Long and hard has been the struggle of its coming. The life of man, beginning in savagery, has not issued into the empire of promise all at once, or in a brief period of endeavor. On the contrary, our race has risen by ages of toil and sorrowful evolution. But the movement from darkness to dawn has been always discernible. When the clouds have rested most darkly on the human landscape they have parted, and through the rift have ever been seen patches of the blue sky and glintings of the eternal stars.

May the morning soon dawn when every land, from Orient to Occident, from pole to pole, from mountain to shore, and from shore to the farthest island of the sounding sea, shall feel the glad sunshine of freedom in its breast! May the day soon come when the people of all climes, arising at last from the heavy slumbers and barbarous dreams which have so long haunted the benighted minds of men, shall join in glad acclaim to usher in the Golden Era of Humanity and the universal Monarchy of Man!

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